AN

Universal HISTORY,

FROM THE

Earlieſt Account of Time to the Preſent:

COMPILED from

ORIGINAL AUTHORS;

And ILLUSTRATED with

MAPS, CUTS, NOTES, Chronological, and Other TABLES.

VOL. V.

Ἱστορίας ἀρχαίας ἐξέρχεσθαι μὴ καλανόει, ἐν ἀυταῖς γὰρ ἐυρήσεις ἀκόπως, ἅπερ ἕτεροι συνῆξαν ἐγκόπως.
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Liverpool

To the Right Honourable

THOMAS Lord LOVELL,

Baron LOVELL of *Minsted-Lovell*,

Knight of the most Honourable Order of the *Bath*.

My LORD,

WE might be justly deemed unpardonable, if, amongst the several illustrious Persons who have honoured this Work with their Patronage, we should neglect applying to Your Lordship for YOURS. That universal Knowledge of Men and Books, joined to a distinguishing Judgment and polite Manners, which is Your confessed Character, gives us a Kind of Claim to IT. History, beyond all other Sciences, deserves the Protection of the Great and Good, as its Utility is not of a confined Nature, but diffuses a general Benefit to all Mankind. This Consideration, my LORD, greatly justifies the Presumption of this Address, since Benevolence, and every amiable Virtue, eminently adorn and add a Lustre to Your Rank.

IT must be acknowledged, the following Sheets cannot appear abroad under a greater Recommendation, since Your LORDSHIP has given the Public SUCH early Proofs of a refined Taste for Ancient History; particularly in Your Travels through *Italy*, where, at a large Expence, You inriched the Republic of Letters with a curious Account of the *ETRURIA REGALIS*; THAT this noble Example must animate the Youth of Genius and Quality to cultivate so useful a Branch of Learning, and at the same Time reflect no small Honour upon the Professors of it.

BUT

BUT what more immediately obliges us to ſhelter ourſelves under the Sanction of the Illuſtrious and the Great, and may, we hope, intitle us to the Favour of ſuch unqueſtionable Judges, is the Reſolution we have made of concealing our Names until the Whole is compleated. Under this Obſcurity, My LORD, we have received ſeveral conſiderable Hints, (which we might otherwiſe have been deprived of) that have much contributed to the Improvement of our original Plan, and conſequently render the Undertaking more ſerviceable to the World. From hence ariſes the Neceſſity of our ſubmitting each Yearly Production to ſome Perſonage of avowed Candour and Judgment, and is the Motive that prevails upon us to ſolicit Your LORDSHIP's favourable Acceptance of this preſent Volume. The Reputation that this Work has hitherto obtained in moſt Parts of *Europe*, we humbly truſt, will incline Your LORDSHIP to indulge us in this Requeſt, and to pardon the Liberty we take in aſſuming the Honour of ſubſcribing ourſelves,

MY LORD,

Your Lordſhip's

Moſt Obedient, and

Moſt Devoted,

Humble Servants,

The Authors.

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UNIVERSAL HISTORY,

FROM THE

Earlieſt Account of Time to the Preſent.

CHAP. IX.

The hiſtory of Rome, *from the end of the ſedition of the* Gracchi *to the perpetual dictatorſhip of* Sylla.

a THE civil commotions of the republic being allayed, by the death of the *Gracchi* and the abolition of their laws, as we have related in the foregoing volume, *L. Cæcilius Metellus*, the nephew of the great *Metellus*, ſurnamed *Macedonicus*, and *L. Aurelius Cotta* were, without any diſturbance or oppoſition, raiſed to the conſulate. The latter was ſent into *Tranſalpine Gaul*, with a conſular army to keep the *Allobroges* and *Arverni* in awe, and the former into *Illyricum* to reduce the *Segeſtani* (A), who had ſhaken off the *Roman* yoke. The conſul defeated them in the field, and made himſelf maſter of their city and territory; but, as this expedition was not of importance enough to procure him a triumph, he made war unjuſtly on the *Dalmatians*, who, not being in a condition to withſtand a conſular army, voluntarily ſubmitted to him; ſo that he ſpent the winter in tranquillity at *Salona* (B), the capital of the country. Nevertheleſs, he aſſumed the ſurname of *Dalmaticus*, and was honoured with a triumph for his pretended conqueſt [a].

The Dalmatians *ſubdued.*

In the mean time, a young orator had courage enough to impeach the late conſul *Papirius Carbo*, at the tribunal of the prætor *Q. Fabius Eburnus*, who had been commiſſioned by the ſenate to try ſtate-criminals. The orator's name was *L. Licinius Craſſus*. No *Roman* had ever been endowed by nature with greater talents for eloquence, which he had carefully improved, though but twenty years of age, by a ſtrict application to ſtudy. As he was of the *Licinian* family, and nearly related to *Licinia*, the wife of *C. Gracchus*, he reſolved to do all that lay in his power to deſtroy *Papirius Carbo*, a ſworn enemy to the *Gracchian* party. *Papirius* had formerly been zealous for the people and the *Gracchi*, even to madneſs, and had been ſuſpected of having aſſaſſinated the ſecond *Africanus*. But, having ſince changed his party, and with it his ſentiments, he had devoted himſelf intirely to the intereſt of the nobility, who had

Papirius Carbo *accuſed by young* Craſſus.

[a] Appian. in Illyric. Vell. Patercul. l. ii.

(A) *Segeſta*, formerly a city of *Upper Pannonia*, is long ſince deſtroyed. There are only ſome of its ruins remaining on the banks of the *Save*, near the mouth of *Kulp* and the little city of *Siſeg*.

(B) The ancient city of *Salona* in *Dalmatia* ſtood about ten miles from the gulph of that name, on the coaſt of the *Adriatic* ſea, at a ſmall diſtance from the place where the preſent city of *Spalatro* ſtands. It was once famous for the retreat of the emperor *Dioclesian*, but is now buried in its ruins.

had promoted him to the conſulate, and looked upon him as one of the chief ſup- a
porters of their cauſe; ſo that he had great intereſt, and, beſides, was himſelf an orator of no mean character, as appeared in the cauſe of *Opimius*, which he defended with uncommon ſucceſs, having by force of perſuaſion induced the people to give judgment againſt their own intereſt. Nevertheleſs the love of revenge prompted young *Craſſus* to attempt the deſtroying of this powerful enemy to the *Gracchian* faction. He reduced the whole impeachment to theſe three articles; 1ſt, That he had ſtirred up the elder *Gracchus* to demand the tribuneſhip a ſecond year; 2dly, That he had made a law for this purpoſe, when he was tribune; and, 3dly, That he had been, at leaſt, an accomplice in the aſſaſſination of the *Second Africanus*. Theſe were heavy accuſations; and *Craſſus* might have eaſily proved them, had not his probity got the aſcen- b
dant over all his paſſions. For one of *Papirius*'s ſlaves, being angry with his maſter, ſtole the box in which he kept all his papers, and brought it to the accuſer. But the generous *Roman* had ſuch an abhorrence of the treachery, that he ſent back the ſlave in chains, and the box unopened, ſaying, that he had rather let an enemy and a criminal eſcape unpuniſhed, than deſtroy him by baſe and diſhonourable means. On the day appointed, the cauſe was pleaded before the prætor and a very numerous aſſembly, all *Rome* flocking to hear the firſt eſſay of a young orator, who had never yet diſplayed his talents but in the ſchools. When he aſcended the roſtra, he was ſo intimidated at the ſight of ſo crouded an audience, that, his heart failing him, he looked pale, and was ready to faint. The prætor, obſerving the confuſion he was in, c
adjourned the court to the next day. Then the croud was ſtill greater; but the young orator took courage, and ſpoke with ſuch energy and life, that the accuſed, ſinking into deſpair, did juſtice on himſelf. Some ſay, that he went into baniſhment; but *Valerius Maximus* aſſures us, that he poiſoned himſelf with cantharides to avoid a more ſhameful death [b]. From this time *Craſſus* gained the reputation of the greateſt orator *Rome* had ever bred. His oration was put into the hands of all young orators, and long after looked upon by *Cicero* himſelf as an inimitable performance [c].

Papirius *lays violent hands on himſelf.*

Marius, *his birth, education, &c.*

During the preſent conſulate, the famous *Caius Marius* firſt appeared in a public office. He was of ſo mean extraction, that even the village where he was born is not certainly known. All that is certain of his origin is, that he was a native of the d
country of the *Arpinates* in the territory of the *Volſci*; that his father's name was *Marius*, and his mother's *Fucinia*. He was a man of an extraordinary ſize, of great ſtrength of body, of an uncommon underſtanding, couragious, and enterpriſing; but at the ſame time of a fierce aſpect, and, as he had ſpent great part of his youth in the country, where he had been brought up in ruſtic employments, in his manners a perfect ſavage. As ſoon as he attained to the military age, he entered into the army, and gave the firſt proofs of his courage and intrepidity at the ſiege of *Numantia*. *Scipio*, with whom he made his firſt campaign, diſcovering under a rough outſide a great fund of underſtanding and bravery, told his officers, that young *Marius*, however clowniſh, would one day be an honour to the republic, and prove one of her greateſt e

Marius *tribune of the people.*

generals. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf on all occaſions by actions of uncommon valour, but more by an exact obſervance of military diſcipline. He went through all the degrees in the army, and every ſtep he roſe was in reward of ſome action, with which he had ſignalized himſelf. He now began to ſolicit civil magiſtracies, and ſtood for the tribuneſhip of the people, which he obtained, and diſcharged with the ſame intrepidity he had ſhewn in the field. He propoſed a new law relating to the manner of collecting the ſuffrages in the election of the curule magiſtrates: this the conſul *Cotta* oppoſed, and even cited the tribune to appear before the ſenate, and anſwer for his conduct. *Marius* obeyed the ſummons; but, inſtead of being daunted, threatened to exert his authority, and ſend the conſul to priſon, if he perſiſted in his oppoſition. f
Metellus, then prince of the ſenate, though the patron and friend of *Marius*, declared for *Cotta*. Whereupon the bold tribune, without ſhewing the leaſt regard for that venerable ſenator, to whom he was indebted for his fortune, and by whoſe intereſt he had even obtained the tribuneſhip, ordered one of his officers to ſeize him and carry him to priſon. His orders had been put in execution, if the conſul had not waved his oppoſition, and the ſenate given their conſent to the law. The boldneſs of the new tribune ſurpriſed the conſcript fathers, but gained him great reputation among

His intrepidity.

[b] Val. Max. l. iii. c. 7. [c] Cic. de orat. l. i. & iii. in Bruto, & paſſim alibi.

a among the people, who from this time began to look upon him as their chief protector, againſt the incroachments of the nobility [d].

THE tribuneſhip of *Marius* expired almoſt at the ſame time that *Rome* choſe new conſuls. Theſe were *M. Porcius Cato*, grandſon to the great *Cato*, but by his firſt wife, and *Q. Marcius*, ſurnamed *Rex*. The former died ſoon in *Numidia*, whither he had been ſent to watch the ſteps of *Jugurtha*, who had uſurped that kingdom; ſo that *Marcius* remained the ſole head of the republic for almoſt the whole year. The province which fell to his lot was *Tranſalpine Gaul*, where he opened a way for the *Roman* armies from the *Alps* to the *Pyrenees*; a work of an immenſe labour and great danger. For the *Stœni*, a fierce nation and fond of liberty, whom *Stephanus* places *The courage*
b at the foot of the *Maritime Alps*, took arms, and oppoſed *Marcius*'s deſign with *of the* Stœni.
great courage. But when they found themſelves ſurrounded by the *Romans*, they ſet fire to their houſes, killed their wives and children, and then threw themſelves into the flames; ſo that not one of them ſurvived the loſs of their liberty. After this, *Marcius*, to ſecure his conqueſt, planted a colony in the country of the *Volcæ Tectoſages*, who anciently poſſeſſed all that tract which lies between the *Pyrenees* to the ſouth, and the preſent city of *Toulouſe* to the north. The city which *Marcius* founded was called by his name *Narbo-Marcius*. Such was the origin of the famous city of *Narbonne*, which in proceſs of time became the capital of a great country, and a convenient place of refreſhment for the *Roman* armies, when they paſſed from
c the *Pyrenees* to the *Alps*, or from the *Alps* to the *Pyrenees*. The ſenate thought the reduction of this part of *Gaul*, the opening of a way from the *Alps* to the *Pyrenees*, and the founding of the city of *Narbonne*, ſo conſiderable works, that they honoured *Marcius*, upon his return to *Rome*, with a triumph [e].

THE conſulate of *L. Cæcilius Metellus* and *Q. Mucius Scævola* proved ſo peaceable, that the *Romans* had little elſe to do, but attend their ſuperſtitions, *Rome* being filled with reports of prodigies. The ſucceeding conſuls, *C. Licinius Geta* and *Q. Fabius Eburnus*, had as little opportunity of acquiring glory as their predeceſſors. In their conſulate *C. Marius* ſtood for the prætorſhip, and with great difficulty obtained it by Marius *cre-*
the moſt bare-faced bribery and corruption. For this he was accuſed before the *ated prætor.*
d people, but, they being divided in their opinions, he was acquitted. As he had a great deal of good ſenſe, and a penetrating underſtanding, he preſided in the court of judicature, which was aſſigned him as prætor, without reproach. The next year it fell to his lot to govern *Further Spain*, which he did with great equity and moderation. He cleared his government of the banditti, who had long infeſted it, and cured thoſe people of their ancient cuſtom of living by rapine [f]. The next year, *Æmilius Scaurus* and *L. Cæcilius Metellus* were created conſuls, The latter was the ſon of the famous *Metellus Macedonicus*, and the former an intrepid ſoldier, a brave officer, and eloquent orator. *Scaurus* propoſed ſeveral laws, and got them paſſed in the comitia, in ſpite of the tribunes, who had for ſome time ingroſſed to themſelves
e the prerogative of propoſing laws. By one of theſe he reſtrained the exceſſive luxury of the *Romans*, forbidding them to eat dormice, foreign ſhell-fiſh, and ſuch birds as were brought from diſtant countries. By another he left the freedmen, who had been long confined to the *Eſquiline* tribe, at liberty to inrol themſelves in any of the four city-tribes, which they liked beſt, His zeal for maintaining ſome order in *Rome*, in ſpite of the general depravity of manner, was ſeconded by the cenſors, *L. Metellus Dalmaticus* and *Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus*, who ſtruck thirty-two unworthy ſenators out of the roll, and among them *Licinius Geta* the late conſul; proſcribed games of hazard and concerts of muſic; and, after having nominated the conſul *Scaurus* prince
f of the ſenate, finiſhed their office with a cenſus, in which were counted 394336 citizens able to bear arms. From *Rome*, *Scaurus* ſet out for *Gaul*, where he ſubdued *The* Gentiſci
the *Gentiſci* and *Carni*, and ſpent the reſt of the ſummer in making a good road from *and* Carni
Rome to the *Alps*, for the more convenient marching of the armies, which had been *ſubdued.*
hitherto obliged to march through a miry and almoſt impaſſable country. For this important piece of ſervice the ſenate and people granted him a triumph, which his eaſy victory over the *Gentiſci* and *Carni* had not deſerved [g].

THE next year, *M. Acilius Balbus* and *C. Porcius Cato*, the grandſon of *Cato* the cenſor, were raiſed to the conſulate. The latter was ſent into *Macedon* to oppoſe the *Scordiſci*, a people of *Thrace*, who had invaded that province. The barbarians were at

[d] PLUT. in MARIO. VAL. MAX. l. vi. c. 9. CIC. de legib. l. iii. [e] FEST. CAPITOL. CIC. pro Fonteio. [f] PLUT. in Mar. [g] Auth. de vir illuſtr. FRONT. ſtrat. l. iv. c. 3. STRAB. l. v.

The Roman *army cut off by the* Scordiſci.

at firſt terrified at the ſight of a conſular army, but, afterwards taking courage, faced the conſul, and, having drawn him into a country full of rocks, foreſts, and narrow paſſes, cut off all his army to a man, *Porcius* alone having ſaved himſelf by flight. The republic had not for a long time ſuffered ſuch a defeat. The hiſtorians ſpeak of it with aſtoniſhment, and tell us, that it would have alarmed the city as much as the battle of *Cannæ* did formerly, if ſuch a misfortune had happened in the heart of *Italy*. The *Scordiſci*, after ſo complete a victory, laid waſte *Macedon*, ſpread themſelves all over *Theſſaly*, and advanced to the coaſts of the *Adriatic*, into which, becauſe it put a ſtop to their incurſions, they diſcharged, in revenge, a ſhower of darts. But *T. Didius*, the *Roman* prætor in *Illyricum*, ſoon repaired the loſs which the republic had ſuſtained, and drove the enemy back, with great ſlaughter, to their own country. For this the republic honoured him with a triumph. As for *Porcius Cato*, though the ſenate and people did not condemn him for his misfortune, they accuſed him unjuſtly of oppreſſion, and under that pretence baniſhed him to *Tarracon* in *Spain*, where he ſpent the remainder of his days. A puniſhment not ſo juſt, as in point of prudence neceſſary, in order to deter *Roman* generals for the future from expoſing their troops too raſhly to the mercy of barbarians [h].

The Scordiſci *defeated by* T. Didius.

The incontinence of the veſtals puniſhed.

This ſame year an infamous commerce was diſcover'd between ſeveral of the veſtals and their gallants. The intrigue was begun by *L. Betucius Barrus*, a *Roman* knight, but a profeſſed debauchee, who gloried in corrupting women of the greateſt families and beſt characters. He carried on an amour with a veſtal named *Æmilia*, who drew in two others, *Licinia* and *Marcia*, to the like crimes. Upon the accuſation of a ſlave, *Betucius* and *Æmilia* were condemned to the uſual puniſhment, but *Licinia* and *Marcia*, though no leſs guilty, acquitted, the pontifices being afraid, leſt the condemning of ſo many criminals at once might bring the whole ſacerdotal order into diſrepute. This raiſed great murmurs among the people; and *Seduceius*, one of the tribunes, revived the affair, ſhewed the iniquity of the judgment of the pontifices, and brought the cauſe before the people, who nominated *L. Craſſus*, one of the prætors, to rehear it. *Craſſus* was a man of known integrity, but ſo ſevere, that his court was called *the wreck of criminals*. He, without any regard to the birth of the accuſed, or the ſentence paſſed in their favour, or the rights of the pontifical college, or the eloquence of the famous *L. Craſſus*, who pleaded for his relation *Licinia*, condemned the two veſtals to be buried alive, and their gallants to be whipped to death. Nor did this ſatisfy the people: a temple was built at the public expence to *Venus*, under the appellation of *Verticordia*, becauſe that goddeſs was in this temple to be implored *to turn the hearts* of the *Roman* women to virtue. So that *Venus* was now invoked for chaſtity. The honour of conſecrating this temple was conferred upon *Sulpicia*, the daughter of *Servius Sulpicius Paterculus*, who, though very young and lately married to *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, had given ſuch proofs of an extraordinary modeſty, that ſhe was deemed the moſt chaſte woman in *Rome* [i].

A temple erected to Venus Verticordia.

An inundation of Cimbri *and* Teutones.

In the mean time, *Rome* was alarmed with accounts of an inundation of barbarians. The moſt northern part of *Germany* was inhabited by a nation ſaid to have been originally deſcended from the *Aſiatic Cimmerians*, and to have taken the name of *Cimbri*, when they changed their old habitations. Theſe people were now ſettled near the ocean, in the peninſula which we call *Jutland*, and the ancients *Cimbrica Cherſoneſus*. But, being tired of cultivating a cold country, ſhut up between two ſeas, they left their peninſula with their wives and children, and, joining the *Teutones* a neighbouring nation, took their journey ſouthward, fell upon the country which the *Boii* had long poſſeſſed, not far from the *Hercynian* foreſt. The *Boii* ſoon drove them out of their country, and obliged them to carry war and devaſtation into other parts. They then fell on the *Scordiſci*, whom *Didius* had juſt driven back to the banks of the *Danube*; and from thence, advancing ſtill nearer to the *Roman* provinces, they penetrated into *Vindelicia* (C), and there ravaged the country of the *Tauriſci*. The approach of theſe barbarians made *Rome* tremble; the new conſuls therefore, *Caius Cæcilius Metellus*, the fourth ſon of *Metellus Macedonicus*, and *Cn. Papirius Carbo*, the ſon of the

[h] Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 8. Cic. in Verr. & pro Balbo. Diodor. Sicul. apud Valeſ. Flor. l. iii. c. 3. [i] Cic. in Brut. Val. Max. l. iii. & viii. Ovid. Faſt. l. v.

(C) *Vindelicia* contained part of the preſent biſhoprick of *Conſtance*, of the *Tirol*, of the biſhoprick of *Paſſau*, all *Upper* and part of *Lower Bavaria*. Some geographers are of opinion, that all the countries between the *Inn* and the lake of *Bergentz* belonged formerly to *Vindelicia*.

the ſeditious *Caius Carbo*, were no ſooner choſen, than the ſenate ordered the latter to wait for the *Cimbri* at the furtheſt parts of the eaſtern *Alps*, and ſtop the paſſages againſt them. As for *Metellus*, he was ordered into *Macedon* to finiſh the war with the *Scordiſci*, whom he drove from poſt to poſt, and ſo weakened by repeated battles, that he put them out of a condition of making for ſome time any new attempts upon the *Roman* provinces. Upon his return he was honoured with a triumph, in which there was this moſt agreeable circumſtance, that his brother, who had been conſul a year before him, and was now returned from ſuppreſſing a rebellion in *Sardinia* and *Corſica* after two years labour, was ordered to triumph with him. The conſul *Papirius* was not ſo ſucceſsful againſt the *Cimbri*, who offered him a peace, which he pretended

b to accept; but afterwards, by corrupting their guides, treacherouſly drew them into a ſnare, as he imagined, and attacked their camp. *Papirius* promiſed himſelf certain victory. But what difficulties cannot a warlike people ſurmount, when actuated by deſpair and indignation? They ran to arms, and not only repulſed the legions, but, becoming the aggreſſors, fell upon them with ſuch fury, that they put them in diſorder, and obliged them to betake themſelves to a ſhameful flight. The *Romans* fled in great confuſion to the neighbouring foreſts, and there lay concealed for three days, without daring to appear in the open country. Upon the news of this defeat, the conſternation at *Rome* was univerſal. No-body doubted, but the barbarians would immediately paſs the *Alps*, over-run the provinces neareſt to the capital, and attempt the

c deſtruction of *Rome* itſelf. But the *Cimbri*, upon what motive is utterly unknown, by a kind of miracle turned their arms elſewhere, and marching towards the country of the *Helvetii* (D), entered that way *Tranſalpine Gaul*, which they filled with deſolation and ſlaughter. This miraculous deliverance quickened the zeal of the *Romans* in puniſhing all accomplices in the late guilt of the veſtals. Among others, the famous orator *M. Antonius*, the grandfather of *Mark Antony* the triumvir, was ſuſpected of having kept an unlawful commerce with the condemned veſtals. He was then in the flower of his age, had been very lately nominated to the quæſtorſhip of *Aſia*, and was already got to *Brunduſium*, in order to imbarque for *Pergamus*. But, when advice was brought him that his reputation was attacked, he immediately re-

d turned to *Rome*, appeared before the ſevere prætor *Caſſius*, and deſired, that his cauſe might be heard without delay. The judge endeavoured to intimidate him by threatening to put his young ſlave to the torture, who was ſaid to have been privy to his amours; but the ſlave offered himſelf to the rack, with an aſſurance which induced the judge to ſpare him. *Valerius Maximus* tells us, that the faithful ſlave endured the moſt cruel tortures, with an intrepidity, which ſurpriſed the judge [k]. However that be, the quæſtor of *Aſia* was acquitted, and ſet out for his province with more honour, than if he had not been accuſed [l]. And now *Rome* was in ſuch tranquillity, that ſhe had only one war to finiſh, *viz.* that with the *Scordiſci*, who were already weakened, but ſtill very haughty, and ready to take arms again, as ſoon as the *Roman*

e armies ſhould leave *Macedon*. The elections therefore were no ſooner over, than *M. Livius Druſus*, who was raiſed to the conſulate with *L. Calpurnius Piſo*, was ſent againſt them, while his collegue covered *Italy* againſt the invaſion of the *Cimbri*, whoſe return was ſtill dreaded. *Druſus* prevailed upon the *Scordiſci*, partly by force and partly by capitulation, to quit the country they poſſeſſed, and repaſs the *Danube*, which river from this time became a barrier between them and the *Roman* provinces. The conſul upon his return was honoured with a triumph. And now the tranquillity was ſo general, in all the countries ſubject to the republic, that ſhe would have ſhut the temple of *Janus*, if ſhe had not been under ſome apprehenſions from *Jugurtha*, whoſe wars make a conſiderable part of this hiſtory, and therefore muſt be traced a little

f farther back.

Metellus *defeats the* Scordiſci.

The Romans *defeated by the* Cimbri.

M. Antonius *the famous orator accuſed.*

And acquitted.

The Scordiſci *ſettle on the other ſide of the* Danube.

Maſiniſſa,

[k] Val. Max. l. vi. c. 8. [l] Strab. l. v. Plin. l. iii. Vell. Patercul. l. xxi.

(D) The *Helvetii* at the time we are ſpeaking of, and for ſome ages after, were reckoned among the *Gauliſh* nations. *Strabo* and *Cæſar* divide their country into four cantons, viz. *Tigurinus Pagus*, *Tugenus Pagus*, *Ambrones*, and *Urbigenus Pagus*. The firſt contained the cantons of *Zurich*, *Appenzell*, *Schaffhauſen*, and *Rhintall*; the ſecond the cantons of *Zug*, *Glaris*, *Schwitz*, and *Uri*; the third a ſmall par of the canton of *Friburg*, and the whole cantons of *Lucern*, *Bern*, *Solothurn*, and *Underwald*; and laſtly, the fourth contained the greateſt part of the canton of *Friburg*, the principality of *Neufchattel*, and part of the *Pais Romain*. The country of the *Rauraci*, now the canton of *Baſle*, was afterwards added to the *Helvetic* body.

Birth education, &c. of Jugurtha.

Maſiniſſa, king of *Numidia*, who had been ſo remarkably devoted to the *Romans*, a
left three ſons, *Micipſa*, *Manaſtabal*, and *Guluſſa*, joint-heirs of his kingdom, which they long governed in perfect amity. At length *Micipſa*, ſurviving his two brothers, poſſeſſed the throne alone. This good king had two legitimate ſons, *Adherbal* and *Hiempſal*. His brother *Manaſtabal* had likewiſe two ſons, *Jugurtha* and *Gauda*, by two different miſtreſſes; and *Guluſſa* had a ſon, named *Maſſiva*, by a concubine. But, as natural children had no right to the crown, according to the laws of *Numidia*, *Jugurtha*, *Gauda*, and *Maſſiva*, were by their illegitimacy excluded from ſucceeding to the kingdom, ſo long as *Adherbal* and *Hiempſal*, the lawful heirs, were alive. *Jugurtha* was born before the death of his grandfather *Maſiniſſa*; but that wiſe king never acknowledged him as a prince of the blood-royal. However, *Micipſa* had b
ſo much regard for his brother *Manaſtabal*, that he cauſed *Jugurtha* to be brought up in the royal palace with the young princes his children. But afterwards, growing jealous of him, he ſent him to the ſiege of *Numantia*, in hopes of getting rid of him. *Jugurtha* diſtinguiſhed himſelf at that memorable ſiege in a very eminent manner, and, upon the taking of the place, returned home loaded with glory, and brought with him recommendatory letters from *Scipio*, under whom he had ſerved. And now age and experience having put a ſtop to his youthful ſallies, he was ſo far from giving umbrage to the king, that by his prudent conduct he gained his favour, and cultivated his friendſhip with ſuch addreſs, that the eaſy prince adopted him two years before his death, and thereby made him capable of ſucceeding, as joint-heir to his c
kingdom, with his own children. No ſooner was the old king dead, than diſputes aroſe among the three heirs of the kingdom. After ſome days had been decently ſpent in mourning, they met to deliberate about the affairs of the new government, when *Jugurtha*, who was the eldeſt, ſeated himſelf in the middle of the throne, which was prepared for the new kings. Hereupon *Hiempſal*, who was the youngeſt, thinking himſelf injured by the ſuperiority which *Jugurtha* aſſumed, ſeated himſelf by *Adherbal*'s ſide, in order to give him the middle place, which was deemed by the *Numidians*, as by moſt other nations, the moſt honourable; and it was not without much difficulty, that his brother prevailed on him to pay ſome regard to ſuperior age, and remove to *Jugurtha*'s left hand. As ſoon as the diſputes about the ceremonial were d
ended, *Jugurtha* propoſed the diſannulling of all the edicts the late king had publiſhed within the laſt five years, under pretence, that *Micipſa*'s underſtanding being then impaired by age, he had iſſued many ordinances prejudicial to the welfare of the kingdom. *Hiempſal* replied with a diſdainful air, I am willing to come into the propoſal; and we will begin with diſannulling the act, whereby you was aſſociated with us in the inheritance of the crown; ſince this was done within the time which you have fixed for my father's dotage. Theſe reproachful words ſunk ſo deep into *Jugurtha*'s mind, that thenceforth he made it his whole buſineſs to find an opportunity of ridding himſelf privately of a young prince, who might thwart his ambitious ſchemes. For we are told, that he had formed a deſign long before, when he e
ſerved in *Spain*, of extorting the crown by force from his two couſins. At the ſiege of *Numantia*, he had contracted friendſhips with ſeveral young *Roman* officers, who had rouſed his ambition, by ſtirring him up boldly to ſeize the kingdom, as ſoon as the old king's eyes ſhould be cloſed. They told him, that he would find friends and protectors enough at *Rome*, where any point might be carried with money and intereſt. *Jugurtha* therefore to gratify his ambition, and at the ſame time revenge the late affront, ſuborned the chief officer of *Hiempſal*'s guard to murder him? which he did to the great grief of the *Numidians*, who had founded their hopes on his courage and uncommon underſtanding. The head of the young prince, thus threacherouſly aſſaſſinated in the flower of his age, was carried to *Jugurtha*, who beheld it with pleaſure. f
Though ſuch a notorious piece of cruelty and perfidiouſneſs ought naturally to have driven all the *Numidians* into a revolt; yet they were divided among themſelves. Thoſe, who hoped to reap advantage from the public confuſions, ſided with *Jugurtha*, while the wiſe and the virtuous, who had the good of their country at heart, declared for the pacific *Adherbal*. But, as the latter were by far the weakeſt, the young prince, though not very ſagacious, had penetration enough to ſee, that his only refuge was in the protection of the *Romans*, to whom his rival could not but be ſuſpected. He therefore acquainted the conſcript fathers with the baſe aſſaſſination of his brother, and at the ſame time, foreſeeing that the deliberations of the ſenate would take up much time, he began to levy troops, and put himſelf upon his g

Hiempſal affronts Jugartha.

Hiempſal murdered by Jugurtha's *orders.*

defence

a defence againſt any attempt of *Jugurtha.* But this warlike prince ſoon got the aſcendant over his ſurviving rival, and, by taking ſome cities by aſſault and forcing others to capitulate, made himſelf maſter of almoſt the whole kingdom. Hereupon *Adherbal*, having no aſylum but *Rome*, conveyed himſelf thither, in order to lay his complaints before the ſenate. *Jugurtha* was no ſooner informed of his deſign, than he ſent embaſſadors to that capital, well furniſhed with money to gain over the republic to his intereſt. He was well appriſed, that all things were venal at *Rome*; and therefore ordered his embaſſadors to ſpare no expence in gaining him new friends, and in cultivating the friendſhips he had formerly contracted, when in *Spain*. Upon their arrival they found the ſenate ſtrongly prepoſſeſſed againſt their maſter, but met

b with few ſenators, who were proof againſt their preſents. When the day came, on which *Adherbal* and the embaſſadors were admitted before the ſenate, it was eaſy to perceive, by the debates of the conſcript fathers, what effect had been wrought by *Jugurtha*'s money. The juſt complaints of *Adherbal* were deſpiſed, *Jugurtha*'s courage extolled, and his crimes palliated. *M. Æmilius Scaurus*, then prince of the ſenate, declared for *Adherbal*, and with him a few others; but a great majority were againſt him. The ſenate therefore, without taking any notice of the aſſaſſination of *Hiempſal*, or the uſurpation of *Jugurtha*, only appointed ten commiſſioners to go into *Africa*, and divide the kingdom between the two rivals. *Lucius Opimius*, ſo famous for his zeal againſt the faction of *Caius Gracchus*, was at the head of this

c commiſſion; and, as he had declared for *Adherbal* at *Rome*, *Jugurtha* had reaſon to fear his arrival and determinations. But this formidable judge, who had avenged the cauſe of the republic againſt the *Gracchi* and their powerful party, was no ſooner arrived in *Africa* with his collegues, than *Jugurtha* gained them all over with the immenſe ſums he ſent them. They found him innocent, made *Hiempſal* the aggreſſor, and declared, that his death had been occaſioned by his own raſhneſs. After they had pronounced this iniquitous ſentence, they came to the diviſion of *Micipſa*'s dominions, which was made upon the plan propoſed by *Jugurtha* himſelf. To him were allotted the ſtrongeſt places and the richeſt provinces, without any regard to the complaints of *Adherbal*, who, though thus injured, ſubmitted to the judgment of the commiſſioners, and thought of nothing but reigning in peace over the ſubjects

d which *Rome* had aſſigned him [m].

Adherbal *flies to* Rome.

The corruption of the Roman *ſenate.*

But the ambitious *Jugurtha*, finding that there was nothing to fear from the part of *Rome*, reſolved to make himſelf maſter of all *Numidia*. With this view he entered the frontiers of his brother's kingdom at the head of his troops, laid waſte the country with fire and ſword, pillaged the villages, and committed every-where moſt dreadful devaſtations. He hoped by theſe inſults to provoke the reſentment of *Adherbal*, and induce him to uſe repriſals, whence he might have a pretence to drive him from his kingdom, and to juſtify his conduct at *Rome*. But the timorous prince contented himſelf with ſending an embaſſy to *Jugurtha* to complain of the injuſtice of his proceedings. Nor could even the ill treatment which his embaſſadors received at *Jugur-*

e *tha*'s court, provoke him to take arms. Hereupon *Jugurtha*, without troubling himſelf any longer about pretences, entered his dominions at the head of a numerous army, and incamped near *Cirtha*. Then *Adherbal*, ſeeing himſelf reduced to the neceſſity of taking the field, or flying his country a ſecond time, thought it more adviſeable to run any hazards, than trouble *Rome* again with his complaints. Having therefore aſſembled his forces and made new levies, he brought an army into the field, but more conſiderable for its number than courage. As he came in ſight of the enemy, when the day was far ſpent and it was too late to engage, he incamped in haſte in order to reſt his troops, fatigued with long marches. But *Jugurtha*, without waiting for the return of day, attacked his brother's trenches in the dead of the night, forced

f them, and put all to the ſword who withſtood him. *Adherbal*'s army was diſperſed in an inſtant, and the king himſelf forced to take refuge in *Cirtha* his capital. *Jugurtha* ſought every-where for his rival, whom it was his chief buſineſs to deſtroy; but the prince had the good luck in his misfortunes to eſcape the fury of his enemy. Some *Italian* cohorts he had in his army covered his retreat, and hindered the conquerors from entering the city with the conquered. Had it not been for this ſeaſonable relief, the war had been begun and ended the ſame day. However, the ſiege of *Cirtha* was not delayed a moment. *Jugurtha*, who well remembered the leſſons he

Jugurtha *begins the war anew.*

Adherbal *defeated.*

Cirtha *beſieged.*

[m] Sallust. bell. Jugurth.

he had learnt of *Scipio* before *Numantia*, puſhed it on with great vigor; but the a
valour of the *Italian* troops protracted it longer than he expected. In the mean time,
news was brought to *Rome* of theſe unwarrantable proceedings; but the uſurper's
Commiſſioners ſent from Rome *to bring the parties to an accommodation.* money had ſuch an effect there, that the ſenate ſent only a kind of mock commiſ-
ſion into *Africa*, to perſuade the parties to an accommodation. The commiſſioners
found *Jugurtha* untractable; he told them, that he did not doubt but his conduct
would be approved by the ſenate, who were well acquainted with his integrity;
that, *Adherbal* having made an attempt upon his life, he had been obliged to raiſe
troops to guard againſt the villainy of a brother, who was an aſſaſſin; and that the
republic was too equitable to diſapprove of a juſt defence, which was agreeable to b
the laws of nations. With this anſwer he diſmiſſed the deputies, without ſuffering
them to confer with *Adherbal*, who was ſhut up in the beſieged city [n].

As ſoon as they were gone, *Jugurtha* purſued the ſiege with vigor, and, following
the method which he had ſeen *Scipio* take in *Spain*, incompaſſed the place with a wide
ditch and a rampart, guarded with towers at proper diſtances, to keep out ſuccours and
convoys. In this extremity *Adherbal* prevailed on two ſoldiers of the gariſon to croſs
the enemy's trenches in the night, and carry a very affecting letter to *Rome*. When
it was read in the ſenate, ſome voted for marching an army immediately againſt the
uſurper. But the venal ſenators, who were moſt numerous, oppoſed this motion,
and reduced the decree to this ſingle point, that a ſecond deputation ſhould be ſent
to *Jugurtha*, conſiſting of men eminent for their probity, and venerable for their age; c
and that *M. Scaurus*, preſident of the ſenate, ſhould be at the head of it. As the
affair required diſpatch, the deputies were ready to ſet out in three days; ſoon croſſed
over into *Africa*, and landing at *Utica*, ſummoned *Jugurtha* to appear before them.
The prince was thunderſtruck with this ſummons, and long in ſuſpenſe what to do.
At length he reſolved to make a general aſſault upon the place, and not to appear before
the *Roman* embaſſadors, till he had completed his conqueſt. But he did not ſucceed
in his attempt, his ſoldiers being repulſed with conſiderable loſs by the *Italian* cohorts.
In the mean time, *Scaurus* began to be tired with theſe delays; and, as it was danger-
ous to provoke him, *Jugurtha* reſolved to obey the ſummons; and, leaving his camp,
came guarded by a ſmall body of horſe to plead his cauſe before the embaſſadors. d
Scaurus at firſt broke out into bitter invectives againſt the *Numidian* king, reproaching
him with having baſely aſſaſſinated one of his brothers, and ſhut up the other in his
metropolis, with an intention to deſtroy him by famine; he ordered him to raiſe the
ſiege forthwith, under pain of being declared and deemed an enemy to the ſenate and
people of *Rome*, who had taken the innocent and injured *Adherbal* under their pro-
tection. But the anger of the *Roman* was ſoon abated. He heard *Jugurtha*'s excuſes
with great compoſure, acquieſced in the frivolous accuſations he brought againſt his
rival, and returned home, without ſo much as ordering the cruel and ambitious king
to raiſe the ſiege. This ſudden departure made *Scaurus* ſuſpected of having ſacrificed
the publick good to his private intereſt; and his conduct afterwards confirmed this e
ſuſpicion. *Jugurtha*, having got rid of the *Roman* embaſſadors, returned before *Cirtha*,
and ſhut it up with more care than ever. As the famine began to be very troubleſome
to the gariſon, the *Italian* troops perſuaded *Adherbal* to capitulate, and thereby ſecure
his life, leaving the reſt to the *Roman* republic, which was concerned, both in honour
and intereſt, to re-eſtabliſh him in the dominions ſhe had allotted him. *Adherbal*,
not thinking it ſafe to reject the advice of armed troops, began, with the utmoſt
reluctance, to treat with his rival, and agreed to deliver up the place, on condition
Cirtha *ſurrendered.* that he and his gariſon ſhould have their lives ſpared. This *Jugurtha* readily pro-
miſed; but he no ſooner entered the city, than he put all he found in arms to the
ſword, extended his fury even to the foreign merchants, and, to complete the ſcene, f
Adherbal *murdered.* ſeized on *Adherbal*, and inhumanly murdered him in his own palace, after having
made him ſuffer the moſt exquiſite torments, his cruel temper and the deſire of revenge
could invent. The news of this baſe murder ſoon reached *Rome*, where it was heard
by all honeſt men with the utmoſt horror and indignation. But the friends of *Jugurtha*
endeavoured to get the decree put off, which was ready to paſs againſt him, in hopes
that time would abate this firſt heat. And indeed the villainy of the *Numidian* king
would have eſcaped public vengeance, had not a zealous tribune, named *Caius Mem-
mius*, acquainted the people in the comitia with the heinous crimes that were laid to that
prince's

[n] Idem ibid.

a prince's charge, and bitterly exclaimed againſt the venality of the ſenate. The people, convinced by their tribune, that the ſcandalous prevarication of the patricians was the effect of the money, which the emiſſaries of *Jugurtha* had liberally diſtributed among them, reſolved to bring the affair before their own tribunal. Hereupon the conſcript fathers, to avoid the reproach of a ſcandalous cenſure upon themſelves, decreed, that, as ſoon as the elections were over, one of the new conſuls ſhould have *Numidia* for his province; which was declaring, that they deſigned to make war on *Jugurtha* the next year [o].

The ſenate reſolve to make war upon Jugurtha.

Year after the flood 2892. *Before Chriſt* 107. *Of* Rome 641.

When the time came for the elections, the aſſembled tribes promoted to the conſular dignity two men of very oppoſite characters, *Lucius Calpurnius Piſo Beſtia* and b *P. Cornelius Scipio Naſica*. The latter poſſeſſed all the virtues of his anceſtors, had always rejected with indignation the offers of *Jugurtha*, and ſhewed a great deteſtation of the general corruption of the ſenate. The former was a man of great perſonal bravery, very active and vigilant, a ſtrict obſerver of military diſcipline, and conſequently fit to ſtrike terror into an enemy, and command reſpect from his own troops. But theſe valuable qualities were tarniſhed by a ſordid avarice; for he looked upon war merely as a trade, and a means to get money. So that *Naſica* was the more proper man to be ſent into *Numidia*, ſince the avarice of the generals was more to be dreaded, than the forces of the enemy. But *Numidia* unfortunately fell to *Beſtia*'s lot, and *Italy* to *Naſica*'s. The former began, without loſs of time, to make the c neceſſary levies, and prepare for his expedition. In the mean time, *Jugurtha*, being informed by his emiſſaries at *Rome*, that a conſular army was raiſing againſt him, and that *Calpurnius Beſtia* was to command it, immeditely diſpatched his ſon to *Rome*, attended by two lords of diſtinction, with orders to ſpare no expences in keeping ſteady his old protectors, and purchaſing new ones. Though his crimes had made ſuch a noiſe, that no-body could ſo much as take his part openly, yet he did not doubt, but the blow might be ſtill averted by the irreſiſtible power of money. The conſul *Beſtia*, who looked upon his *African* expedition as a glorious harveſt, heard with great concern the news of the *Numidian* prince's arrival in *Italy*. He was afraid, leſt, by his intrigues and preſents, he ſhould prevail upon the conſcript fathers to d poſtpone the war, from which the conſul propoſed to reap great riches. He therefore oppoſed the embaſſy with all his intereſt, and got a decree paſſed, ordering *Jugurtha*'s ſon and his attendants to depart *Italy* in ten days, unleſs they were come to deliver up the king of *Numidia*, and all his dominions, to the republic, by way of *dedition*. This decree being notified to them by the conſul, they returned, without ſo much as having entered the gates of *Rome* [p],

Jugurtha's *ſon ſent to* Rome.

But is ordered to quit Italy.

Upon their departure *Beſtia* haſtened his preparations. As he was not ignorant, that he might one day be called to a ſevere account for his conduct by the tribunes of the people, he had the precaution to chuſe for his council and lieutenants ſome of the moſt eminent members of the ſenate, under pretence, that he ſtood in need of perſons conſummate in the art of war and well ſkilled in negotiations. But his real deſign was, e to throw upon them the odium of his future miſconduct, and ſcreen himſelf under their names and credit againſt all inquiry. *Scaurus*, with whoſe vices he was well acquainted, though the prince of the ſenate affected to conceal the depravity of his heart, appeared to him a very proper man for his purpoſe; ſince both his extreme avarice and his weight in the ſenate were proper qualifications for it. *Scaurus* readily conſented to follow the conſul, promiſing himſelf great wealth from a war, which was to be carried on in a country never before entered by any *Roman* army. And now, all things being ready, the legions marched by land to *Rhegium*, there imbarqued for *Sicily*, and from *Sicily* croſſed over into *Africa*. The conſul upon his arrival briſkly attacked *Jugurtha*'s dominions, reduced ſeveral cities, took ſome f caſtles, and made a great many priſoners. This he did in order to bring *Jugurtha* into his meaſures. And indeed theſe acts of hoſtility did not much affect the *Numidian* king. Though he was not acquainted with the conſul's character, he conceived great hopes from the preſence of *Scaurus*, to whoſe avarice he was no ſtranger. He therefore ſent a deputation to the conſul, deſiring a conference, and promiſing to come himſelf to the *Roman* camp, upon an aſſurance of ſafety for his perſon. The offer was accepted, and from that moment a ſuſpenſion of arms took place. And now, to bring the *Numidian* king to the conference he had deſired, and at the ſame time

Calpurnius Beſtia *ſets out for* Africa.

[o] Sallust. bell. Jugurth. [p] Idem ibid.

time to ſave appearances, the conſul and *Scaurus* agreed to ſend the quæſtor *P. Sextius* a to the city of *Vacca*, where *Jugurtha* reſided, under pretence of getting a certain quantity of corn, which, they ſaid, the king had promiſed in order to obtain a truce. But their real intent was, that he ſhould be an hoſtage for the king's ſafety, who, upon this proof of their ſincerity, came to the conſul's camp. A council of war was immediately aſſembled to hear his propoſals; but he there only made ſome excuſes, endeavoured to clear himſelf from the crimes laid to his charge, and dropped a few words about a dedition. The reſt was ſettled between *Beſtia*, *Scaurus*, and himſelf, in private conferences; and it is not to be doubted, but *Rome* was betrayed by theſe two avaricious men, ſince they granted the king more advantagious terms, than could reaſonably have been expected. They only obliged him to give the republic a certain b number of horſes and cattle, thirty elephants, and a very inconſiderable ſum of money. Upon theſe terms they made a ſolemn treaty of friendſhip, with one who had baſely and treacherouſly murdered two kings, uſurped their dominions, and deſpiſed the orders of the ſenate. All men therefore ſuſpected, that *Jugurtha* had paid the conſul and his lieutenant very dear for a peace, which was ſo little to the honour of the *Roman* name. However, the reſpect which the ſenators had for *Scaurus*, their preſident, kept them in ſuſpenſe, no one daring to propoſe the diſannulling of the treaty, till they had heard the particulars of the agreement from the conſul himſelf and from *Scaurus*. In the mean while, *Scipio Naſica* dying, and the time for the great elections approaching, *Beſtia*, the only ſurviving conſul, was recalled to preſide in c the comitia, in which *M. Minucius Rufus* and *Sp. Poſthumius Albinus* were choſen conſuls. *Numidia* fell by lot to *Poſthumius*, and *Macedon* to *Minucius*. The latter marched againſt the *Scordiſci*, who, though driven back beyond the *Danube*, as we have related above, repaſſed that river every winter on the ice, and laid waſte the *Roman* provinces. The *Triballi* (E), a people of *Lower Mœſia*, and the *Daci* (F), of *Upper Maſia*, had joined them, and together penetrated as far as *Macedon*, where they committed moſt dreadful devaſtations. But the conſul having attacked them among rocks and mountains, put them to flight, and obliged them to croſs the *Hebrus*, on the banks of which river the battle was fought. As the river was then frozen over, the enemy ventured to croſs it on the ice; but that breaking under the d weight of their heavy carriages, the river ſwallowed up great numbers of them, and the reſt diſperſed; ſo that *Minucius*, after having ſettled all thoſe countries in peace, returned to *Rome* the following year, where he was honoured with a triumph [q].

The corruption of Beſtia *and* Scaurus.

The Scordiſci *and* Triballi *defeated by* Miuncius.

But the people were little affected with the ſucceſs of theſe wars in the north. Their whole attention was turned towards *Numidia*. The peace lately made with *Jugurtha* was looked upon with deteſtation at *Rome*. The ſenators indeed continued ſilent out of reſpect to their head; but *Caius Memmius*, tribune of the people, addreſſed himſelf to the comitia, and, after having bitterly inveighed againſt the ſenate, concluded his ſpeech thus: *We are told, that the* Numidian *has yielded up to the republic himſelf, his troops, his ſtrong-holds, and his elephants. Let us convince ourſelves of the truth* e *of this aſſertion by ſummoning* Jugurtha *to* Rome. *If he has truly ſubmitted, he will obey your orders; if he does not obey, you may eaſily judge, that what they call a treaty is nothing but a colluſion between that crafty prince and our generals.* His diſcourſe ſtirred up the public animoſity to the higheſt degree. As the people could know with certainty

[q] Liv. epit. Front. ſtrat. l. ii. Vell. Patercul.

(F) The country, now known by the name of *Bulgaria*, was inhabited by the *Triballi* at the time we are ſpeaking of. *Strabo* indeed places the *Triballi* in *Thrace*; but we have obſerved in our hiſtory of that country, that the ancients extended its boundaries far beyond the river *Strymon*, which divided it from *Macedon*, and beyond mount *Hæmus*, which parted it from *Mœſia*. *Herodotus* ſpeaks of *Thrace* as the largeſt country in the world, except the *Indies*; *Pliny* extends its frontiers to the *Danube*, and *Appian* joins it to *Illyricum*. And hence it is, that *Stephanus* reckons the *Triballi* among the *Illyrian* nations.

(F) *Dacia* is generally placed by geographers between the *Boryſthenes* and *European Sarmatia* to the north; *Upper Hungary* to the weſt; the *Danube* to the ſouth; and the river *Pruth* and the *Euxine* ſea to the eaſt. This vaſt country is divided by geographers into three large provinces, viz. *Dacia Alpeſtris*, *Dacia Ripenſis*, and *Dacia Mediterranea*. The firſt contained part of *Upper Hungary*, *Tranſilvania*, *Raſcia*, and the bannat of *Temeſwar*; the ſecond *Walachia* and *Moldavia*; and the third the greateſt part of *Upper Hungary*. *Dio* places in *Dacia* all the countries on both ſides of the *Danube*, from mount *Hæmus* to the mouth of that river. *Pliny* ſuppoſes the *Daci* and *Getæ*, who inhabited *European Scythia* near the *Euxine* ſea, to be one and the ſame nation; and adds, that the people, who were called *Getæ* by the *Greeks*, were named *Daci* by the *Latins* (1).

(1) *Plin. l.* vii. *&. l.* xxii.

a certainty only from the mouth of *Jugurtha* himſelf, whether *Opimius*, *Scaurus*, or *Beſtia* had been corrupted with his money, the people upon this conſideration likewiſe paſſed a decree, ſummoning *Jugurtha* before their tribunal. The prætor *Caſſius*, a man of great addreſs and unſpotted probity, was thought a proper perſon to carry the decree of the people into *Numidia*. Accordingly, he was charged with this important commiſſion, and ſet ſail without delay for *Africa*, where he found the army univerſally corrupted. The inferior officers and the private men, following the example of their general, thought of nothing but acquiring riches. Some had ſold to *Jugurtha* the thirty elephants, which he had given to the republic; others had ſet the deſerters at liberty for money, plundered the countries of their allies, and committed every-where moſt dreadful ravages. But the prætor, without taking notice
b of theſe diſorders, which it was not his province to correct, applied himſelf wholly to cure *Jugurtha* of his ſuſpicions, and to perſuade him to come to *Rome*. The *Numidian*, after a long ſtruggle with himſelf, reſolved at length to comply with the orders of the *Roman* people, having for his ſafeguard the public faith, and, what he chiefly relied on, the word of *Caſſius*. A great honour indeed to the *Roman* people to ſee the powerful and warlike king of *Numidia* come to *Rome*, in compliance with their ſummons, and by that act of obedience acknowledge their ſovereignty. The king, to raiſe compaſſion, entered the city without any pomp or attendance, and dreſſed in a very negligent manner. He was no ſooner arrived, than he had recourſe
c to his uſual weapons, money. He knew, that the ſecuring of one of the tribunes was ſufficient to put a ſtop to all proceedings before the aſſembly of the people. He therefore, without loſs of time, gained with a large ſum one of the ten, named *Caius Bæbius Salca*, a man of great boldneſs and unbounded avarice. Having ſecured this point, he preſented himſelf before the people aſſembled, when the tribune *Memmius* reproached him with his ingratitude to the family of *Micipſa*, his cruelty, his exceſſive ambition, the murder of his two adopted brothers, his diſobedience to the orders of the ſenate, and his private intelligence with thoſe whom the ſenate had commiſſioned to carry them, which, he ſaid, was highly criminal and odious to the republic. The zealous tribune ended his ſpeech with theſe words: *You would never have carried*
d *your audaciouſneſs to ſo great a height, if you had not been ſupported by a* Roman *faction, which you have purchaſed with money. We know them all; their zeal for ſupporting you in your iniquity has betrayed them. But it concerns us to have their names from your mouth. You may hope for all favour from the faith and clemency of the* Romans, *if you honeſtly declare to us, without any evaſions, the perſons whoſe protection you have purchaſed. But if you conceal, or diſguiſe, the truth, you are irrecoverably loſt. Speak*, Jugurtha, *ſpeak, and anſwer the expectations of the* Roman *people.* While *Jugurtha* was preparing to reply, *Bæbius*, the mercenary tribune, whom the king had purchaſed, ſtood up, and with an imperious tone, *Though they preſs you to ſpeak*, Jugurtha, ſaid he, *I enjoin you ſilence.* This unexpected
e oppoſition raiſed ſuch murmurs and clamours, as would have confounded a man of leſs impudence and intrepidity than *Bæbius*. But he obſtinately perſiſted in his oppoſition; ſo that the people, betrayed by one of their own magiſtrates, were forced to break up the aſſembly, without having received the leaſt information. *Jugurtha*, having thus eſcaped the judgment of the people with impunity, carried his villainy to an exceſs ſcarce to be imagined. We have obſerved above, that *Guluſſa*, brother to *Micipſa*, left an illegitimate ſon, named *Maſſiva*. This prince had eſpouſed the
f cauſe of *Adherbal*, as the moſt juſt; but, after the taking of *Cirtha* and the cruel death of the king his relation, he had fled for refuge to *Rome*, where the few men of honour, whom *Jugurtha* could not corrupt, encouraged him to demand of the ſenate and people the crown of his anceſtors, which *Jugurtha* had forfeited by the many crimes he had committed. The conſul *Poſthumius Albinus*, to whoſe lot *Numidia* was now fallen, was his avowed friend and moſt zealous protector. At his motion the people were ſtrongly inclined to beſtow the crown of *Numidia* on this prince, who, though he had not been adopted by *Micipſa*, was of the blood-royal, and grandſon to *Maſiniſſa*. But *Jugurtha*, to defeat at once all the deſigns of his enemies, cauſed *Maſſiva* to be aſſaſſinated, in *Rome* itſelf and in the face of the republic. The wretch who executed the villainy was inſtantly ſeized, and brought before the prætor, to whom he confeſſed, that he had been hired by *Bomilcar*, one of the king's attendants, to commit the murder. Hereupon *Bomilcar* was cited to appear before the prætor; but *Jugurtha* found means to convey him privately out of *Rome*, and ſend him

Jugurtha ſummoned before the people.

Comes to Rome.

Gains over one of the tribunes.

He eſcapes with impunity.

Cauſes Maſſiva *to be aſſaſſinated.*

him back into *Africa*. Upon the ſudden diſappearing of *Bomilcar*, all the odium of the baſe aſſaſſination fell upon *Jugurtha*. But, as the treating him like a criminal was contrary to the promiſe made him, he was ordered by the ſenate to quit *Rome* immediately; which he did, without taking leave of the conſcript fathers, and, for fear of being ſtopped, made all poſſible haſte to imbarque at the neareſt port. As he was on the road, he looked back on the city, and cried out, *O mercenary city, thou wouldſt even ſell thyſelf, if thou couldſt find a man rich enough to purchaſe thee.* He was no ſooner gone, than the ſenate by a ſpecial decree diſannulled the infamous peace which *Beſtia* had made with him; and then *Poſthumius Albinus*, having raiſed with all poſſible expedition the neceſſary troops, croſſed over into *Africa*, flattering himſelf, that he ſhould be able to put an end to the war, before the year of his conſulate expired; though it was already far advanced. But the artful *Numidian* found means to amuſe him, at one time pretending to be ready to ſurrender himſelf up to the *Romans*, at another declaring, that he would ſooner part with his life than his crown. When the conſul began to puſh on the war with vigor, he ſent deputies to treat of a peace, and promiſed to ſubmit to all that was demanded of him; but when he was preſſed to perform his promiſe, he found out a thouſand pretences to put off the execution of the articles which he had agreed to. Thus, by one evaſion or other, he gained time, which he improved to the beſt advantage in the regulation of his affairs. And now, the conſular year being ready to expire, *Poſthumius* was obliged to return to *Rome* to preſide in the comitia for the new elections; ſo that he left *Africa* without having concluded any thing, either by action or treaty. Upon his arrival at *Rome*, he was loaded with the curſes of the people, and ſtrongly ſuſpected of having betrayed his country, as his predeceſſors had done. No-body believed, that the *Numidian* could have found means, by artifices alone and without any connivance in the general, to ſuſpend the motions of a large army, which *Rome* maintained in *Africa* at a vaſt expence [r].

Is ordered to quit Rome.

The Licinian *law againſt luxury.*

The conſul on his return found great diſturbances in *Rome*, occaſioned by ſome tribunes of the people. *Licinius Craſſus* had paſſed a law againſt luxury and expenſive tables, and *C. Manilius* another for erecting a tribunal to try thoſe whom *Jugurtha* had corrupted. The law publiſhed by *Licinius* was in ſubſtance this; that on the days of the calends, nones, markets, and great games, any one might lay out on his table thirty aſſes, that is, 1 *s.* 11 *d.* but that on other days no man ſhould have more than three pounds of freſh meat, and one of ſalt, at a meal; but as to pulſe, herbs, and fruit, every one might have what quantity of them he pleaſed. This, though a ſevere edict, met with ſo ready a compliance from the citizens, that they put it in execution, even before it was confirmed by the people. Upon the merit of this law, *Licinius* endeavoured to get himſelf continued in his office; as did alſo his collegue *Manilius*. But this ended only in protracting the elections, which at laſt came on, when *Q. Cæcilius Metellus* and *M. Junius Silanus* were choſen conſuls. During their adminiſtration, the comiſſioners, appointed to try thoſe who had been corrupted by *Jugurtha*, purſuant to the law paſſed at the motion of *Manilius*, ended their inquiries, after they had been two years in that commiſſion. *Scaurus*, prince of the ſenate and the moſt guilty among them, was artful enough to get himſelf nominated at the head of the commiſſion, which he diſcharged with the utmoſt ſeverity, puniſhing many, who were leſs criminal than himſelf. He condemned to baniſhment ſeveral conſular men, and even one pontifex, a thing never heard of before. He did not even ſpare his accomplice *Lucius Calpurnius Beſtia*, but baniſhed him with the late conſul *Sp. Poſthumius Albinus*, and the famous proſecutor of the *Gracchi*, *L. Opimius*, who died of want at *Dyrrachium*. *Cicero* never mentions the baniſhment of *Opimius*, but with indignation. *To the ſhame of the* Romans, ſays he, *this great man, who had juſt ſaved his country from the fury of the* Gracchi, *could not find a quiet retreat for his old age in the city he had preſerved.* Rome *proclaims the importance of his ſervices by a famous monument erected to his memory in the forum; and yet forces him to ſeek a ſepulchre in a foreign country* [s]. Thus *Scaurus*, who had been himſelf moſt ſcandalouſly bribed by *Jugurtha*, not only eſcaped puniſhment, but judged and puniſhed others for having ſuffered themſelves to be bribed.

Several ſenators and conſulars baniſhed

The Romans *defeated by the* Cimbri.

The new conſuls having drawn lots, *Narbonne Gaul* fell to *Silanus*, who marched againſt the *Cimbri* and *Teutones*; but his army was routed at the firſt onſet, and, in conſequence

[r] Idem ibid. [s] Cic. pro Sextio. pro Planco, & in Piſon.

a conſequence of this defeat, all *Narbonne Gaul* expoſed at once to the ravages of thoſe barbarians. *Rome* only continued miſtreſs of thoſe cities, which the *Cimbri* could not take for want of ſkill in carrying on ſieges [t]. As for *Metellus*, it fell to his lot to make war in *Numidia*, where he was attended with better ſucceſs. *Jugurtha* had gained a conſiderable advantage over the *Roman* army, after the departure of the late conſul *Poſthumius Albinus*. That general, before he left *Africa*, had given the command of the army to his brother *Aulus Poſthumius*, whoſe only qualification was his being the conſul's brother. He no ſooner ſaw himſelf at the head of forty thouſand men, than he reſolved to take advantage of the conſul's abſence, in order to gain himſelf both riches and glory. Though the troops were in winter-quarters, and the month of *January* was a very improper time for military expeditions, he aſſembled all his

b forces, marched into the field, and, through roads almoſt impaſſable, brought them before *Suthul*, a ſtrong-hold in *Numidia*, where the king's treaſures were lodged. This was the lure that drew him; but the caſtle ſtood upon the brow of a hill, and was ſurrounded by marſhes, which in the winter made it altogether inacceſſible. However, *Aulus*, blinded by his avarice, ventured to beſiege it. *Jugurtha*, overjoyed to ſee him loſe his time and tire his troops, in ſo difficult an undertaking, cauſed ſeveral propoſals to be made to him, as if he dreaded the ſucceſs of his arms. To keep up his preſumption, he ſent deputies from time to time to beg peace, in as ſubmiſſive terms, as if he had been under the greateſt apprehenſions. He did not, however, neglect to advance with his army, as if he intended to throw ſuccours into the place.

c As he drew near *Suthul*, he pretended to be terrified at the ſight of the *Roman* forces, and, in order to increaſe the confidence of the general, he retired from poſt to poſt through difficult roads. *Aulus*, quitting *Suthul*, purſued him cloſe, leſt he ſhould find means to make his eſcape. But the crafty *Numidian*, who was well acquainted with the country, drew him inſenſibly into narrow paſſes, and then returned to his uſual artifices. He held the general in ſo great contempt, that he did not think it worth his while to bribe him: but he applied himſelf to the officers and ſoldiers of the army, and gained over, by his emiſſaries, not only two cohorts of *Thracians* and one of *Ligurians*, but many of the legionaries themſelves, who baſely agreed to ſacrifice the good of their country, and the lives of their fellow-citizens, to their private

d intereſt. As *Jugurtha*'s camp was not far from that of the *Romans*, the king ordered his light-armed *Numidians* to mount the enemy's ramparts in the dead of the night; which they di[d] with inconceivable ſwiftneſs, and filled the camp with terror and confuſion. In the mean time, the chief officer of the third legion, purſuant to his agreement with *Jugurtha*, opened to him two gates of the camp, and, being joined by the *Ligurian* and *Thracian* cohorts, covered the *Numidian* army as they entered. The *Romans* with their general abandoned the camp, and fled in the utmoſt confuſion. The ſlaughter was not great, the darkneſs of the night favouring the retreat of the fugitives; they fled through the two other gates of the camp, and, taking different roads, gained a neighbouring eminence, and poſted themſelves there.

e When it was day, *Aulus* found ſcarce any of his men wanting, except thoſe who had ſold themſelves to the enemy; but the greateſt part of them had thrown away their arms, that they might fly with more expedition.

Aulus Poſthumius *beſieges* Suthul

Jugurtha *takes the* Roman *camp.*

EARLY next morning, *Jugurtha* ſurrounded the hill, on which the *Romans* were poſted; and then *Aulus*, ſeeing himſelf beſieged by a victorious enemy, ſent a ſhameful deputation to *Jugurtha*, demanding quarter only, and offering a laſting peace, which he would undertake to get ratified by the ſenate and people. The *Numidian* anſwered, that he would grant the *Romans* life and liberty, upon condition, that they ſhould all paſs under the yoke, and quit *Numidia* in ten days. To this the timorous general ſubmitted, and marched with all his army between two poſts ſet up for that purpoſe,

f amidſt the taunts and ſhouts of the *Numidian* ſoldiers. The *Roman* troops, thus diſgraced, diſbanded themſelves, and retired into the *African* province, that is, the ancient dominions of *Carthage*, which were now poſſeſſed by the republic. The ſenate was no ſooner informed of this ſhameful peace, than they declared it void, and recalled *Aulus*, who was ſoon after tried by *Scaurus*, and condemned to baniſhment. *Metellus*, to whoſe lot *Numidia* was fallen, as we have related above, haſtened the neceſſary preparations for carrying on the war with the utmoſt vigor. He was a ſenator of great virtue and integrity, and, beſides, had given proofs of uncommon valour and prudence

The Roman *army, paſſes under the yoke.*

Metellus *ſent into* Numidia.

[t] LIV. epit. l. lxviii. EUTROP. OROS.

prudence in the command of armies; ſo that all things ſeemed to promiſe ſucceſs to a
his enterpriſe. The *Romans*, fully perſuaded that it would not be in *Jugurtha*'s power
to corrupt him with offers, readily decreed him the recruits he deſired, and at his
requeſt even diſannulled ſome laws which reduced the pay of the legionaries. In ſhort
the people refuſed him nothing which he thought neceſſary for the carrying on of
the war, and wiping off one of the moſt ſhameful reproaches, that had ever been caſt
on the *Roman* name, ſince the diſgrace of the *Caudine Forks*. As for *Metellus* himſelf,
his chief concern was, to chuſe ſuch ſubalterns as he could confide in, and whoſe ſkill
in the art of war had been already proved. Among theſe was the famous *Marius*,
who, as he had neither birth, fortune, nor eloquence ſufficient to raiſe him to the
firſt dignities, had continued quite idle at *Rome*, ever ſince his prætorſhip. He b
therefore joyfully accepted the offer *Metellus* made him, of being one of his lieute-
nant-generals. When all things were ready, the conſul ſet out without delay, and,
landing in *Africa*, ſpent the whole ſummer in diſciplining his troops, which lived diſ-
perſed about the province in the utmoſt diſorder, declaring, that he would not ſuffer
them to engage, till they had learnt how to conquer. And now *Jugurtha*, finding he
had to deal with a general, whom he could neither over-reach nor bribe, ſent an em-
baſſy to him, with all poſſible marks of a ſincere ſubmiſſion, begging only quarter
for himſelf and children. But *Metellus*, ſuſpecting the *Numidian* of double dealing,
oppoſed artifice with artifice. He took each of the embaſſadors aſide, and prevailed
upon them to promiſe, that they would deliver up to him the uſurper, dead or alive. c
But this project being diſconcerted by the circumſpection, vigilance, and ſuſpicions
of the king, the conſul reſolved to attack him with open force. Accordingly, he
entered *Numidia*, and, though no enemy appeared, he kept conſtantly upon his guard
againſt a ſurpriſe. His troops always marched in order of battle. *Metellus* himſelf
led on the advanced guard at the head of the archers, ſlingers, and light-armed
troops; *Marius* commanded the cavalry of the legions in the rear, and *Rutilius*, an-
other of *Metellus*'s lieutenants, the foot in the centre. In this fine order the conſular

Marius *lieutenant to* Metellus.

army appeared before *Vacca*, a trading city full of *Italian* merchants, which upon the
firſt ſummons received a *Roman* gariſon. From *Vacca* the conſul ſtill kept advancing,
in the ſame order, towards the heart of *Numidia*. In the mean time, *Jugurtha*, having d
drawn together all the troops he could, lay in ambuſh for the *Romans*, waiting to
engage them as they ſhould come down from a mountain, which ſtood directly in the
conſul's road. *Metellus* no ſooner reached the top of the mountain, than he diſcovered
men and horſes concealed among the buſhes, which were not thick enough to cover
them, ; and being fully ſatisfied, as he drew nearer, that the enemy was in ambuſh
there, he changed both the rout and diſpoſition of the army. In the firſt place, he or-
dered *Rutilius* to march down the hill another way, and pitch a camp on the banks of
the *Muthullus*, about twenty thouſand paces from the hill. This was a wiſe precau-
tion to ſecure water for his troops in that dry and burning climate. As he was reſolved
to leave the hill on his right hand, he altered the diſpoſition of his troops, and made e
his right wing three times as ſtrong as uſual, knowing it would be moſt expoſed to the
enemy. In the centre he placed his infantry, intermixed with ſome manipuli of light-
armed troops, and ordered his cavalry to cover the army in the flanks. In this order
he marched down the ſteepeſt part of the hill, and advanced ſlowly towards the plain.
Marius commanded in the centre; and *Metellus* himſelf in the right wing, which
muſt naturally be firſt attacked. As ſoon as the conſular troops had got below the
top of the hill, *Jugurtha* began to move, and, having ordered two thouſand men to
take poſſeſſion of the top of the mountain, which the *Romans* had quitted, he ſounded
the charge. The *Romans* faced about, but could not bring the *Numidians* to a cloſe
engagement. As they had got above the conſular troops, they diſcharged ſhowers of f
darts upon them, and wounded them at a great diſtance. If they were purſued by
the *Roman* cavalry, they diſperſed and fled ſingly, entering the coppices, whither the
enemy durſt not purſue them. They then rallied, and, ſallying out again, fell unex-
pectedly on the conſular army in different quarters. Never was a more extraordinary
battle fought; they all engaged in ſmall parties, every one attacking the enemy, or
defending himſelf, as occaſion offered, without any rule or order. The day was far
advanced, before it could be known which ſide had the advantage. Both armies were
equally tired and exhauſted with heat and fatigue; and many had fallen on both
ſides in the ſeveral attacks, which had ſucceeded one another, without intermiſſion,
from morning to night. At length the *Numidians*, towards the cloſe of the day,

Vacca *taken by* Metellus.

Jugurtha *defeated by* Metellus.

being

a being briſkly attacked by the *Roman* legionaries, and purſued from poſt to poſt, diſperſed, and no more appeared [u].

While *Metellus* was thus engaged on the mountain, *Rutilius*, who had been ſent by the conſul to pitch a camp on the banks of the *Muthullus*, was vigorouſly attacked by *Bomilcar*, one of the king's generals. But that brave *Roman* repulſed the enemy with great ſlaughter, and having purſued them, took four of their elephants, and killed the reſt to the number of forty; ſo that the conſul gained two victories on one day. *Metellus* continued his march all night, and arrived before day-break with all his troops at the camp on the *Muthullus*, which he found finiſhed. There he reſted four days, to refreſh his men and have their wounds dreſſed. In this camp he received

b intelligence, that the *Numidian*, being abandoned by his army, had retired to a diſtant place, covered with woods and rocks, and was there forming a new one. Deſertion was no crime amongſt the *Numidians*, who, after the firſt defeat, were at liberty to return home, or continue in the army, as they pleaſed. However, the *Roman* general did not think it adviſeable to follow the fugitive king, but contented himſelf with ſending out parties to plunder the country. On the other hand, *Jugurtha* behaved with the addreſs and ability of a great commander. He ſeemed to be in all places, appeared, when leaſt expected, at the head of a flying army, and fal-ling upon the *Romans*, diſperſed about the fields, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and then retired to the mountains and foreſts. In the mean time, news being brought

c to *Rome* of the victory gained by *Metellus* and his lieutenant *Rutilius*, the temples were opened, and ſupplications made by way of thankſgiving to the gods, for the ſucceſs which had attended the arms of the republic in *Numidia*. The probity, diſintereſtedneſs, valour, and wiſdom of *Metellus* were in the mouth of every *Roman* [w].

In the mean time, *Rome* raiſed *Ser. Sulpicius Galba* and *Q. Hortenſius* to the conſulate. But the latter, who was father to *Q. Hortenſius*, *Cicero*'s rival in eloquence, either declined the burden of the office, or was prevented by death from enjoying that dignity; it being certain, that another was ſoon after choſen in his room, *viz. M. Aurelius Scaurus* [x]. At the ſame time *Metellus* was continued general of the *Roman* army in *Numidia*, with the title of proconſul. As for the new conſuls, *Italy* fell by lot to

d *Galba*, and *Narbonne Gaul* to *Scaurus*, whither he repaired to make war upon the *Cimbri*, who had reduced almoſt that whole province. But to return to *Numidia*: *Marius*, whoſe ambition was awaked by the applauſes *Rome* had given his general, was now become his rival, narrowly watched all his ſteps, and laid hold of every opportunity that offered to defame him. We are told by *Plutarch*, that *Marius* carried his ingratitude ſo far, as to boaſt, that he was not ſo much indebted to *Metellus*, as to fortune, which had led him into *Africa*, as to a great ſtage, where he ſhould, in the end, diſplay thoſe talents with which nature had liberally endowed him. And indeed the point he had now in view was, to raiſe himſelf at the expence of his general and benefactor. He was impatient of getting the conſulſhip, that he might put an

e end to the *Numidian* war, and be honoured with a triumph. His pretenſions were ſupported by all thoſe qualifications which are requiſite in a great commander. For he was famous for an heroic valour, a great love of diſcipline, a ſtrange aſcendant over the ſoldiers, a temperance carried to the ſevereſt abſtinence, great intrepidity in ſudden dangers, an uncommon coolneſs and preſence of mind in battle, and an extraordinary readineſs at expedients after bad ſucceſs. But as for thoſe virtues and diſpoſitions of mind, which form the character of an honeſt man, *Marius* was quite deſtitute of them. Honeſty and ingratitude are incompatible. *Metellus*, who ſaw into the deſigns of his lieutenant, began to be jealous of him, and to fear leaſt he ſhould be ſupplanted by him at the end of the year. He therefore took great care

f not to give any advantage to his malicious rival by ill conduct. He took care to have his convoys ſtrongly guarded, and always ſent out his whole cavalry together, ordering them not only to pillage the country, but to deſtroy whole towns with fire and ſword. The *Numidian*, ſeeing his country utterly ruined by this new way of making war, at laſt left his faſtneſſes, and followed the *Romans*, being always intent both on ſurpriſing and avoiding the enemy. He burnt up the forage, and poiſoned the waters in all places, where the legions were to paſs. He was every moment haraſſing either *Metellus* or *Marius*, and as ſoon as he had attacked them vigorouſly in the rear, he immediately regained the mountains. *Metellus*, finding he could not draw *Jugurtha* to

The ingratitude of Marius *to* Metellus.

[u] Sallust. bell. Jugurth. & Plut. in Mario. [w] Sallust. ibid. Flor. l. iii. [x] Fast. Capitol.

to a battle, reſolved, if poſſible, to force him to it. In order to this, he reſolved a
Metellus *reſolves to beſiege* Zama. to beſiege *Zama*; but *Jugurtha*, upon the firſt notice of his deſign, flew thither, got to the place before him, and placed a ſtrong gariſon in it of *Roman* deſerters, on whom he could depend. Then he haſtened to *Sicca*, whither the proconſul had detached *Marius* for proviſions. He was very deſirous of entering the liſts with that commander, who had been his intimate friend, and had learnt the military art with him under *Scipio*, at the famous ſiege of *Numantia*. He arrived juſt as *Marius* was
Jugurtha *defeated by* Marius. marching out of the city with his convoy, and fell upon him with a fury not to be expreſſed. But the *Roman* repulſed him, and, though ſurpriſed, behaved with ſuch preſence of mind and intrepidity, as made him ever after dread the very name of *Marius*.
When the convoys came up, *Metellus* inveſted *Zama*, and made a general aſſault upon b
the place: but the beſieged repulſed the aggreſſors, and diſcharged ſuch ſhowers of darts, ſtones, and fire-brands upon them, that they were obliged to retire in the utmoſt confuſion. During the heat of the action, *Jugurtha* appeared on a ſudden, and as moſt of the legionaries, left to guard the *Roman* camp, were gone out to ſee the attack, he made himſelf maſter of one of the gates. Hereupon ſome of the *Romans*, who guarded the tents, ran to their arms, others betook themſelves to flight; but a ſmall body of forty men only, poſting themſelves on an eminence within the camp, defended it with ſurpriſing valour, till *Marius* came to their relief. For *Metellus* no ſooner heard, that the king had ſurprized his camp, than he detached that brave commander with all the cavalry to drive him out. *Marius* flew with joy to a ſecond engagement c
with the *Numidian*, forced his way into the camp, and obliged the king to fly out of one of the gates, aad ſhelter himſelf among the rocks. As for *Metellus*, after a vain attempt upon the town, he retired to paſs the night in his camp. The next day he renewed the attack, but with no better ſucceſs, the beſieged, who were all *Roman* deſerters, repulſing the aggreſſors with unparallelled bravery. During the aſſault, *Jugurtha* appeared anew, but, after a ſharp conflict, was put to flight by the cavalry, which *Metellus* had poſted with ſome manipuli on the road the king had taken the day before. In the mean time, night coming on, the proconſul returned to his camp; and,
The ſiege of Zama *raiſed.* as the ſeaſon was far advanced and the gariſon made a reſolute defence, he thought it adviſeable to raiſe the ſiege, and put his troops into winter quarters in the *Roman* d
province [y].

As *Metellus* did not doubt, but he ſhould be continued in the command of the army till all *Numidia* was reduced, he employed his time in making the neceſſary preparations for the next campaign. He found means to have a private interview with *Bomilcar*, who, as we have related above, had been the chief agent in the murder of *Maſſiva*. *Bomilcar* was greatly attached to *Jugurtha*; but, as he was a *Numidian*, *Metellus* did not deſpair of prevailing upon him to betray his maſter. He therefore not only promiſed him impunity, but aſſured him of the protection of the republic, in caſe he ſhould either diſpatch *Jugurtha*, or deliver him up alive into his hands. The *Numidian* hearkened to the proconſul's offers, and treacherouſly perſuaded *Ju-* e
gurtha, that it was abſolutely neceſſary for him to ſurrender himſelf up to the *Romans* without reſerve: *Prevent*, ſaid he, *the fatal deſigns which your own ſubjects may have on your life. Have recourſe to the* Roman *clemency, and depend on the ſincerity of their offers.* Metellus *has even more honour than bravery.* The king, not ſuſpecting any treachery, was eaſily prevailed upon to diſpatch an embaſſy to the proconſul, acquainting him, that he was ready to ſubmit to ſuch conditions as he ſhould think fit to impoſe upon him. Upon this *Metellus*, having aſſembled from all the places, where the army was quartered, ſuch officers as were of ſenatorial families, held a great council of war, in which it was agreed, that the king of *Numidia* ſhould, by way of preliminary, ſend the *Romans* two hundred thouſand pounds weight of ſilver, with f
all his elephants, and a certain number of horſes and arms, and deliver up all the deſerters. The king complied with theſe hard conditions, and immediately ordered all the deſerters, to the number of about three thouſand, moſtly *Thracians* or *Ligurians*,
Jugurtha *delivers up his elephants, money, arms,* &c. to be ſeized and ſent to the proconſul, by whoſe orders ſome had their hands cut off, others were ſet in the ground up to their waiſts, and ſhot to death by the *Roman* archers, and the reſt burnt alive [z]. The other two articles were likewiſe executed with great punctuality; the elephants, horſes, and arms, required by the proconſul, were delivered up, and the money paid down. And now the king, having ſtripped

[y] Sallust. ibid. Plut. in Mario. Oros. l. v. c. 3. [z] Oros. l. 5. c. 3.

a ſtripped himſelf of his money, his elephants, his horſes, and his deſerters, in whom conſiſted the main ſtrength of his army, the proconſul ordered him to repair in perſon to *Tiſidium*, a city in *Numidia*, there to receive further directions. He ſtarted at this laſt ſtep, began to heſitate, and ſpent ſeveral days, without being able to come to any reſolution. The remembrance of his enormous crimes ſtung him with freſh remorſe; he dreaded the ſevere puniſhment, which his guilty conſcience repreſented to him, in a very ſtrong light, as due for ſo many murders; the charms of a crown, and the horror of falling from a throne into ſlavery, made ſo deep an impreſſion upon his mind, that he reſolved, at all adventures, to try once more the fate of war. *A ſceptre*, ſaid he, *is not ſo heavy as chains. To arms! to arms! let us renew the war.* *But afterwards reſolves to purſue the war.*

b *It is better to periſh at the head of an army, than to fall at once from empire to ſlavery.* And from this time he never ſhewed the leaſt inclination to peace. He was now wholly intent on raiſing a new army, on fortifying the places which continued faithful to him, on providing arms, and endeavouring to ſurpriſe thoſe cities which had ſurrendered to the *Romans*. *Vacca* was an important poſt, of which *Metellus* had made himſelf maſter ſoon after his arrival in *Africa*, as we have related above, and given the government of it to *Turpilius Silanus*, a citizen of *Collatia*, a man of known equity and moderation, and his intimate friend. *Turpilius*, quite free from all pride and avarice, gained the affections of the inhabitants by the mildneſs of his government; but their averſion to a foreign yoke prevailed over the eſteem they had for their gover-

c nor. The chief men of the city ſuffered themſelves to be gained over to the intereſt of *Jugurtha*, and plotted among themſelves the maſſacring of the *Roman* gariſon. To compaſs their treacherous deſign, they took the opportunity of a public feſtival to invite the officers to feaſt at their houſes; and, when they had eat and drank plentifully, every man, as had been agreed on before-hand, ſtabbed his gueſt. Such as got into the ſtreets, were overwhelmed and killed with ſtones from the tops of the houſes; ſo that *Turpilius* was the only man who eſcaped the common maſſacre. The proconſul no ſooner heard of the revolution in *Vacca*, than he ordered the legion, which was quartered near him, to arms, and, joining with them a great number of thoſe *Numidians* who had ſubmitted to *Rome*, marched in perſon to avenge the blood of his *Romans*. The

d inhabitants had ſhut their gates for fear of a ſurprize; but when they ſaw from their ramparts a body of *Numidian* cavalry advancing towards their city, without committing any devaſtations, they concluded, that *Jugurtha* muſt be at the head of them, and upon this preſumption marched out to meet him. But their miſtake proved fatal to them: the *Numidian* cavalry fell upon the diſarmed multitude, and cut them in pieces; and, in the mean time, the *Roman* legion coming up ſeized the gates of the city, retook, and plundered it. Thus the treacherous inhabitants of *Vacca*, after having enjoyed their liberty but two days, were brought again under ſubjection, and treated with the utmoſt ſeverity. Tho' *Metellus* was fully convinced, that *Turpilius* was no-ways guilty, he was obliged, by the clamours of the army, contrary to

e his own inclination, to have him tried by a council of war. *Marius*, who was one of his judges, merely out of ſpite to *Metellus*, became his accuſer. He charged him with having ſold the town and the lives of the *Romans* under his command, laid great ſtreſs on the diſtinction ſhewn him in having his life alone ſpared, and proſecuted the affair ſo warmly, that he got him condemned to be firſt beaten with rods, and then beheaded. Soon after the execution of the ſentence, the innocence of *Turpilius* plainly appeared; and then the other officers made their apologies to the proconſul for the ſentence they had pronounced, and bewailed with him the unfortunate end of a man, whom he had judged worthy of his friendſhip; but *Marius* publicly rejoiced

f at the death of the innocent *Turpilius*, and had even the inſolence to boaſt, that he had found means to torment *Metellus* with a perpetual remorſe and an avenging fury, which would be continually requiring of him the innocent blood of his friend [a].

The Romans *maſſacred in* Vacca.

Vacca *retaken.*

Marius's *inſolent conduct.*

And now, upon the news that the ſenate and people were inclined to continue *Metellus* in the command of the army, till the war with *Jugurtha* was ended, *Marius*'s hatred to his general broke out into open attacks upon him. He began with decrying and calumniating him among the ſoldiery; he repreſented him as an ambitious man, who prolonged the war, only to keep himſelf the longer in power and command; he pretended, that the natural ſloth and timorouſneſs of *Metellus*, which were increaſed by age, made him incapable of oppoſing an active and vigilant enemy; he

He defames his general.

[a] Salluſt. Plut. ibid.

he bragged among the common ſoldiers, with whom he made himſelf very familiar, a
that, with half the troops *Metellus* had in his army, he would undertake, in one ſingle campaign, to bring *Jugurtha* to *Rome* dead or alive. Whatever *Marius* ſaid, the ſoldiers wrote to their relations and friends at *Rome*; and theſe letters, being communicated from houſe to houſe, prejudiced the people againſt *Metellus*, and at the ſame time raiſed the reputation of his lieutenant, who, not content with adviſing the ſoldiers to ſend bad accounts of their general to *Rome*, went ſo far as openly to beg the votes of the *Roman* merchants at *Utica*, for chuſing him conſul at the next election, in order thereby to enable him to ſupplant his general and benefactor. He alſo prevailed on *Gauda*, the brother of *Jugurtha*, but by a different mother, whom *Metellus* had diſobliged (G), to write to the ſenate againſt the proconſul, and much in his b
favour. Theſe ſolicitations proved very advantagious to *Marius*, who being informed, by his emiſſaries at *Rome*, of the favourable inclination of the people towards him,
Marius *aſks leave to return to* Rome. publicly deſired leave of the proconſul to return to *Rome*, to make intereſt for the conſulate. *Metellus*, tho' a man of great honour and probity, was not quite free from that pride, which is almoſt inſeparable from noble birth. He therefore received this application with haughtineſs, and anſwered *Marius* with a kind of raillery; *It will be ſoon enough for you*, Marius, *to ſtand for the conſulate, when my ſon ſhall be old enough to be your collegue.* Young *Metellus* was then ſcarce twenty years of age; whereas a man was to be at leaſt forty before he could be choſen conſul. In ſhort, the proconſul told his lieutenant in plain terms, that he would not give him his diſcharge, ſo c
long as he had any occaſion for his ſervice. At the ſame time he applied again to *Bomilcar*, putting him in mind of the promiſe he had made of delivering up *Jugurtha* to him dead or alive; but *Bomilcar*, who had been ſuſpected by the king ever ſince he adviſed him to ſurrender, applied to *Nabdalſa*, a *Numidian* lord of diſtinction,
A conſpiracy againſt Jugurtha. and one of the greateſt favourites the king had. He communicated to him his deſign of ſacrificing the king to the welfare of his country. *Nabdalſa*, who was one of the moſt wealthy lords of *Numidia*, readily entered into the plot, which would ſecure his great eſtate, and both his own life and the lives of his children. The two traitors agreed to ſurpriſe their king, and carry him to the proconſul; the time was fixed for the excution of the deſign, and the ambuſh prepared. On the day appointed, d
Bomilcar came to the place agreed on; and if *Nabdalſa* had performed his part, an end had been put at once to the *Numidian* war; but *Nabdalſa* not appearing, *Bomilcar* wrote a letter to him, putting him in mind of his promiſe, and repreſenting to him, that the affairs of *Jugurtha* were deſperate; that he muſt ſoon periſh, either by their hands, or the hands of the *Romans*; that it was not worth their while to ſacrifice their eſtates, their liberty, the lives of their wives and children, for an uſurper and aſſaſſin; that, by delivering him up to the *Romans*, they would ſave their country from impending ruin, ſecure their lives and eſtates, and gain the favour of the powerful republic, *&c.* This letter was delivered ſafe into *Nabdalſa*'s hands, while e
he was lying on a couch, reſting himſelf after a violent exerciſe. After he had read it, he laid it on his pillow, and, muſing upon the contents of it, fell aſleep. In the mean time, his ſecretary coming into the room, and finding a letter open, read it, in order to anſwer it; but, being ſhocked at the propoſals of *Bomilcar*, he went immediately to acquaint the king with the plot. *Nabdalſa* ſoon after awaked, miſſed the letter, and finding, upon inquiry, that his ſecretary alone had been in his room, and had ſuddenly diſappeared, he diſpatched without delay ſome of his attendants after him; but, as he had got the ſtart of them, the letter was already in the king's hands. Here-

(G) *Metellus* had not treated this prince with that honour and reſpect which he expected. When he firſt came to the *Roman* camp, he deſired two marks of diſtinction, *viz.* that in all public aſſemblies he ſhould be placed at the general's right-hand; and that a troop of *Roman* horſe ſhould be aſſigned him for his guard. *Metellus* refuſed him both; the firſt, becauſe it was a mark of diſtinction, which the *Romans* ſhewed to thoſe only whom they acknowledged to be kings; and the ſecond, becauſe he thought it an affront to the *Roman* knights, to make them in a manner *Numidian* guards. *Marius* therefore, applying himſelf to the young prince, in the heat of his reſentment, endeavoured to exaſperate him againſt the proud proconſul, whom he repreſented as taking delight in ſeeing the ſons of kings groveling at his feet. He likewiſe aſſured him, that, if he was general, he would treat him with all the reſpect due to his character, and ſoon place him on the throne of his anceſtors, as the next heir to the crown. By theſe diſcourſes *Marius* eaſily attached *Gauda* to himſelf; and the *Numidian* wrote to the republic, in terms of great bitterneſs, againſt the proconſul, and as much to the advantage of his lieutenant (2).

(2) *Salluſt. bell. Jugurth.*

The conſpiracy diſcovered, and Bomilcar *executed.*

a Hereupon *Nabdalſa* flew to court, and aſſured the king, that he would have diſcovered the plot, if his treacherous ſervant had not prevented him. *Jugurtha*, for fear of raiſing a ſedition, for *Nabdalſa* was greatly beloved by the ſoldiery, ſeemed to be ſatisfied with the excuſe; but condemned *Bomilcar* and moſt of his accomplices to die [b]. The loſs of *Bomilcar* fruſtrated the hopes of *Metellus*, who thereupon reſolved to take the field. As he was now quite tired with the importunities of *Marius*, he gave him at length leave to go to *Rome*, but only twelve days before the election. Ambition gave *Marius* wings; for he reached the city in ſix days after his ſetting out, and there made the beſt uſe of the little time he had left to gain the favour of the people, He calumniated the proconſul, accuſed him of timorouſneſs, aſſured

Marius *obtains leave to go to* Rome.

b the people, that, as he was well acquainted with the country, and, without all doubt, more vigorous and active than *Metellus*, he would, with half the troops the proconſul commanded, in one campaign, take *Jugurtha* dead or alive; in ſhort, he omitted nothing, that could either diſcredit his general, or gain himſelf a great reputation. As the nobility had of late conſtantly choſen two patricians to the conſulate, contrary to the ancient law, *that one of the conſuls ſhould be a patrician, and the other a plebeian*, the people were highly diſpleaſed with the patricians in general, and wholly bent on promoting *Marius*, who bore an irreconcileable hatred to the nobility. All the mob of *Rome* crouded to his houſe, the artificers left their ſhops to attend him, and nothing was heard in the comitia, but the praiſes of *Marius* and invectives againſt

Where he is choſen conſul, and appointed to ſucceed Metellus.

c *Metellus*. In ſhort, he was raiſed to the conſulate by a great majority, with *L. Caſſius Longinus*. His next buſineſs was to ſupplant his benefactor, and get himſelf nominated to ſucceed him in the command of the army in *Numidia*. The ſenate had already, by a ſpecial decree, appointed *Metellus* to be proconſul in *Numidia* for the third year; but *Marius* applied to the people by their tribune *Manilius Mancinus*, and at his motion they determined, that *Marius* alone ſhould carry on the war with *Jugurtha*. His collegue had *Narbonne Gaul* for his province, where he fell into an ambuſh laid for him by the *Tigurini*. *L. Calpurnius Piſo*, one of his lieutenant-generals, a man of great reſolution, prudence, and courage, endeavoured to reſcue him; but periſhed with his general in the attempt. Then the *Roman* army was left wholly

The Romans *are defeated by the* Tigurini, *and paſs under the yoke.*

d to the conduct of the other lieutenant-general, by name *Popilius*, an officer of no valour, and very little merit of any other kind. He, to ſave his life, offered to capitulate, ſhamefully ſurrendered his arms and baggage, and, with his whole army, paſſed under the yoke. As ſoon as he returned to *Rome*, where his name was become odious, he was accuſed before the people, and proſecuted with uncommon zeal; but he, to ſave his reputation, went into baniſhment of his own accord, before ſentence was pronounced againſt him [c]. *Æmilius Scaurus*, prince of the ſenate, got himſelf elected conſul in the room of *Caſſius*, for the remaining part of the year (H).

Marius's *inſolent behaviour.*

But to return to *Marius*; his being obliged to preſide in the comitia for the election of the new conſul, kept him longer in *Rome* than he deſired. Being now inveſted

e with the ſupreme magiſtracy, he treated the nobility with the utmoſt contempt, declaring publicly, that it was matter of greater glory and triumph for him to have humbled the conſcript fathers, by obtaining of the people the command of the army in *Numidia*, which the ſenate had given to *Metellus*, than it would be to ſubdue that kingdom, and lead *Jugurtha* in chains. He inſulted all the patricians he met, and abuſed them in the groſſeſt manner. All his ſpeeches to the people were filled with his own praiſes, and with moſt bitter invectives againſt the nobility and the ſenate. He was no orator; but every thing was well taken from a man, who was become the idol

[b] Sallust. Plut. Vel. Paterc. ibid. Gall. l. i. Cic. l. iii. de legib.

[c] Tacit. de German. morib. Cæs. de bell.

(H) *Scaurus* had one *P. Rutilius* for his competitor; but got the better of him by a piece of chicanery. He accuſed *Rutilius* of bribery in canvaſſing for the conſulſhip; and, in proof of his accuſation, produced a note under his hand, whereby *Scaurus* pretended, that his competitor had promiſed a citizen money for his vote. The note contained only theſe four letters, *A. F. P. R.* which *Scaurus* interpreted thus; *Actum fide P. Rutilii*, that is, *P. Rutilius promiſes to perform the obligation.* But *C. Cannius*, a *Roman* knight, who was preſent at the trial, gave a very different interpretation to the four letters, making them ſtand for the following ſentence; *Æmilius fecit, plectetur Rutilius*, that is, Æmilius *made the note; but* Rutilius *will be puniſhed for it*; which was accuſing *Scaurus* of forgery, and at the ſame time ſhewing the folly of laying ſtreſs on the interpretation of initial letters, which are capable of many ſenſes. However, *Rutilius* was excluded, and *Scaurus* promoted (3).

(3) *Cic. in Bruto.*

idol of the people. This encouraged him to demand with inſolence a greater number of troops than the conſuls had been uſually allowed, and to ſend, of his own authority, to demand auxiliaries of the nations and kings who were in friendſhip with the republic. At *Rome*, he made his levies with the utmoſt rigor, obliging thoſe who were famed for valour in all parts of *Italy* to come to *Rome*, and take the military oaths, tho' they had already ſerved the time required by law; but the people took all the ſeverities of their plebeian conſul in good part, and were ſo zealous to follow him into *Africa*, that his legions were ſoon completed, and moſtly filled with men of the loweſt claſſes, who were exempted by their poverty from the ſervice. Theſe *Marius* preferred to any others, as if he had been afraid of having any ſoldiers in his troops, who were of a better condition than himſelf [d]. a b

In the mean time, *Metellus*, ignorant of what paſſed at *Rome*, and not doubting, but he ſhould be continued in the command of the army, till the intire reduction of *Numidia*, took the field; and having, after long and tedious marches, found out at laſt *Jugurtha*, poſted in places which he thought inacceſſible, he forced him to a battle, in which the *Numidians* were defeated and diſperſed. The king eſcaped by flight through vaſt deſerts and roads, with which he alone was acquainted, and retired to *Thala*, a place well fortified, where he had lodged his jewels and treaſures. *Metellus* followed him croſs the deſert, which was about fifty miles in extent, carrying with him corn enough to ſupport the army fourteen days, and a vaſt number of ſkins and barrels filled with water. The inhabitants of *Thala*, who thought their city inacceſſible, were ſtruck with terror at the approach of the *Roman* army. The king, dreading to be ſhut up in the place, immediately abandoned it, and rambled from deſert to deſert, his fear of being betrayed keeping him from fixing any-where; but the gariſon, conſiſting moſtly of deſerters from the *Roman* army, made all the reſiſtance that could be expected from brave men driven to deſpair. But when, after forty days ſiege, the *Romans* had made a large breach in the wall of the city, the gariſon, finding it impoſſible for them to avoid deſtruction, carried all the valuable things they could find to theking's palace, ſet fire to it, and periſhed all to a man in the flames. The proconſul had ſcarce entered the place, when he was informed, that one *Hamilcar*, a citizen of *Great Leptis*, was labouring under-hand to draw over his countrymen to *Jugurtha*. Hereupon he immediately detached thither four *Ligurian* cohorts, under the command of *Caius Anicius*, and by that means kept the neighbouring country in a ſtate of tranquillity. *Jugurtha*, having now neither troops nor a place of refuge left, determined to go and treat in perſon with a people, who had never yet heard of the *Roman* name. Theſe were the *Getuli*, a barbarous nation, who inhabited the inner part of *Africa*, and led their flocks from paſture to paſture, living always in tents, without any fixed habitation. The king, having found means to induce them to follow his ſtandards, aſſembled the ſcattered ſhepherds, and taught them to keep their ranks, and obey the officers he ſet over them. From *Getulia* the *Numidian* king advanced to the confines of *Mauritania*, where *Bocchus* reigned over an *African* people, ſomewhat leſs barbarous and better diſciplined, than the *Getuli*. As that prince had married one of *Jugurtha*'s daughters, he was eaſily prevailed upon to enter into an offenſive and defenſive league with the *Numidian*. And now the king, being joined by the *Getuli* and all the forces of *Bocchus*, appeared anew in the field, and approached *Cyrtha*, the capital of *Numidia*, which *Metellus* had formerly taken, and made a magazine of arms and proviſions for his army. This obliged the proconſul to alter his conduct; he no longer offered battle, or bid defiance to the enemy, but kept cloſe within his intrenchments, and there watched the motions of the two kings, being determined to venture nothing, for fear of loſing all [e]. c d e

Jugurtha *defeated by* Metellus.

Thala *beſieged by* Metellus.

And taken.

Jugurtha *is joined by* Bocchus *and the* Getuli.

Such was the ſtate of affairs in *Numidia*, when news was brought to *Metellus* of the promotion of *Marius* to the conſulate, and likewiſe to the command of the army. The proconſul, tho' a great and wiſe man, was thunder-ſtruck to hear, that a mean plebeian, an ungrateful creature of his own, raiſed by his family from the duſt, had found more credit and favour at *Rome*, than himſelf, notwithſtanding his nobility and exploits. He was ſo much affected, that he could not forbear weeping, forgetting in a manner the dignity of his character; and indeed what could be more mortifying, than to have a conqueſt ſo far advanced ſnatched out of his hands, by one of f

the

[d] Plut. in Mario. Sallust. ibid. [e] Idem ibid.

a the meaneſt of the people, drawn out of obſcurity by himſelf? But, after all, he was not ſo much grieved, as *Salluſt* informs us, at the glory he loſt, as at the advancement of *Marius*, who had decried his conduct, only to raiſe himſelf upon the ruins of his reputation. However, as in great minds the public good prevails over private reſentment, the proconſul ſpared no pains to draw off *Bocchus* from *Jugurtha*, tho' this would greatly facilitate the reduction of *Numidia* for his rival. He ſpent the whole time he remained in *Numidia* in private negotiations with that prince, who thereupon was leſs preſſing to give battle, which was partly what the proconſul had in view. At length advice came, that *Marius* was landed at *Utica*, with a very numerous body of *Romans* and allies. Hereupon *Metellus*, not being able to bear the

Marius *lands in* Africa.

b thoughts of paying his homage to the new conſul, who had ſo treacherouſly and baſely ſupplanted him, inſtantly left the camp, which he had pitched near *Cyrtha*; and returned to *Italy*, after having appointed *Rutilius*, one of his lieutenants, to deliver up the army to his perfidious and ungrateful rival. His preſence at *Rome*, and the account he gave of the ſucceſs of his arms, of the towns he had taken, of the provinces he had conquered, and of the battles he had fought, ſoon wiped off the calumnies, which had been caſt upon him. The eſteem and reſpect, which the people had formerly ſhewn for that great man, revived; he was received every-where with loud acclamations, and the people, to make him ſome amends for the injuſtice done him, decreed him, with an unanimous conſent, the honour of a triumph and the glorious

Metellus *is decreed a triumph.*

c ſurname of *Numidicus* [f]. *Velleius Paterculus* obſerves here, that there were, at this time, above twelve perſons of the family of *Metellus* in *Rome*, who had been ſucceſſively raiſed either to the conſulate or cenſorſhip, and many of them honoured with triumphs, in leſs than twelve years [g]. But, notwithſtanding his nobility, his exploits, and his great reputation for probity, a tribune of the people had the boldneſs to accuſe him of having plundered the province from which he came; but when he produced his books in his defence, the *Roman* knights, who were judges in theſe civil cauſes, refuſed to examine his accounts, declaring, that they thought the whole courſe of his life a ſtronger proof of his innocence, than the wax, on which he had ſet down his diſburſements and receipts [h].

d In the mean time, *Marius* put himſelf at the head of the army; but, as the troops he had brought with him were for the moſt part new levies, he did not care to run the hazard of a general action. He only watched the motions of the two kings, beſieged ſome weak places, and prevented the enemy from making incurſions into the countries which had ſubmitted to *Rome*. *Marius*, having thus ſpent the ſummer, without any conſiderable exploit, his troops began to deſpiſe him, and to look upon *Metellus* as a much better general than his ſucceſſor. To remove theſe prejudices, which began to prevail, he reſolved on an enterprize, which would be ſufficient to raiſe his reputation, and eclipſe the glory of his predeceſſor. The city of *Capſa* ſtood in the middle of the burning ſands of *Africa*, ſurrounded on all ſides by a vaſt deſert, which

e made it in a manner inacceſſible, eſpecially by great armies. This city he reſolved to beſiege; and having provided corn and water, which he knew he ſhould want in the deſert, he ſet out on his march, without communicating his deſign even to his own lieutenants. He marched only by night, the rays of the ſun being ſo ſtrongly reflected by the ſand, that his men could not bear the heat by day. In this manner he croſſed that inhoſpitable country, which was inhabited only by ſerpents of an enormous ſize, which heat and hunger made very troubleſome. After three nights march, with what danger and fatigue the reader may imagine, the army came within two miles of *Capſa* before day-break. They then halted among ſome hills, which covered the city and intercepted the ſight of the legions, and there waited, as in an ambuſh,

f till the ſun appeared; when *Marius* detached his light-armed infantry to ſeize the gates, and, appearing at the ſame time with his whole army before the place, ſtruck the inhabitants with ſuch terror, that they offered to ſurrender, upon condition that they ſhould have their lives ſpared; but *Marius*, to fill all *Numidia* at once with the dread of his name, entered the place ſword in hand, levelled it with the ground, put all the citizens, who were able to bear arms, to death, and ſold the reſt for ſlaves. This barbarous inſtance of ſeverity ſpread terror far and near; the people, where-ever he came, ſubmitted to him, and many, without waiting for his preſence, ſent deputies to him, imploring his protection, and offering to ſupply his army with all ſorts of provi-

Marius *takes* Capſa.

[f] Vell. Paterc. l. ii. c. 2. [g] Idem ibid. [h] Val. Max. l. ii. c. 18. Cic. ad Attic. l. i. epiſt. 16.

proviſions, He marched to the utmoſt confines of *Numidia*, and, in that long march, met with one place only which refuſed to ſubmit to him. This was a caſtle called *Mulucha*, ſituated on the ſummit of a rock, and perhaps the ſtrongeſt fortreſs then in the world. It was of no larger extent than the top of the rock, which was one intire body of flint, ſtanding quite by itſelf, and naturally ſo very ſmooth; that there was not the leaſt hold for the hands, or projection for the feet to reſt on. The only way up to it was what the inhabitants had cut in the rock, ſo narrow, that two men could not, without difficulty, walk a-breaſt in it. However, *Marius* undertook the reduction of the place; but the beſieged threw ſuch a quantity of firebrands from the tops of their ramparts, and rolled down the rock ſuch vaſt ſtones, that the machines were burnt, and thoſe who managed them dangerouſly wounded. The attempt was often renewed, but always proved fruitleſs; beſides, the caſtle was ſo well ſtored with proviſions and ammunition, and the ſeaſon ſo far advanced, that the *Roman* general could not entertain any hopes of reducing it by famine: yet he perſiſted; and at length mere chance did more than his utmoſt efforts could have effected. A *Ligurian* ſoldier, having obſerved ſome ſnails creeping along the rocks, as he was filling his pitcher at a neighbouring fountain, took it in his head to climb up after them. The higher he went, the more ſnails he found in the cracks of the rock, which was moiſter on this ſide than any other. In the mean time, the attack was carrying on on the oppoſite ſide; and this encouraged the *Ligurian* to mount up to the very top of the rock. When he came to the foot of the wall, he found it quite deſerted on that ſide by the gariſon, who were all engaged in repulſing the aggreſſors on the other. Being therefore under no apprehenſion, his curioſity led him to get up upon the wall, which he did by the help of an old oak that grew cloſe to it. When he had, from the wall, taken a view of the place, he ſlid down the rock, without being diſcovered, and returned to the camp. He did the ſame thing a ſecond time, and particularly examined, whether it were poſſible to introduce a company of active and intrepid men into the place that way. In the mean time, *Marius*, diſcouraged by the ill ſucceſs of his attempts, was in ſuſpenſe, whether he ſhould give over the enterprize and put an end to the campaign; but when the *Ligurian* acquainted him with his exploit, he conceived ſome hopes of making himſelf maſter of the place, and immediately ſent experienced officers to view the rock, and report their ſentiments. Of theſe ſome thought the thing impracticable; but others, more bold and enterpriſing, declared, that, in their opinion, the attempt, if well conducted, might ſucceed. As the loſs, at all adventures, could not be great, the opinion of the latter prevailed; and the *Ligurian* was put at the head of four centuries of choſen men, provided with hooks, cramping-irons, nails, and hammers. Theſe filed off in the night, and lay in ambuſh near the fountain, till the attack was renewed the next day. Then, while the gariſon was engaged on the oppoſite ſide, with the help of their tools they got up, not without great labour, to the foot of the wall, which they eaſily mounted. *Marius* had ſent a company of trumpets with them, ordering them to ſound the alarm, as ſoon as they got on the ramparts; which they did accordingly, and with that unexpected noiſe ſo terrified the beſieged, that they abandoned the attack on the other ſide, and by that means gave the legionaries an opportunity of advancing up the narrow path to the gate, which they broke down, and entering the fortreſs, joined their companions. Being thus maſters of the place, they put both the gariſon and inhabitants to the ſword without diſtinction, ſeized the king's treaſures, and then went into winter-quarters, loaded with glory and booty [i].

Beſieges Mulucha.

Mulucha *taken.*

The character of Sylla.

Soon after the reduction of *Mulucha*, *Lucius Cornelius Sylla* landed at *Utica*, with a reinforcement for the conſular army. He was by birth a patrician, and deſcended from one of the moſt illuſtrious families in *Rome*. He had ſomething very engaging in his converſation, was of a graceful aſpect, a noble air, eaſy manners, affable, inſinuating, and ever ready to oblige all, even at the expence of his own fortune, which was but very ſmall; for his branch of the *Cornelian* family had been long eclipſed. One of his anceſtors, by name *Publius Cornelius Rufinus*, a ſenator of great reputation, having been degraded by the cenſors, for keeping in his houſe, contrary to law, ten pounds weight of ſilver in plate, his diſgrace deſcended to his poſterity, who continued long in obſcurity, and were excluded from honours and public offices, as *Plutarch* informs us, to the ſixth generation. *Sylla*, in his youth, fell in with the cuſtoms of

[i] Sallust. ibid. Front. ſtrat. l. iii. c. 9.

a of the young patricians of his time, and gave himſelf intirely up to pleaſures and debauchery, keeing company only with lewd women, ſtage-players, and buffoons; in ſhort, he was reckoned one of the moſt debauched and effeminate young men in *Rome*. A young courteſan, named *Nicopolis*, taken with his graceful perſon, ſupplied him plentifully with money, which was the fruit of her debaucheries; and, as the young *Roman* proved conſtant to her, ſhe left him great wealth at her death. Soon after his mother-in-law likewiſe died, and left him a plentiful eſtate. From that time, as he was ſatiated with pleaſures, he began to be tired with a private life, and, his wealth rouſing his ambition, he demanded, and obtained the quæſtorſhip, the ſame year that *Marius* was raiſed to the conſulate. The people, whom he eaſily gained by
b his gentle and obliging carriage, appointed him to ſerve under *Marius*, who was then ready to ſet out for *Africa*; but that general, thinking, that a man of pleaſure could never prove a good ſoldier, or that a body, enervated by vice and debauchery, could bear the fatigues of war, was highly diſpleaſed with the quæſtor allotted him, and therefore left him behind in *Italy*, under pretence of raiſing a reinforcement of auxiliary troops among the allies, but in reality to get rid of a man, of whoſe conduct in war he had but a very mean opinion. The quæſtor, tho' very ſenſible of the contempt ſhewn him, obeyed, and came not to the army till after the reduction of *Mulucha*, when the troops were ready to go into winter-quarters. The moment he arrived in *Africa*, he threw off the man of pleaſure, was always ready to under-
c take the moſt painful and laborious duties, contented himſelf with the food of the common ſoldiers, and, by affecting to imitate *Marius*, gained both his eſteem and friendſhip: ſo that nothing now ſeemed wanting to the quæſtor, but an opportunity to give proofs of his valour. It was the quæſtor's province to ſupply the troops with proviſions, and the neceſſary ſums for carrying on the war; but this office did not exempt him from partaking of the dangers, or prevent his commanding the troops. In an action the quæſtor performed the office of the firſt lieutenant general of the army, immediately under the chief commander; and in this office *Sylla* ſignalized himſelf, as we ſhall ſee in the courſe of this war, and carefully improved the opportunities that offered of recovering the time he had loſt[k].

Sylla's *change in conduct.*

d *Marius*, after the taking of *Mulucha*, retired towards the ſea-coaſt, with a deſign to put his troops into winter-quarters in the maritime cities, that by this means they might be the more eaſily ſupplied with proviſions. But in his retreat his army was ſurprized by the united forces of the two kings, who, coming unexpectedly upon them towards the cloſe of the day, charged them with great fury. As the *Romans* were neither upon their guard, nor armed for fighting, nor drawn up in battalia, the legionaries, being hard preſſed by the *Mauritanian* and *Getulian* cavalry, began to give ground. But, in the mean time, the *Roman* cavalry, arriving very ſeaſonably, made head againſt the enemy, and ſuſtained the ſhock of their cavalry, till the legionaries drew up, and put themſelves in a poſture of defence. Then a tumultuary
e battle, or rather a great fray, enſued: none of the ſoldiers repaired to their colours; but fought, as they could, horſe and foot mixed together, without any rule or order. Both *Marius* and his quæſtor diſtinguiſhed themſelves on this occaſion in a very eminent manner; the latter fell, like a lion, on a troop of barbarians, who had already ſurrounded one of the manipuli, and cut moſt of them in pieces; the former ſeemed to be in all places at once, and, being attended by a body of choice troops, obliged the enemy to give way where-ever he appeared. When it began to grow dark, *Marius* retired by degrees to two neighbouring hills, and, having there rallied his troops, fortified in all haſte that which was leaſt ſteep, poſting his men on the declivity of the two hills, and in the valley between them. At the foot of one of the hills was a
f plentiful ſpring of freſh water, a great refreſhment to troops fatigued with a long march and a warm battle. The two kings ſurrounded the hills, on which the *Romans* were poſted, with numberleſs multitudes of *Numidians*, *Mauritanians*, and *Getulians*, who all looked on this action only as the beginning of a certain victory, which they ſhould complete at the riſing of the ſun. *Jugurtha* did not doubt, but he ſhould be able to extinguiſh the *Roman* name in *Numidia*; and the *African* ſoldiers, looking upon the conſular army as a certain prey, kindled great fires, danced round them with loud ſhouts, and paſſed the beſt part of the night in feaſtings and rejoicings. *Marius*, who ſaw, from the eminence on which he was incamped, all that paſſed, kept within his intrenchments,

The two kings ſurpriſe Marius.

[k] Salluſt. ibid. Plut. in Syll. & Mar.

trenchments, till the enemy, tired with dancing and revelling, retired to their tents a
to refreſh themſelves with ſleep, that they might be able to renew the attack at break
of day with more vigor. He then drew out his legions in order of battle; and,
placing all the trumpets in the firſt line, advanced in ſilence and good order towards
the enemy. When he was within reach of them, the trumpets ſounded the charge,
and made ſo terrible a noiſe, that the barbarians, who were moſt of them aſleep, had
Who ſurpriſes them in his turn, and puts them to flight. not in that ſurpriſe the courage to take up their arms, but fled, many of them half
naked, in the utmoſt confuſion. The *Romans* purſued the fugitives, and made a
dreadful ſlaughter of the diſarmed multitude. We are told, that *Jugurtha* and
Bocchus loſt more men in this ſurpriſe, than in any other action. Four days after
this defeat, they again came up with the *Roman* army, hoping to find them once more b
off their guard. But *Marius*, who was ready to receive them, made ſuch a ſlaughter
of the barbarians, that he had reaſon to believe the war near ended. The enemy's
The confederate kings defeated a ſecond time. army, which had been juſt reinforced by a numerous body, under the command of
Volux the ſon of *Bocchus*, and conſiſted of ninety thouſand men, was almoſt intirely
cut off. *Jugurtha* on this occaſion gave uncommon proofs of his valour and con-
duct. At the head of his cavalry he broke through the firſt line of the *Romans*, and,
ſhewing his bloody ſword to the legionaries, cried out in the *Latin* tongue, which
he had learnt at the ſiege of *Numantia*, Marius *is dead. This ſword is ſtained with his blood.* Hereupon the ſecond line of the *Romans* began to give ground, and the
Numidians, animated by the example of their king, renewed the charge with more c
Sylla's *bravery.* fury than ever. But, in the mean time, *Sylla*, having routed the numberleſs forces
of *Bocchus* and *Volux*, arrived very ſeaſonably at the head of the cavalry, revived the
courage of the legionaries, and falling upon the enemy's flank robbed them of a
victory, which they thought certain. The *Numidians*, in ſpite of their utmoſt efforts,
were forced to fly before *Sylla*, who, laying hold of all opportunities to efface the
prejudices entertained of his effeminacy, performed wonders. The king himſelf,
who retired with his *Numidians*, narrowly eſcaped falling into his hands. Thus *Sylla*
diſplayed for the firſt time his courage and intrepidity greatly to his advantage. *Marius*
had the honour of conducting the whole action with the prudence of a great comman-
der, and *Sylla* that of executing the orders of his general with uncommon valour [1]. d

Bocchus *treats with the* Romans. The labours of the campaign were ſucceeded by negotiations. *Bocchus*, who had
been long inclined to peace, ſent an embaſſy to the conſul, deſiring him to diſpatch
ſome perſons to him, to whom he might ſafely communicate his thoughts. Hereupon
Marius immediately appointed *Sylla* his quæſtor and *Manlius* one of his lieutenants,
to wait upon the king. In their firſt audience, *Sylla* endeavoured, not only to draw
off *Bocchus* from *Jugurtha*, but to prevail upon him to deliver up the *Numidian* king
alive into the conſul's hands. But *Bocchus*, without taking any notice of what *Sylla*
had ſaid on that head, only begged leave to ſend an embaſſy, firſt to the conſul, and
then to *Rome*, to negotiate a peace and alliance with the *Roman* ſenate and people.
This the quæſtor readily granted, and then ſet out with his collegue *Manlius* for *Cirtha*, e
where *Marius* then was in winter quarters. They were ſoon followed by five embaſ-
ſadors, all men of great diſtinction, from the king of *Mauritania*; but, *Marius* being
gone from *Cirtha* to ſurpriſe a caſtle at a great diſtance, which was ſaid to be full of
Roman deſerters, the embaſſadors proceeded to *Utica*, where *Sylla* commanded the
main body of the army in the conſul's abſence. *Sylla* received them with the higheſt
marks of honour; and, upon the return of the conſul, who failed in his attempt upon
the caſtle, their propoſals were accepted, a truce was agreed on between the *Romans*
Sends embaſſadors to the conſul and to Rome. and *Mauritanians*, and two of the embaſſadors ſent back to carry the news to the king,
while the other three imbarqued for *Italy*, with the ſecond quæſtor *Cneius Octavius*, who
was lately come from *Rome*, with large ſums for the payment of the troops and other f
expences of the war. When they arrived at *Rome*, they found *C. Attilius Serranus*
and *Q. Servilius Cæpio* in the conſulate. The latter had *Narbonne Gaul*, and the for-
mer *Italy*, for his province. *Marius* was continued in the command of the army in
Africa in quality of proconſul, and *Sylla* confirmed in his office with the title of pro-
quæſtor. The ſenate, when they had heard from the embaſſadors the requeſt of their
maſter, returned them the following anſwer: *The ſenate and people of* Rome *are not eaſily reconciled to thoſe who have dared, without any provocation, to bear arms againſt them. Nevertheleſs, the repentance of* Bocchus *diſarms us. Let him enjoy the truce with which*

[1] Sallust. & Plut. ibid.

which Marius *has favoured him, and the peace which we now grant him. But as to an*
a *alliance with* Rome, *it is incumbent on him first to deserve it by some important services.*
By this *Bocchus* well knew was meant his delivering up *Jugurtha*, and being resolved *A peace is granted him by the senate.*
to comply with the desire of the senate, he intreated *Marius* to send *Sylla* to him, in
order to facilitate the execution of his design. *Sylla*, ready to run all hazards in the
negotiating of an affair, which would put an end to the war at once, willingly accepted
of the office. *Jugurtha*, in the mean time, though in want of every thing, still sup-
ported himself by his courage. When he heard of the treaty which the *Mauritanian*
had just concluded with *Rome*, he sent one *Aspar*, a faithful and able minister, to
Bocchus, not doubting, but he should be able, by well-conducted negociations and
by the mediation of his son-in-law, to get himself included in the treaty, and save
b both his person and part of his dominions. As *Aspar* arrived at the *Mauritanian*
court before *Sylla*, he insinuated himself so much into the king's affections, that he
had very like to have gained him over entirely to his master's interest. A *Numidian*
prince, named *Dabar*, grandson to *Masinissa* by a concubine and greatly attached to
the *Romans*, being then at the court of the *Mauritanian*, employed all his interest in
favour of the republic, and with much ado kept *Bocchus* wavering between *Rome* and
Jugurtha.

Sylla was already upon the road to *Mauritania*, with a pretty numerous guard of Sylla *sets out for the* Mauritanian *court.*
cavalry, light-armed infantry, archers, slingers, and a whole cohort of *Peligni*. Af-
ter five days march he was met by *Volux*, the son of *Bocchus*, at the head of a thou-
c sand chosen men. The pro-quæstor received the king's son with all the politeness and
address that was natural to him, and marched with him the first day without the least
appearance of distrust. When the sun was down, they incamped together; and then
Volux, entering in great haste the *Roman* commander's pavilion, told him, that he
was informed by his scouts, that *Jugurtha* was near with a body of troops far supe-
rior to theirs when joined together, This, with the advice the *Mauritanian* gave *Sylla*, *Is met by* Jugurtha.
made the *Roman* suspect both him and his father of treachery. *Let us fly*, said the
young prince, *and leave our camp and men to the mercy of the enemy. I will take upon*
me to conduct you to a place of safety in the dark. The brave pro-quæstor, shocked at
d this proposal, replied resolutely, *Shall I fly before an enemy who has been so often van-*
quished? Shall I be coward enough to abandon my men without a leader? I know the
valor of my troops; and either they shall conquer with me, or I perish with them. How-
ever, *Volux* prevailed on *Sylla* to decamp immediately, and pursue his march in
silence. But *Jugurtha*, being informed of what had happened, got before them, and
posted himself on the road through which the *Romans* were to pass. When the
Romans, after having marched all night, observed early next morning *Jugurtha*'s
army incamped about two miles from them, they cried out, *We are betrayed*; Volux
has sold us to Jugurtha; *let us kill the traytor.* But *Sylla*, putting on an air of security,
encouraged his men to behave like *Romans*; and then taking *Volux* aside, *I am fully*
convinced, said he, *that you have betrayed us; but that I may not be as wicked as yourself,*
e *I will save your life. Be gone from the camp this minute, and join the army which* Jugurtha
has brought against us. The *Mauritanian*, astonished, in appearance, at these words,
replied, *I cannot think* Jugurtha *so imprudent, as to insult an ambassador who is under the*
protection of the son of the only friend he has in the world. His only aim in stopping the way
into Mauritania *is, to make a merit with the republic of giving* Sylla *a free passage through*
the midst of his troops. You will see him embrace with pleasure the opportunity that now
offers of making his court to you. Let us go together, without any troops; he will let us
pass unmolested. *Sylla* thought this a dangerous experiment; but nevertheless resolved
to run the hazard of it; and accordingly, followed only by his attendants as embas-
sador, he passed through *Jugurtha*'s army without molestation. The *Numidian*, by Jugurtha *suffers* Sylla *to pass through his army.*
f thus suffering *Sylla* to pass unmolested, hoped to gain his friendship, and by that
means be included in the peace. But be that as it will, *Sylla* from this extraordinary
piece of good fortune was ever after called *The Fortunate*. After he had thus happily
escaped the hands of *Jugurtha*, he proceeded with *Volux* to the court of *Bocchus*, where
he was received in the most respectful manner. The king, who was still wavering
between *Rome* and *Numidia*, gave audience to *Sylla*, and *Aspar* the king of *Numidia*'s
agent, at the same time. The former delivered his message with all the pride of a *His negotiations with* Bocchus.
Roman, in these words; *I only come to know whether you will have war or peace. Take*
your choice, that I may be gone. This stopped the mouth of the *Numidian* embassador;
and *Bocchus* made only this short reply; *I am not yet determined. I will take ten days*
to

to conſider of it, and then declare my reſolution. *Bocchus* was inclined to favour *Jugurtha*; a
but, on the other hand, he dreaded the power of the *Romans*; and therefore made it
his buſineſs to deceive both embaſſadors. However, he ſeemed to pay moſt deference
to *Sylla*, with whom he had, the night following, a private conference in his own
apartment; when he declared, that his arms, auxiliaries, money, and in ſhort the
whole power of his kingdom were intirely at the diſpoſal of the ſenate and people of
Rome. *I give up*, ſaid he, Jugurtha *to your reſentments, and am determined to lend no
further aſſiſtance to a prince who has incurred your diſpleaſure. What more can you deſire?*
Sylla, on the other hand, juſtified the proceedings of *Rome* againſt *Jugurtha*, magnified
the favour ſhewn to the *Mauritanian* by the peace, and then, with regard to the moſt
material part of his commiſſion, went on thus: *The moſt powerful kings cannot obtain* b
an alliance with Rome, *but by ſome very extraordinary piece of ſervice. Seize then the
opportunity which fortune offers you. It is now in your power to ſeize and deliver up* Ju-
gurtha *to us. Your ſacrificing that perfidious uſurper will procure you the friendſhip of our
republic, and eſtabliſh you on the throne of your anceſtors for ever. Nor is this all: the beſt
part of* Numidia *will be the reward of your bringing to puniſhment a wicked, ungrateful,
and treacherous wretch, whoſe hands are yet ſtained with the innocent blood of his bro-
thers. Aſſiſt* Rome *then in executing the vengeance of the gods; deliver up* Jugurtha
*into my hands before my departure, and depend on the perpetual protection and friendſhip of
the* Romans. *Bocchus*, pretending to be ſurpriſed at the propoſal, cried out, *What!
betray a father-in-law, a neighbouring king, a friend, an ally! What will all* Africa *think* c
of ſuch a black treachery? But *Sylla*, who was very eloquent, by preſſing and urging
in the ſtrongeſt terms, that nothing elſe could procure him the friendſhip of *Rome*,
Bocchus *promiſes to deliver up* Jugurtha *to* Sylla. obtained at length an expreſs promiſe from him to deliver up the king of *Numidia* into
his hands. The expedient they agreed on to inſnare him was, to give him ſome hopes
of being included in the treaty of peace with *Rome*, and by that bait draw him to
the court of the *Mauritanian* king. Accordingly, the next morning *Bocchus* ſent for
Aſpar, and, with an unuſual air of gaiety, told him, that the *Roman* embaſſador ſeemed
inclined to include his maſter in the treaty of peace. Inform him therefore, ſaid he,
that the critical time for putting an end to ſo deſtructive a war is come, and adviſe
him to haſten hither, and finiſh the negotiation in perſon. With this good news *Aſpar* d
immediately ſet out for *Jugurtha*'s camp, and in eight days returned to *Bocchus*'s
court with this anſwer; that his maſter was very deſirous of putting an end to ſo
troubleſome a war; but that, as the ſenate often diſannulled the treaties concluded with
their conſuls, no wiſe man would enter into negotiations with them, unleſs he had ſome
ſecurity for the performance of the articles; that in the preſent caſe he ſaw nothing
that could ſecure to him the peace which *Marius* was negotiating, except the deliver-
ing up of the proconſul's embaſſador into his hands; that if he were detained, this would
be a powerful motive for the ſenate to confirm a treaty, which they could not break
but by ſacrificing ſo illuſtrious a partrician. The *Mauritanian* was ſo ſtruck with this
propoſal, that he immediately came into it; ſo that he had now baſely engaged to e
The double treachery of Bocchus. deliver up the *Roman* to the *Numidian*, and the *Numidian* to the *Roman*. As he
had ſolemnly given his word to both embaſſadors, they both equally expreſſed their
ſatisfaction. There was no diſtruſt or jealouſy between them; each depended on the
promiſe made him, and looked on his rival as inſnared and ſacrificed by the trea-
cherous king. As for *Bocchus* himſelf, he ſtill continued wavering; his heart was
with *Jugurtha*; but his intereſt inclined him to favour *Sylla*. In ſhort, he did not
determine which of the two he ſhould betray to the other, till the very night before
the appointed conference between himſelf, *Sylla*, and *Jugurtha*. For the latter, de-
pending upon the promiſe of his ſon in-law, had left his army, and was already
incamped with a ſmall body of choſen troops within reach of the court. When *Boc-* f
chus received advice of the approach of *Jugurtha*, he fell into greater perplexity than
ever; he could not prevail upon himſelf to betray *Jugurtha*, his relation, his friend,
and his ally; and, on the other hand, he was afraid to ſeize *Sylla*, and by that piece
of treachery draw upon himſelf and his poſterity the vengeance of the powerful repub-
lic. He paſſed the night in great anxiety, and was obſerved to walk to and fro in
his apartment with unuſual agitations of body; to change colour often, and to fall
into deep reflections, After having ſpent ſome hours in private, he at length came
to a final determination; and having ſent for *Sylla*, entered into meaſures with him
for drawing *Jugurtha* into the ſnare. A very high hill was appointed for the place
of the conference; and thither *Bocchus*, by the advice of *Sylla*, ſent ſome troops before

day-

a day-break, with orders to conceal themſelves among the neighbouring rocks, and inveſt the hill as ſoon as *Jugurtha* ſhould appear upon it. This done, *Bocchus* and *Sylla*, upon advice that the king of *Numidia* was drawing near, ſet out together to meet him. After the firſt civilities, the two kings and the *Roman* embaſſador proceeded towards the hill. *Jugurtha* was ſo fully perſuaded, that his father-in-law was going to deliver the illuſtrious *Roman* into his hands, that he took no other guard with him but ſome few friends. As ſoon as they arrived at the top of the hill, the *Mauritanians* came out of their ambuſh; but this ſight did not in the leaſt affect the king of *Numidia*, though naturally very ſuſpicious. He believed they were coming to ſeize *Sylla*, and therefore expreſſed great joy in ſeeing himſelf, as he imagined, at length ſure of his prey. Nor was he undeceived, till the detachment, falling upon his attendants, cut them in pieces, and then ſurrounded and ſeized him. He ſcarce believed his own eyes, till he was delivered into the *Roman* embaſſador's hands, who loaded him with chains, and ſet out with him, under a ſtrong guard, for *Cirtha*, which *Marius* had choſen for the uſual place of his reſidence. When *Sylla* entered that city with the captive king, the *Roman* army received him with loud ſhouts, and ſuch demonſtrations of joy and marks of eſteem, as cannot eaſily be deſcribed. They looked upon him as the chief conqueror of *Numidia*; and this raiſed the envy of his general, who could not help ſhewing his diſpleaſure at the praiſes, which the ſoldiers ſo liberally beſtowed on the pro-quæſtor. He burnt with envy in ſeeing his ſubaltern thus honoured by the ſoldiery, and in a manner preferred to himſelf. And indeed it was but juſt, that *Marius* ſhould have the mortification of ſeeing the glory of the campaign divided between a ſubaltern and himſelf. He had ſupplanted his predeceſſor *Metellus* by ſecret artifices and public calumnies; and providence now raiſed up one to avenge his quarrel. From this ſmall beginning the famous wars between *Marius* and *Sylla* took their riſe, and did not end, as their mutual jealouſy daily increaſed, but with the deſtruction of the republic [m]. Never was there more univerſal joy in *Rome*, than at the ſight of the illuſtrious captive whom *Marius* had ſent them from *Africa*. By the taking of *Jugurtha* the war in *Numidia* was at an end, and that great kingdom intirely reduced. As for the captive king, he was kept in cloſe confinement, to grace the triumph of the proconſul, when he ſhould return from *Africa*.

b Jugurtha *delivered up to* Sylla. *Year after the flood* 2898. *Before Chriſt* 101. *Of* Rome 674

c

d

e

f

DURING theſe tranſactions in *Numidia*, the conſul *Q. Servilius Cæpio*, to whoſe lot *Tranſalpine Gaul* had fallen, as we have obſerved above, recovered the city of *Toloſa*, now *Toulouſe*, the capital of the *Tectoſages*, from the *Cimbri*; but ſtained the glory, which this conqueſt deſerved, by his avarice and rapines. For he gave the city up to be plundered by his ſoldiers, though the inhabitants themſelves had delivered it up into his hands, and robbed the temples of thoſe immenſe ſums which the *Tectoſages* were ſaid to have brought thither, after having plundered the famous temple of *Delphos*. Thoſe writers among the ancients, who are the moſt modeſt in their computations, make the ſum, which *Cæpio* found in the temple of *Apollo* in *Toulouſe*, amount to a hundred thouſand pounds weight of gold, and as many of ſilver. Some writers tell us, that the *Tectoſages* brought from *Delphos* a hundred and twenty thouſand pounds weight of gold and five millions of pounds weight of ſilver, which they lodged in their temple of *Apollo*. But *Strabo*, *Pauſanias*, and *Polybius*, aſſure us, that not one of thoſe *Gauls*, who were concerned in the plundering of the temple of *Delphos*, returned home, both gods and men having in a manner combined to extirpate that ſacrilegious race. The immenſe treaſures therefore, with which the temples of the *Tectoſages* were inriched, could not have been brought from *Delphos*; but were moſt likely, according to *Strabo* and *Pauſanias*, dug out of the ſilver and gold mines, with which the country of the *Tectoſages* formerly abounded. But from what part ſoever theſe treaſures were brought, it is very certain, that they were immenſely great, and that the general and his troops inriched themſelves by the ſacrilege, without ſuffering the republic to reap any advantage by it. The conſul pretended to ſet apart a conſiderable ſhare for the public treaſury, and ſent it away under a ſmall guard to *Marſeilles*; but at the ſame time he placed a numerous body on the road, who ſeized it, and privately conveyed it to him. However, as he had retaken *Toulouſe* from the *Cimbri*, he was continued in the government of *Narbonne Gaul* with the title of proconſul [n]. During the preſent conſulate, two great men were born, who will furniſh

Cæpio *recovers* Toulouſe *from the* Cimbri; *And plunders the temples there.* *The avarice of* Cæpio.

[m] SALLUST. bell. Jugurth. PLUT. in Mario & Sylla. GELL. l. xv & epiſt. ad Attic.

[n] VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. PLUT. AUL.

furniſh us with ample matter for the ſequel of this hiſtory, *viz.* the great *Pompey* at *Rome*, and the celebrated *Cicero* in the territory of *Arpinum*, a city of the *Volſci*. a

The following year, *P. Rutilius Rufus* and *Cn. Mallius Maximus* were advanced to the conſulate; the former a patrician of known abilities and unſpotted reputation; the latter a man of no birth or talents. Nevertheleſs it fell to the lot of *Mallius* to carry on the war with the *Cimbri* in *Tranſalpine Gaul*, at the head of a new army, while his collegue continued inactive in *Italy*. As for *Marius*, he was continued proconſul in *Numidia*, where he divided the dominions of the deprived king in the following manner: That part which lay next to *Mauritania*, and was known by the name of *Maſeſilia*, was aſſigned to *Bocchus*, and from this time took the name of *New Mauritania*. *Numidia*, properly ſo called, was divided into three parts; one was given b to *Hiempſal*, another to *Mondreſtal*, who were, without all doubt, the next heirs to *Maſiniſſa*; and the third, which lay next to the *Roman* province, the republic reſerved for herſelf, and ſubjected it to the prætor, whom ſhe annually ſent to govern the *African* province [o].

The dominions of Jugurtha *how divided.*

It the mean time, the conſul *Mallius* haſtened into *Gaul* to aſſiſt the proconſul *Cæpio*, who was not ſtrong enough to ſtop the inundation of the *Gauls*, who were marching from all parts to join the *Cimbri*, with a deſign to croſs the *Alps* and invade *Italy*. The *Ambrones* the *Tigurini*, the *Tugenes*, the *Urbigines*, and in ſhort all the nations that inhabited the country now known by the name of *Suizzerland*, were in motion to join the *Northern Gauls*, who had already made themſelves maſters of al- c moſt all the country between *Narbonne* and the *Pyrenees*. *Mallius* ſoon after his arrival quarrelled with *Cæpio*. Perhaps the latter, who was far ſuperior to the conſul with regard to birth and knowledge in military affairs, did not pay him the reſpect which was due to his character. However that be, it is certain, that their diſputes were carried to ſuch a height, that the officers of the two armies, finding they could not by any means agree, adviſed them to ſeparate: A fatal advice, which brought the republic into greater danger, than had ever threatened her ſince the foundation of the city. The barbarians no ſooner ſaw the *Roman* forces divided, than they fell upon a ſtrong detachment of the conſular army, which was commanded by *M. Aurelius Scaurus*, a lieutenant-general of great diſtinction, who had been conſul three years before, cut d them all to a man in pieces, and made *Scaurus* himſelf priſoner. *Mallius*, greatly intimidated at this defeat, thought proper to call *Cæpio* to his aſſiſtance. But the proconſul anſwered in a haughty manner, *We have each our province; let the conſul take care of himſelf.* However, he afterwards drew nearer the conſular army, fearing the conſul might conquer the *Gauls* without his aſſiſtance, and by that means have all the glory of the campaign. To prevent this, he incamped in the way where the *Cimbri* muſt paſs to fall on the conſular army, hoping, that he ſhould be able to withſtand the enemy with his own troops, and thereby deprive his rival of the opportunity of ſharing the honour of the victory. As for the *Cimbri*, when they ſaw the two generals draw near each other, they concluded, that they had made up their differ- e ences, and were in perfect union and friendſhip. They therefore ſent deputies to the conſul to propoſe a peace. As theſe deputies could not help paſſing through *Cæpio*'s army, he ordered them to be brought before him; and finding that they were empowered to treat only with *Mallius*, he treated them like ſpies, and would have put them to death, had not both the legionaries and officers of his army reſtrained his fury, and even forced him to go to the conſul's camp, and confer with him about the propoſals which the enemy had ſent to the republic. But, as he went to the conſul's tent againſt his will, he oppoſed him in all things, contradicted him with great obſtinacy and rudeneſs, and inſulted him in the groſſeſt manner. This increaſed the hatred between the two commanders; and the *Gauls* and *Cimbri*, being informed by f their deputies of the miſunderſtanding between the generals, laid hold of this opportunity to give battle. The *Gauls* attacked *Mallius*'s camp, and the *Cimbri Cæpio*'s. The ſlaughter they made was exceeding great. Fourſcore thouſand men, *Romans* and allies, with the two ſons of the conſul, and forty thouſand ſervants and ſuttlers, periſhed on this fatal day. Of the two *Roman* armies only ten men eſcaped, with the two generals to carry the news of ſo dreadful a defeat to *Rome*. Among theſe was the famous *Sertorius*, who, being yet very young, was making his firſt campaign under *Cæpio*. As he ſerved in the cavalry and was well mounted, he ſaved himſelf by ſwimming croſs the *Rhone*. The conquerors deſtroyed all the ſpoils they took, purſuant to a g vow

Cæpio *and* Mallius *quarrel.*

Cæpio *and* Mallius *intirely defeated by the* Cimbri *and* Gauls.

[o] Appian. de bell. civil. Plut. in Mario.

over against P. 28.

THE BRITISH OCEAN

THE SEA OF AQUITAN

GALLIA NARBONENSIS LUGDUNENSIS ET AQUITAINA

PART of SPAIN

PART OF GERMANY

PART of ITALY

THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA

Pyrenæan Mountains

Oblauni
Riduna
Vnelli seu Veneti
Sandino
Arica
Cæsaria
Cosedia
Ingena
Biducassium
Biducasses
Caletes
Juliobona
Rotomagus
Bratuspantium
Casaromagus
Lexouii
Noviomagus sive Lexovium
Bellovaci
Velocasses
Seguana Flu.
Augusta Suessanum
Axona Flu.
Virodunum
Vangiones
Mediomatrices
Divodurum
Borbetomagus Vangionum
Nouiomus Nemetum
Nemetes
Decem Pagi
Argentoratum
Tribocci
Rhenus Flu.
Mons Brisacus
Fullum
Mosella Flu.
Leuci
Abrincatui
Italiocanus Portus
Vxantoa Ins.
Gobeum promont.
Briuates
Osismii
Vorganium
Aletum
Meduana
Condate
Rhedones
Eburouices
Durocasses
Autricum Carnutum
Cenomani
Vindunum
Dialitlindum
Melodunum
Iatinum
Bibrax
Rhemi
Catalauni
Meldi
Parisii
Lutetia
Melodurum
Durocortorum
Augustomagus
Siluanectum
Medio lanum
Tricasses
Agendicum Senonum
Augustomana Tricassium
Senones
Lingones
Andomedunum Lingonum
Argentuaria
Rhenus Flu.
Arar Flu.
Dubis flu.
Vesontia
Dola
Sequani
Rauraci
Augusta Rauracorum
Arola flu.
Vindonissa
Aquæ Helveticæ
Tigurinum
Helvetii
Jura Mons
Arola flu.
Genoua
Lemanus
Matisco
Rhodanus Flu.
Sedunum
Seduni
Adula Mons
Lepontii
Octodurum
Veragri
Penninæ Alpes
Augusta Prætoria
Lugdunum
Vienna
Allobroges
Isara flu.
Forum Claudii
Ceutron
Graiæ Alpes
Centrones
Vibiscum
Segusio
Segusiani
Segalauni
Valentia
Augusta Taurinorum
Cottiæ Alpes
Padus flu.
Padus Flu.
Druentia Flu.
Ebrodunum
Segistera
Vapincum
Lacus Lugdunensis
Tricorii
Dea
Cauares
Vasio
Vindalium
Carpentorac.
Auenio
Nemausus
Apta Julia
Cabellio
Forum Neronis
Dinia
Glanate
Venus Flu.
Maritimæ Alpes
Liguria Genua
Vindium
Reii Apollinares
Arelate
Massilia
Salyi
Antipolis
Forum Julii
Vicus Apollinis
Vicæ and Cerina
Ligustici Sinus
Stoechades
Olbia
Telo Martius
Argentarii Portus
Gallicus Sinus
Aquæ Sextiæ
Forum Voconii
Aquæ Neronis
Aquæ Sextiæ
Ruscino
Illiberis
Venaria
Venaris Fanum
Volcæ Tectosages
Volcæ Arecomici
Tolosa
Tolosates
Tectosages
Carcaso
Narbo Martius
Bebrices
Salsulæ
Beterra
Atax flu.
Agatha
Cubi Avarici Biturices
Bituriges Cubi
Lemouices
Augustoritum Lemouicum
Aruerni
Augustonemetum
Gergonia
Gergouia Boiorum
Rodumna
Boii
Liger Flu.
Elauer flu.
Allier flu.
Mandubii
Alesia
Divionum
Vadicasses
Bilbracte
Augustodunum
Aedui
Segusiani
Ebusates
Elusa
Auscii
Tarba
Convenæ
Pictones
Limonum seu
Pictauium
Argantomagus
Santones
Portus Santonum
Carantomius sive Carentelus Flu.
Ratiastum
Petrocorii
Vesuna quæ et
Illa flu.
Duranius flu.
Bituriges Vibisci
Burdegala
Aginnum
Cosio
Carumna flu.
Vasates
Tarbelli
Lactoratum
Aquæ Tarbellæ
Aturus Flu.
Benecharnus
Aquæ Onesiæ
Pompelon
Nitiobriges
Oldus flu.
Deueona sive Diuona
Cadurci
Uxellodunum
Gabali
Anderedon
Gebenna Mons
Tropeum
Semilian-um
Alba Heluorum
Helui
Ruteni
Segedunum
Veronius
Ternis flu.
Albiga
Eleuteri
Cadurci
Tolosa
Garumna Flu.
Turones
Caesarodunum Turonum
Genabum sive Aurelianum
Vellaunodunum
Andes
Juliomagus Andegauum
Condiuicnum
Liger Flu.
Veneticæ Insulæ
Curiosolitæ or Cariosuelites
Vindana portus
Veneti
Dariorigum
Ligeris Flu.
Isara flu.
Matrona flu.
Sequana flu.
Andematunum Lingonum
Antissiodorum
Agrippa M.
Axona Flu.
Mosella Flu.
Rhenus Flu.
Arar flu.
Dubis flu.
Arola flu.
Tigurinus Lac.
Rhenus Flu.
Rhodanus Flu.
Adula Mons
Lepontii Alpes
Padus Flu.
Cenisium
Vercellæ
Eporedia
Taurini
Segusio
Druentia Flu.
Durance flu.
Isara flu.
Vienna
Lugdunum
Forum Claudii
Ceutron
Graiæ Alpes
Centrones
Vibiscum
Segusio
Segusiani
Segalauni
Valentia
Augusta Taurinorum
Cottiæ Alpes
Padus flu.
Padus Flu.
Druentia Flu.
Ebrodunum
Segistera
Vapincum
Lacus Lugdunensis
Tricorii
Dea
Cauares
Vasio
Vindalium
Carpentorac.
Auenio
Nemausus
Apta Julia
Cabellio
Forum Neronis
Dinia
Glanate
Venus Flu.
Maritimæ Alpes
Liguria Genua
Vindium
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Telo Martius
Argentarii Portus
Gallicus Sinus
Aquæ Sextiæ
Forum Voconii
Aquæ Neronis
Aquæ Sextiæ
Ruscino
Illiberis
Venaria
Venaris Fanum
Volcæ Tectosages
Volcæ Arecomici
Tolosa
Tolosates
Tectosages
Carcaso
Narbo Martius
Bebrices
Salsulæ
Beterra
Atax flu.
Agatha
Cubi Avarici Biturices
Bituriges Cubi
Lemouices
Augustoritum Lemouicum
Aruerni
Augustonemetum
Gergonia
Gergouia Boiorum
Rodumna
Boii
Liger Flu.
Elauer flu.
Allier flu.
Mandubii
Alesia
Divionum
Vadicasses
Bilbracte
Augustodunum
Aedui
Segusiani
Ebusates
Elusa
Auscii
Tarba
Convenæ
Pictones
Limonum seu
Pictauium
Argantomagus
Santones
Portus Santonum
Carantomius sive Carentelus Flu.
Ratiastum
Petrocorii
Vesuna quæ et
Illa flu.
Duranius flu.
Bituriges Vibisci
Burdegala
Aginnum
Cosio
Carumna flu.
Vasates
Tarbelli
Lactoratum
Aquæ Tarbellæ
Aturus Flu.
Benecharnus
Aquæ Onesiæ
Pompelon
Nitiobriges
Oldus flu.
Deueona sive Diuona
Cadurci
Uxellodunum
Gabali
Anderedon
Gebenna Mons
Tropeum
Semilian-um
Alba Heluorum
Helui
Ruteni
Segedunum
Veronius
Ternis flu.
Albiga
Eleuteri
Cadurci
Tolosa
Garumna Flu.
Turones
Caesarodunum Turonum
Genabum sive Aurelianum
Vellaunodunum
Andes
Juliomagus Andegauum
Condiuicnum
Liger Flu.
Veneticæ Insulæ
Curiosolitæ or Cariosuelites
Vindana portus
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Isara flu.
Matrona flu.
Sequana flu.
Andematunum Lingonum
Antissiodorum
Agrippa M.
Axona Flu.
Mosella Flu.
Rhenus Flu.
Arar flu.
Dubis flu.
Arola flu.
Tigurinus Lac.
Rhenus Flu.
Rhodanus Flu.
Adula Mons
Lepontii Alpes
Padus Flu.
Cenisium
Vercellæ
Eporedia
Taurini

J. Wheatley Sculp.

a vow they had made before the battle. The gold and ſilver they threw into the *Rhone*, drowned the horſes they had taken, and put to death all the priſoners. Thus they revenged, without avarice, the injuries done to *Apollo*, whoſe temple the ſacrilegious and covetous *Romans* had plundered [p].

THE news of this misfortune filled *Rome* with fear and conſternation. At the ſame time advice came from *Spain*, that a prætorian army had been cut in pieces there by the *Luſitanians*. As both theſe melancholy accounts arrived on the eve of the nones of *October*, the ſenate ordered, that this ſhould for ever be reckoned among the unlucky days. In this general conſternation, all the ſhops in the city were ſhut up, and the citizens, laying aſide the *toga*, put on the military habit. They ſaw themſelves b threatened with a new deluge of *Cimbri* and *Gauls*, numerous enough to over-run the whole country. Two conſular armies, which were their chief dependence, were utterly deſtroyed, and *Rome* in ſo imminent a danger left quite defenceleſs. The people, highly incenſed againſt *Cæpio*, iſſued a decree, depoſing him, and declaring him incapable of any command in the *Roman* armies for the future. As no *Roman* general, how faulty ſoever, had ſuffered ſo great a diſgrace ſince the beginning of the republic, the decree of the people did not paſs without oppoſition. The nobility and ſenate exclaimed againſt it as a novelty, and a blow which affected the whole body of the patricians, and raiſed ſuch diſturbances in the comitia, that *C. Junius Norbanus*, tribune of the people, was forced to drive the patricians by force out of c the aſſembly. In the fray which happened on this occaſion, *M. Æmilius Scaurus*, prince of the ſenate, was wounded on the head with a ſtone. The nobility being driven out of the aſſembly with two of the tribunes, *L. Cotta* and *C. Didius*, who proteſted againſt the law their collegues had propoſed, the ſacrilegious *Cæpio* was depoſed (I) [q]. Upon his depoſition the whole government of the republic for the reſt of the year fell to *P. Rutilius Rufus*, who, being impowered to guard *Rome* againſt the misfortunes that threatened her, raiſed a new army with incredible expe- dition, no citizen, who was of age to bear arms, being exempted. The conſul would not diſpenſe even with his own ſon, whom, though ſcarce ſeventeen, he ob- liged to ſerve as a common ſoldier in one of the legions. *Rutilius* on this occaſion d firſt introduced fencing maſters into the *Roman* camp, whoſe buſineſs it was to teach the young ſoldiers how to handle their arms, attack the enemy, and defend them- ſelves. By this means the conſul, who was a ſkilful commander, prepared for his ſucceſſor an invincible army [r].

Cæpio *depoſed*

IN the mean time, the *Cimbri* and *Gauls* held a council of war, in which ſome were for paſſing the *Alps*, deſcending into the plains of *Inſubria*, and advancing towards *Rome*. Others thought it more adviſeable to reduce firſt the new *Roman* province. But before they came to any reſolution, they thought it proper to bring into the council their priſoner *Aurelius Scaurus*, and aſk his opinion of their deſcent into *Italy*. The *Roman* with great conſtancy and intrepidity told them, that they were not to e expect from him any advice, which could be prejudicial to his country, but that he would give them ſuch as might be uſeful for themſelves. He then adviſed them to lay aſide all thoughts of paſſing into *Italy*, where they would meet with the ſame misfortunes which had formerly befallen *Pyrrhus* and *Hannibal*: *Enjoy*, ſaid he, *the glory fortune has given you in your firſt battle. You have gained a victory by the diſagreement of two bad commanders; but when you come to engage the forces of the*

[p] PLUT. in Sertorio. VALER. AUSTIAS apud LIV. DIODOR. SICUL. l. xxxvi. [q] VAL. MAX. l. vi. c. 9. CIC. de orat. l. ii. in Brut. & pro Balbo. [r] LIV. & VAL. MAX. l. ii. c. 3.

(I) *Cæpio*, according to ſome authors, was condemned to baniſhment; according to others, he died in priſon. His body, if we believe *Valerius Maximus* (4), was cut in pieces by the public executioner, and expoſed to the view of all the *Roman* people. He had been honoured with a triumph, with the dignity of pontifex maximus, and the title of *Protector of the ſenate*. But notwithſtanding his former honours and deſerts, he was treated like a common criminal on account of his having been the chief cauſe of the defeat of the *Romans* by the *Cimbri* and *Teutones*. Some writers even tells us, that his body was dragged to the *Scalæ Gemoniæ*, and there barbarouſly abuſed by the incenſed multitude. But *Cicero* ſays in expreſs words (5), that *Servilius Cæpio*, being baniſhed *Rome*, retired to *Smyrna*; whence ſome writers, in order to reconcile the ancients, have imagined, that he was by the intereſt of his family and friends recalled from baniſhment; but that the tribunes, having revived the old accuſations againſt him, prevailed on the people to ſentence him to death for having ſacrificed the intereſts of his country to his avarice and ambition.

(4) *Val. Max. l.* vi. c. 9 (5) *Cic. in orat. pro Balbo.*

the

the republic under the conduct of an experienced general, you will find them invincible. *Scaurus* had scarce done speaking, when *Bojorix*, one of the kings or leaders of the *Cimbri*, thinking this too insolent a speech from the mouth of a captive, drew his sword and stabbed him. In the mean time, the republic chose new consuls, and raised to that dignity *C. Fulvius Fimbria* and *C. Marius* a second time. Two laws were urged against the promotion of the latter, one forbidding the choice of any absent person, the other enacting, that no one should be raised to the consulate a second time, till ten years after the first. But the people made the laws give way to the public good. This news was a very agreeable surprise to *Marius*, who was busy in regulating his conquests in *Africa*, and thought of nothing less than his new promotion. He left *Numidia* without delay, and, returning to *Rome* about the end of *December*, on the first day of *January* both entered on his office and triumphed on account of his *Numidian* conquest. His triumphal chariot was preceded by the riches which he had brought from his province, consisting of three thousand seven hundred pounds weight of gold in ingots, 5775 pounds weight of silver in bars, and 287000 drachmæ, or silver denarii, in specie. But nothing struck the spectators so much as the sight of the captive king, who with his two sons was led in chains before the conqueror's chariot. After he had been made a shew to the insulting populace, he was used with the utmost insolence by the soldiery after the procession. They tore his ears in a barbarous manner in snatching away his pendants, with which insult the unhappy prince was deeply affected. After he had been abused in the grossest manner by the rabble, he was thrown into a dungeon, in which he soon perished. *Livy*, *Eutropius*, and *Orosius* tell us, that, as soon as the ceremony of the triumph was over, he was carried back to prison, and there strangled. His two sons survived him, and spent their lives in captivity at *Venusium*[s].

Aurelius Scaurus *murdered by the* Cimbri.

Marius *a second time consul.*

His triumph.

Death of Jugurtha.

As soon as the victor came down from his chariot, he went to the senate-house in his triumphal robes, either by mistake, or out of affectation. But, as the thing was new and the senators expressed their resentments by their looks, he went out immediately, pulled off his triumphal robes, and returned in a prætexta, the usual dress of consuls. The people had already decreed, that *Marius* should manage the war beyond the *Alps*, and that *Sylla* should serve under him as his lieutenant-general. As for *Fimbria*, he was ordered to continue in *Italy*, to oppose the barbarians, in case they should cross the mountains. All that remained was to divide the two armies now on foot between the consuls. *Marius* had his choice, and he readily preferred the new legions, which *Rutilius* had instructed, to the old troops which he had brought from *Africa*. So many honours heaped on a plebeian were a great mortification to the patricians, and encouraged four of the tribunes to make attempts in favour of the people, and greatly to the disadvantage of the senate and nobility. *Domitius Ahenobarbus*, the great grandfather of the emperor *Nero*, *Cassius Longinus*, *Servilius Glaucia*, and *Marcius Philippus*, all proposed new laws, tending to the diminution of the power of the senate, and the three former succeeded. The first transferred the power of electing the pontifices from their own college to the people. The second got it enacted, that every citizen, degraded by a plebiscitum, should for ever be deprived of his seat in the senate. This took away from the senators the power of reinstating those in their honours, whom the people had disgraced. The third prevailed on the people to pass a law, in virtue of which, the allies of *Latium*, who should accuse a senator, and prove their charge, were to enjoy all the privileges of *Roman* citizens. As for the tribune *Marcius Philippus*, he attempted to revive the law of *Tiberius Gracchus* concerning the distribution of the lands; but this was thought a seditious attempt, and therefore not seconded by the generality of the people[t].

Marius *appointed to command against the* Gauls *and* Cimbri.

The Domitian Cassian, *and* Servilian *laws.*

In the mean time, *Marius* set out for *Transalpine Gaul*, but finding that the enemy, after the defeat of *Cæpio* and *Mallius*, had, instead of passing the *Alps*, marched into *Spain*, being drawn thither by the hopes of booty, he applied himself wholly to the perfecting of his troops in discipline against their return. He taught his troops frugality by his example, and by the severity that appeared in his whole deportment. There was a wildness and fierceness in his looks not to be described. The very tone of his voice was so rough and harsh, that whenever he gave orders, he made those who received them tremble. This kept his men in exact obedience and subjection. In order to inure them to the dangers of battles, he sent most of the young soldiers under

Marius *sets out for* Transalpine Gaul.

[s] Liv. epit. l. lxvii. Front. Strat. l. iv. Cic. in Verr. act. 3. in Bruto & in Balbo.

[t] Suet. in Nerone. Val. Max. l. vi. c. 5.

a under the command of *Sylla* to make war on all the enemies of the republic, who were diſperſed from *Narbonne* to the *Pyrenees*. *Sylla* on this occaſion maintained the reputation he had acquired in *Numidia*, defeated in ſeveral battles the *Tectoſages*, and took one of their kings, named *Copillus*, priſoner of war. Notwithſtanding theſe advantages, *Marius*, not thinking the troops he had brought from *Italy* ſufficient to withſtand the numberleſs multitudes of *Cimbri*, *Teutones*, and *Gauls*, who would fall upon him on their return from *Spain*, ſent for ſuccours to the moſt remote parts of the eaſt. *Nicomedes*, king of *Bithynia*, to whom, among others, his deputies applied, anſwered, *That his dominions were quite exhauſted of men by the vaſt numbers of his ſubjects, who had been carried away and kept in ſlavery by the* Roman *knights, who*
b *farmed the revenues of the republic in the* Levant. The ſenate had regard to this juſt complaint, and paſſed a decree, ordering all men of free condition, brought from the country of any ally, to be ſet at liberty. But this decree, however juſt, gave riſe to a new war, of which *Marius* was the innocent occaſion.

The occaſion of the war with the ſlaves.

Upon the firſt news of this decree, the unhappy ſlaves, without waiting for further orders, broke their chains and ſet themſelves at liberty. The firſt commotion was raiſed at *Nuceria*, a city of *Campania* on the banks of the *Sarnus*; but the tumult was there ſoon ſuppreſſed. A more violent ſtorm was raiſed at *Capua* by a young *Roman* knight, named *Vettius*. After he had ſquandered away his fortune in debauchery, he fell violently in love with a beautiful ſlave, whom he bought upon credit
c for ſeven *Attic* talents. But when the time came, that he was either to pay the price agreed on, or return the ſlave to her former maſter, to avoid both, he made an inſurrection among the ſlaves, who cultivated the lands of the public in his diſtrict, making uſe of the decree of the ſenate to ſeduce thoſe unhappy wretches, He ſoon drew together four hundred of them, and his firſt exploit was to murder thoſe who had preſſed him to pay for his miſtreſs. He then led his ſmall company to the neighbouring villages and farms, which he put under contribution, being every-where joined by the ſlaves whom he ſet at liberty. When he had aſſembled about ſeven hundred of them, he poſted himſelf in an advantagious ſituation, got himſelf proclaimed king by his followers, who in a ſhort time amounted to three thouſand five hundred, and

The ſlaves riſe at Capua.

d fortified himſelf in his poſt, which he made an aſylum for all fugitive ſlaves. The ſenate, upon the firſt news of this inſurrection, diſpatched *Lucius Lucullus* the prætor againſt him, who, taking four thouſand ſix hundred regular troops with him, attacked *Vettius*, but was repulſed with great loſs. The prætor, finding he could not prevail by force, had recourſe to artifice, gained over one *Apollonius*, who was general under *Vettius*, and by his means made himſelf maſter of the place, which the rebels had fortified. But *Vettius*, ſeeing himſelf betrayed, eſcaped the puniſhment due to his crime, by laying violent hands on himſelf. But this was only a prelude to a more

Vettius *their leader betrayed.*

important war in *Sicily*, which was at this time governed by a prætor, named *Licinius Nerva*, a weak and timorous man. He at firſt obeyed the decree of the ſenate, ſet at
e liberty four hundred of thoſe unfortunate men, and ordered all, who had any remonſtrances to make concerning their ſlavery, to repair to him at *Syracuſe*. The number of theſe poor wretches was much greater than he imagined. He found, that the publicans had, under various pretences, reduced many thouſand freemen to ſlavery, eſpecially in the eaſt, and ſent them into *Sicily* to cultivate the lands which they farmed of the public. The prætor, quite ſurpriſed at ſuch villainous proceedings, reſolved to ſet all thoſe at liberty who were of free condition, purſuant to the decree of the ſenate. This alarmed the publicans, who thereupon had recourſe to the prætor, and by rich preſents prevailed upon him to ſuſpend the execution of the decree, and to turn his compaſſion into cruelty. Being corrupted by the *Roman* knights, he began to
f look upon this multitude of people, who had been carried away by force from their reſpective countries, only as a troubleſome mob, and ſent them back to their maſters. But they, inſtead of returning home, retired to a ſacred grove, and there took a reſolution of recovering by force the liberty which had been unjuſtly refuſed them. They then ſeized a caſtle in the neighbourhood, and laid the adjacent country under contribution. The prætor marched againſt them; but, being too weak to attack them, he prevailed on one of their leaders, naded *Caius Titinius*, to deliver up the caſtle to him, which he entered in the night. The ſlaves, though thus ſurpriſed, made a vigorous reſiſtance, and periſhed all to a man, either by the ſwords of the *Romans*, or by throwing themſelves down from the top of the walls. *Licinius* having ſuppreſſed this firſt commotion, inſtead of keeping the field, diſbanded his troops, which

An inſurrection among the ſlaves in Sicily;

gave

gave the ſlaves an opportunity of riſing again. They aſſembled in a few days to a the number of ſix thouſand, and, thinking it dangerous for ſo great a multitude to continue together without a head, they choſe one *Salvius*, a flute-player, for their general, and gave him the title of king. *Salvius* immediately divided his people into three parties, which he ſent out under three leaders to pillage the country, and bring all the ſlaves they could find to his camp. Theſe expeditions ſucceeded beyond his expectation; for his parties brought him ſo many men and horſes, that he was ſoon in a condition to form a numerous army, conſiſting of twenty thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe. He then laid ſiege to *Morgantia*, a ſtrong city on the banks of the *Simæthus*. But while *Salvius*'s troops were engaged before that place, the prætor *Licinius*, with an army of ten thouſand men, partly *Italians* and partly *Sicilians*, b ſurpriſed their camp, which he found almoſt deſerted, and ſeized the booty which they had brought from the neighbouring farms and villages. From thence the prætor before day-break advanced to the beſieged city, and attacking the enemy in the dark, ſlew great numbers of them and diſperſed the reſt. But before ſun-riſing, the new king, having rallied his troops, returned the ſurpriſe upon the *Romans*, who, thinking themſelves victorious, were no ways upon their guard, attacked them with great vigor, and having defeated the prætor in his turn, killed ſix hundred of his men, and took four thouſand of them priſoners [u].

Who choſe one Salvius *for their king;*

And defeat the Roman *prætor.*

This victory encouraged *Salvius* to renew the ſiege of *Morgantia* with more vigor than ever. The ſlaves of the place, upon their maſters promiſing them their c liberty, if they repulſed or tired out the aggreſſors, performed exploits which could hardly be expected from men of their condition; inſomuch, that *Salvius* was at length obliged to raiſe the ſiege. But the *Morgantines*, at the inſtigation of the baſe prætor, refuſed to grant the deliverers of their country the liberty they had promiſed them; which ſo incenſed theſe brave men, that they abandoned their maſters, whom they had defended with ſo much gallantry, and went over to the enemy. Thus the evil daily increaſed, and the contagion ſpread through all parts of *Sicily*. A ſlave, born in *Cilicia*, and named *Athenio*, made a freſh inſurrection among his fellows in the neighbourhood of *Egeſta* and *Lilybæum*, and, having killed his maſter, put himſelf at the head of the two hundred ſlaves he had in his ſervice; and, his party being ſoon d increaſed to the number of ten thouſand, he had the confidence to lay ſiege to *Lilybæum*, at that time by far the ſtrongeſt place in the iſland. After he had ſpent much time in this fruitleſs attempt, he pretended to be adviſed by the gods to abandon the enterpriſe, crying out, as in a ſudden tranſport, *Let us, my friends, be gone this inſtant from a place where a melancholy fate is preparing for us. If we perſiſt in this attempt, we ſhall be undone, Let us then make our advantage of the knowledge that is given me from heaven.* While his army was decamping, a fleet arrived from *Mauritania*, ſent by *Bocchus* to the aſſiſtance of the *Romans*, under the command of one *Gomon*, who, entering the port of *Lilybæum*, landed his troops, and fell upon the rear of *Athenio*'s army. The head of the rebels had, without all doubt, been e informed of the approach of this fleet; but his ſoldiers looked upon him ever after as a man highly favoured by the gods. On the other hand, *Salvius*, finding his army to be thirty thouſand ſtrong, reſolved to make *Triocala* the capital of his new dominions, and accordingly built a citadel there on the ruins of an old demoliſhed caſtle, raiſed himſelf a fine palace, ſurrounded the place with a wide ditch, and even ſettled a kind of polity in his city, chuſing himſelf a council, conſiſting of his friends and the moſt prudent of his ſubjects. When he had ſettled all things in his new colony, he invited *Athenio* to come and partake of the pleaſures of the place, and to deliberate about the proper meaſures for promoting their common intereſt. *Athenio* accepted of the invitation, and came attended with only three thouſand of his men. f But he no ſooner entered *Triocala*, than *Salvius* cauſed him to be ſeized, and clapped up in his new caſtle. Such were the beginnings of this war, which coſt the *Romans* a great deal of blood [x]. But to return to *Marius*.

A freſh inſurrection raiſed by Athenio.

Salvius *fixes his habitation at* Triocala.

Seizes Athenio.

While he was waiting for the return of the *Cimbri* to *Narbonne Gaul*, he kept an exact diſcipline in his camp, and puniſhed vice with the utmoſt ſeverity. From the following inſtance we may judge of the abhorrence he had for the moſt infamous of all debaucheries, which licentiouſneſs too often introduced into the *Roman* armies. His nephew *Caius Lucius*, having made a ſcandalous attempt upon a young ſoldier, by

[u] Flor. l. iii. c. 19. Diodor. Sicul. Eclog. 1. l. xxxvi. [x] Diodor. Sicul. ibid.

a by name *Trebonius*, was killed by him. As he was a military tribune, his death made a great noiſe. But the conſul, though much affected with the death of his nephew, not only acquitted *Trebonius*, whom ſome vile flatterers warmly accuſed, but rewarded him for his courage, putting with his own hand one of thoſe crowns on his head, which generals only beſtowed on ſoldiers who had ſignalized themſelves by ſome valiant action. The applauſes the army gave *Marius* on this occaſion ſoon reached *Rome*, and greatly contributed towards continuing him in the conſulate, and in the command of the army in *Tranſalpine Gaul*. Though abſent, he was, without oppoſition, proclaimed conſul a third time. Even his moſt inveterate enemies, *Craſſus Metellus* and *Marcus Scaurus*, approved of his election; ſacrificing their private reb ſentments to the public welfare. The collegue the republic gave *Marius* was *L. Aurelius Oreſtes*, who continued ſome time at *Rome*, where he was employed in trying *T. Albucius*, prætor of *Sardinia*, whom the people condemned to baniſhment, for vainly decreeing himſelf a triumph in his province, without the conſent either of the ſenate or people, though he had done nothing that deſerved it [y]. During theſe tranſactions at *Rome*, *Marcus Fulvius*, the prætor in *Spain*, gained great reputation by his conduct againſt the *Cimbri*. Though he had but one legion under his command, he found means to haraſs thoſe barbarians in ſuch a manner, as made them leave *Spain* and return to *Gaul*. But, before their arrival, a ſwarm of *Marſi* appeared there, with a deſign to join the *Teutones*, and enter *Italy* with them. The *Marſi* were natives of c *Germany*, and inhabited the banks of the *Luppia*, or, as *Strabo* calls it, the *Luppias*. This river riſes at *Lipſprink*, a village of *Weſtphalia*, and falls into the *Rhine* after having watered the dutchy of *Cleves*. *Marius* detached *Sylla* to oppoſe this new inundation of barbarians; and he choſe rather to make uſe of perſuaſion than force; he deſired a conference with their leaders, in which he prevailed upon them to change their reſolution, and come over to the *Romans*. From this time we find no farther mention made of *Sylla* in the army of *Marius*, but in that of the collegue the republic gave him the next year. Perhaps *Marius* was glad to get rid of a ſubaltern, who began to eclipſe the glory of his general. Towards the end of the preſent year, the conſul *Aurelius Oreſtes* died in his camp, at the foot of the *Alps* on the ſide of *Italy*; ſo that the republic was obliged to recal *Marius* to preſide at the new elections. He d left the command of his army to *Manius Aquilius*, and returned with joy to *Rome*, where he acted a part very ſuitable to his ambition. The point he had in view was, to get himſelf nominated conſul for the next year. But this was a tender point, and might give offence to the people, it being a thing unheard-of, that the ſame perſon ſhould ſo often be choſen conſul ſucceſſively. He therefore publickly declared, that he would not even ſuffer his name to be entered among thoſe of the candidates. But, at the ſame time, *Lucius Apuleius Saturninus*, one of the tribunes and his creature, being in the ſecret with him, acted a very different part. He in all his harangues exhorted the people to force *Marius* to accept of the conſulate. But the more preſſing the people were with him, the more determined he pretended to be not to comply e with their requeſt. The tribune in one of his ſpeeches even called him knave and traytor, for reſiſting the will of the people, and refuſing to ſerve his country when threatened with great danger. In ſhort, the game was ſo artfully played, that the people nominated *Marius* conſul the fourth time, and forced him, much againſt his will, as they imagined, to accept of the dignity. The nobility indeed laughed at his ſham modeſty, and ſaw through the diſguiſe; but thought his aſſiſtance neceſſary, at a time when the ſtate was in the utmoſt danger; and therefore did not oppoſe his election. The collegue given him was *Q. Lutatius Catulus* (K), a man greatly eſteemed both by the ſenate and people [z].

The equity of Marius, *in his nephew's cauſe*

The Marſi *gained over by* Sylla.

Marius *again conſul.*

ALL

y JUL. OBSEQ. c. 103. CIC. de provinc. conſular.

z PLUT. in Mario. CIC. in Bruto. & pro Sextio.

(K) *Cicero*, in different places of his works, gives us the character of *Quintus Lutatius Catulus*. His good nature, ſays he, and his polite behaviour prejudiced all men in his favour. His eloquence, his agreeable manner of ſpeaking, and the purity of his expreſſions gained him the hearts of his hearers. He was an orator, an hiſtorian, and a poet. He wrote hiſtorical memoirs of his conſulate after the manner of *Xenophon*, whom he took for his model. He employed his leiſure hours in poetical performances; but, according to *Ovid* and *Pliny the younger*, the levity of his muſe did not become the gravity of his character. *Aulus Gellius* has preſerved one of his epigrams on a child named *Theotimus*, which he produces as a maſter-piece of elegance and politeneſs (5). *Cicero* quotes another wrote by *Catulus* on young *Roſcius* (6), whoſe beauty he greatly extols, though the youth ſquinted, as *Cicero* obſerves. Tho' *Catulus* was much beloved by the people, and highly eſteemed by all ranks of men, yet he had the mortification to be twice diſappointed of the conſulate, and to ſee men of no merit preferred to him (7).

(5) *Vide Aul. Gell. Noct. Atticæ, l.* xix. (6) *Cic. de nat. deor. l.* i. (7) *Cic. in Bruto.*

All *Gaul* was in motion, and the ſeaſon and approach of the enemy made the a
conſuls haſten to their poſts. The two conſuls ſet out from *Rome* at the ſame time,
leaving the city in great conſternation, on account of the new troubles both abroad
and at home. Abroad, the *Thracians* had raiſed great diſturbances in *Macedon* ever
ſince the laſt year. The rebellious ſlaves laid waſte *Sicily*, and reduced *Rome* to
great ſtreights for want of corn. The *Cilician* pirates infeſted the *Mediterranean*, and
contributed as much to the famine which afflicted *Rome*, as the devaſtations in *Sicily*.
Againſt the pirates was ſent a man, who ſeemed moſt nearly concerned to deſtroy
them, *viz.* the famous orator *M. Antonius*, whoſe daughter they had carried into cap-
tivity. He ſoon celared the ſeas of thoſe robbers, and on that account was honoured
The Cilician *pirates deſtroyed by* M. Antonius. with a triumph[a]. At home, new diſturbances were raiſed by *Lucius Apuleius Satur-* b
ninus, who endeavoured to promote one *Lucius Equitius Firmanus* to the tribunate.
He was a freed-man, and his parents, nay even his tribe, were utterly unknown. But
Apuleius knew him to be a bold, active, and intriguing man, an inveterate enemy to
the nobility, and therefore a proper tool to be employed againſt the patricians. As the
ſeditious tribune was well appriſed, that the birth of *Equitius* would be the greateſt ob-
Diſturbances raiſed by the tribune Apuleius. ſtacle to his advancement, he made him take the name of *Gracchus*, and preſented him
to the people as the ſon of *Tiberius Gracchus*. But *Q. Cæcilius Metellus*, ſurnamed
Numidicus, being at this time one of the cenſors, diſcovered the cheat, and refuſed
even to inroll *Equitius* among the *Roman* citizens. His refuſal had like to have coſt
him dear; for he very narrowly eſcaped being ſtoned by the populace, at the inſti- c
gation of *Apuleius*.

In the mean time, *Marius* was waiting for the *Cimbri* in *Tranſalpine Gaul*. But they
appeared there no more, having in a great council of war reſolved to enter *Italy* by
two different ways, the *Cimbri* over the eaſtern, and the *Teutones*, *Ambrones*, and
other *Gauliſh* and *Helvetian* nations over the weſtern, *Alps*. *Marius* therefore marched
to oppoſe the latter, and poſted himſelf near the place where the preſent city of *Arles*
ſtands. As the mouth of the *Rhone* was ſtopped up with heaps of ſand and mud,
which the waves continually lodged there, *Marius*, to ſupply his army with provi-
ſions brought up the river, undertook a great and laborious work, which from him
Foſſa Mariana. was called *Foſſa Mariana*. He dug a large canal, into which he turned the waters of d
the *Rhone*, and thereby opened a new communication between his camp and the ſea.
Through this canal the largeſt tranſports could paſs; by which means he ſupplied
his army with plenty of proviſions; and, being incamped between the two arms of the
river and the ſea, had no reaſon to fear the attacks of the enemy. Some writers
pretend, that the name of *Camargue*, which the neighbouring diſtrict bears, is a cor-
ruption of *Caſtra Marii*, that is, *the camp of* Marius. Be that as it will, *Marius* had
ſcarce finiſhed his works, when the barbarians appeared, covering with their innu-
merable multitudes a vaſt tract of land. They advanced to his trenches, but finding
they could not force them, they made frightful ſhouts, and challenged the *Romans*
to come out and fight them, but *Marius* was not in haſte to venture a battle, there e
being ſomething inexpreſſibly fierce in the looks of thoſe barbarians, which ſtruck
the *Romans* with terror. The conſul therefore, that their countenances, out-cries,
and the clatter of their arms might become the leſs terrible by being familiar to his
men, ordered his troops to mount the ramparts, as often as the barbarians appeared.
He likewiſe ſent out detachments, under the conduct of brave and experienced offi-
cers, to lay waſte the country, and by that means diſtreſs the numberleſs barbarians
for want of proviſions. The more the ſcarcity increaſed, the more earneſt they were
to come to a deciſive battle, inſulting the *Romans* in their camp. But their inſults
only affected the common ſoldiers, whoſe ardor *Marius* reſtrained, telling them, that
all raſhneſs was to be laid aſide, and no hazards to be run upon any account whatſoever. f
But this ſerved only to make the legionaries more impatient to come to a battle with
the barbarians, whom they now began to deſpiſe, obſerving to one another, that
ſhouts and outcries do no execution, that ghaſtly looks and a ſavage mein can only
frighten cowards, and that well-diſciplined troops will always have the advantage over
a diſorderly and ill-conducted multitude. Theſe ſentiments gave the conſul great
Marius *reſtrains the ardor of his ſoldiers.* pleaſure; but, being reſolved to hazard nothing, when all other means failed him, he
had recourſe to ſuperſtition to keep his ſoldiers in a more ready obedience. His
wife *Julia*, who was of the family of the *Cæſars*, had ſent him a woman from *Rome*, by

[a] Vell. Patercul. l. iii. Flor. l. iii. Liv. epit. l. lviii. Tacit. Annual. 12. Cic. de orat. l. i

a by name *Martha*, whoſe ſkill in predictions, ſhe ſaid, ſhe had experienced. The conſul received and treated her with the moſt profound reſpect, as if ſhe had been intruſted with the ſecrets of fate. But, in reality, ſhe was rather an interpreter of the will of *Marius*, than of the gods; he informed her of his deſigns, and the pretended propheteſs never failed to approve of the meaſures which the conſul had before reſolved on. Having conſulted her, whether he ſhould humour his ſoldiers and engage the enemy, *Martha* anſwered, that in the preſent circumſtances an engagement would prove fatal to the republic. This anſwer quieted the troops, and kept them in an intire ſubjection to their general. As the *Teutones* were continually hovering about the camp and inſulting the *Romans*, one of them, a man of gigantic ſize, advan-
b ding one day to the foot of the rampart, challenged the conſul himſelf to a ſingle combat. But *Marius*, without regarding his bravadoes, anſwered, *If the* German *is in haſte to die, let him go and hang himſelf.* At length the *Teutones*, quite tired out with *Marius*'s delays, reſolved to attack the *Roman* camp, but not ſucceeding in the attempt, they decamped at length, with a deſign to force a paſſage over the *Alps* ſome other way. We are told, that they were ſix whole days, without intermiſſion, in paſſing by the *Roman* camp. In their march they cried out to the *Romans* upon the ramparts, *If you have any meſſage to your wives, we will ſoon deliver them at* Rome. *Marius*, being forced to decamp likewiſe, followed the barbarians into the inner parts of the *Roman* province, and came up with them near *Aquæ Sextiæ*, now *Aix*. There
c the conſul thought it adviſeable to fortify a camp, that, at all events, he might be ſure of a retreat. But while his troops were employed in this work, the ſervants of the army, who were gone in crouds to fetch water from the *Cenus*, now the *Arque*, were attacked by a body of *Teutones*, who guarded that river. As the ſervants made a great outcry, ſome of the legionaries ran to their aſſiſtance. Hereupon the whole army of the enemy took arms, which obliged *Marius* to draw up his troops in battalia. The legions halted at ſome diſtance from the river, while the *Ligurians* advanced to begin the action. The *Ambrones*, to the number of thirty thouſand, faced the *Ligurians* in good order, and briſkly marched up againſt them, beating time on their bucklers, and crying out *Ambrones! Ambrones!* probably to encourage each other,
d or to intimidate the *Romans*, by a name which the defeat of *Cæpio* and *Mallius* had made formidable; for to the *Ambrones* chiefly was owing the total overthrow of thoſe two generals. The *Ligurians* were put to the rout at the firſt onſet. But when the legions came to engage, the face of affairs was changed. The undiſciplined multitude of barbarians, not being able to ſtand the ſhock of regular troops, were repulſed in their turn, and driven to the banks of the river, where the *Romans* made a dreadful ſlaughter of them. The river was ſtained with their blood, and only a ſmall number of them gained the oppoſite bank, whence they fled, being cloſely purſued by the victorious legions, to a kind of fortification, which they had made with their carts. Their wives, who had ſtaid there during the engagement, ſeeing their huſbands fly-
e ing and the *Romans* at their heels, armed themſelves with axes, and, gnaſhing their teeth, fell with great ſhrieks on the purſued and purſuers without diſtinction. Without any any reguard to their own defence, they threw themſelves upon the combatants ſeized their ſwords and endeavoured to ſnatch away their bucklers. But when their firſt rage was ſpent, they deſired to capitulate upon this ſingle condition, that their honour ſhould be preſerved. When this condition was denied, thoſe unfortunate women, being reduced to deſpair, firſt killed their children, and then themſelves, not one remaining alive out of ſo great a multitude. So remarkable was the love of chaſtity, which remained among thoſe whom the *Romans* called barbarians, after it was extinguiſhed at *Rome*[b].

The Teutones *decamp.*

A battle between the Romans *and* Ambrones.

The Ambrones *defeated.*

f HOWEVER, this victory was far from being complete. The *Ambrones* indeed were defeated; but the *Teutones*, who were incamped at ſome diſtance from the river, ſtill remained. They did not ſtir all that night nor the next day; ſo that the *Romans* had time to fortify themſelves on the eminence which their general had firſt choſen. The third day after the battle, *Teutobocchus*, or, as others call him, *Teutobodus*, general of the *Teutonic* army, drew up his troops in the plain. On the other hand, *Marius*, having formed his infantry on the declivity of the hill, ordered his cavalry to go down the hill, attack the barbarians briſkly, and by a feigned flight draw them towards the eminence. The ſtratagem ſucceeded. The *Teutones*, impatient to come to an engagement,

[b] PLUT. in Mario. FRONT. ſtrat. l. iv. c. 7. & l. v. c. 11. VAL. MAX. l. vi. c. 1 OROS l. v. c. 15.

engagement, advanced in good order to the foot of the hill, and, notwithſtanding the a
The Teutones *attack the* Romans. diſadvantage of the ground, attacked the *Romans* with great intrepidity. They ſtood the ſhowers of darts which the enemy diſcharged upon them, and, though forced to climb, cloſed with the legionaries in ſpite of all oppoſition, and fell upon them ſword in hand. The *Romans*, who were poſted on the declivity of the hill, by only puſhing the aggreſſors back with their bucklers, often tumbled them over one another. Beſides, the ſun ſhone with great ſtrength, and full in their faces. But, notwithſtanding theſe diſadvantages, they kept the victory doubtful till noon. The night before the battle *Marius* had detached *Claudius Marcellus* with a body of infantry, and given him, inſtead of cavalry, the ſervants of the army, mounted, without ſaddles, on all the beaſts of burden he could find. They were ordered to lie in ambuſh in the hollow b
road behind the enemy's camp, and to fall upon them in the heat of the action. Though the detachment was ſmall, yet the great number of ſervants, thus oddly mounted, gave it the appearance of a great army. The *Teutones*, who had hitherto behaved with great intrepidity, no ſooner ſaw this detachment advancing to attack them in the rear, than, their courage and ſtrength failing them at once, they betook themſelves to a diſorderly flight. The *Romans*, who in a manner ſurrounded them,
The Teutones *defeated with great ſlaughter.* made a dreadful ſlaughter of the fugitives, took their camp and plundered it. *Teutobocchus* was, according to ſome, made priſoner; according to others, killed in the battle (L). As to the numbers of the ſlain and the priſoners in the two battles, they
Year after the flood 2902. *Before Chriſt* 97. amounted, according to ſome writers, to two hundred and ninety thouſand; accord- c
ing to the loweſt calculations a hundred thouſand were killed upon the ſpot. The dead were ſo numerous, as ſome writers tell us, that the inhabitants made fences for
Of Rome 651 their vineyards with their bones; they add, that the field of battle was ſo inriched by the bodies buried there, that the *Marſeilleſe*, to whom it belonged, had the next year a much more plentiful crop from it than uſual [c].

With the joyful news of this victory, *Marius* diſpatched a meſſenger to *Rome*; where the people were ſo tranſported with it, that, in gratitude, they advanced him to the conſulate the fifth time. While the people at *Rome* were heaping honous on their deliverer, the ſoldiers in the camp offered him all the booty. But he generouſly reſerved only what might grace his triumph, and dedicated the reſt to the gods. All d
the combuſtible things were gathered together in one pile, to which the conſul himſelf, with great ſolemnity, ſet fire. In the mean time, meſſengers arrived from *Rome*, with
Marius *choſen conſul the fifth time.* the congratulations of the people and the news of his fifth election, preſenting him at the ſame time with a decree of the ſenate, which gave him leave to triumph. *Marius* accepted theſe new honours with gratitude, and without betraying any extraordinary joy, *I accept the conſulate*, ſaid he, *as a new obligation upon me to conquer the* Cimbri, *as I have the* Teutones. *As for a triumph, I deſire it may not be mentioned till I have made my victory complete. The pomp of a triumph will be very unſeaſonable, ſo long as there ſhall remain any barbarians in the neighbourhood of* Italy. The collegue given *Marius* was *Manius Aquilius*, of whom hereafter. As for *Catulus*, he was continued in e
the command of the army with the title of proconſul. This new year was begun with acts of religion, which the people thought the more neceſſary, becauſe two enormous crimes were now committed, which had never been heard of ſince the foundation of the city. An unnatural ſon, by name *Publicius Malleolus*, killed his mother; a crime for which the *Roman* legiſlators had appointed no puniſhment, not preſuming it poſſible for a man
Parricide and mutilation puniſhed at Rome. to be guilty of ſo enormous a villainy. A new puniſhment was therefore allotted for this new crime. The parricide was ſewn up in a leathern ſack, and with a thouſand execrations thrown into the *Tiber*. The other crime was that of mutilation. A ſlave mutilated himſelf in imitation of the prieſts of *Cybele*. But the ſenate, apprehenſive of

[c] Vell. Patercul. Oros. Eutrop. Liv. ibid. Flor. l. iii. Auth. de vir illuſtr. Plut. in Mario.

(L) *Honorius Bouche* in his hiſtory of *Provence* tells us, that near the village of *Tretz* was found a ſtone which preſerved the name of *Teutobocchus*; whence that writer infers, that he was killed in the battle, and buried near the above-mentioned village. *M. de Peireſc* ſpeaks of a brick ſepulchre diſcovered in 1613 near the conflux of the *Rhone* and the *Iſere*. It was thirty foot long, twelve broad, and eight high, with this inſcription on a large ſtone; *Teutobocchus Rex*. But *Florus* tells us in expreſs terms, that *Teutobocchus* was taken priſoner, and by *Marius* carried to *Rome*, where he graced the victor's triumph. That author adds, that his head reached above the trophies, which were carried before the triumphal chariot (8).

(8) *Flor. l.* iii.

a of the conſequences of ſo dangerous a deluſion, baniſhed the eunuch for ever from *Rome* [d].

The Cimbri *enter* Italy.

In the mean time, *Catulus*, not being able to withſtand the numberleſs multitudes of the *Cimbri*, by the advice of *Sylla*, who ſerved under him in quality of his lieutenant-general, retired before the barbarians, and pitched two camps on the oppoſite banks of the *Atheſis*, now the *Adige*, intending there to make a ſtand againſt them. The *Cimbri* entered *Italy*, and advancing to the *Atheſis*, with a deſign to attack the *Romans*, attempted firſt to ford that river; but finding it not fordable, they pulled up great trees by the roots, and threw huge ſtones into it, hoping by that means ſo to fill it up as to make it paſſable. The terrible appearance of the numberleſs multitudes of

And ſtrike the Romans *with a panic.*

b barbarians ſtruck the *Romans* with ſuch a panic, that it was not in the power of *Catulus* to hinder thoſe in his larger camp from flying ſhamefully before the enemy. Some of the *Roman* knights rid full ſpeed to *Rome*, leaving their general and fellow-ſoldiers to the mercy of the enemy. Among theſe was the ſon of *Scaurus*, prince of the ſenate; but, as ſoon as his father was informed of his cowardly deſertion, he ſent him orders never to appear again in his preſence. Hereupon the young *Roman*, who had been afraid of dying honourably in the field of battle, fell ingloriouſly by his own hand. In the mean time, thoſe in the little camp made a vigorous reſiſtance. One of the *Cimbri* having challenged to a ſingle combat the braveſt men among them, was ſhamefully overcome by *L. Opimius*. But the example of this brave man was not ſuf-

c ficient to encourage all the officers. There was in the camp but one legion, commanded by ſix tribunes, of whom five were for attempting to break through the enemy; but the ſixth, not ſo reſolute as the reſt, oppoſed ſo dangerous an attempt. Whereupon a centurion, named *Petreius*, ſtabbed the cowardly officer, and being choſen commander by the legion, obtained an honourable capitulation, led his ſmall body to a place of ſafety, and from thence marched to join the main body of the army incamped on the banks of the *Po*. Had the *Cimbri* known how to improve their victory, they might have made themſelves maſters of *Rome*, which was then quite defenceleſs, all orders of men being in the utmoſt conſternation. But they delayed in expectation of the coming up of the *Teutones*, and thereby gave the *Romans* time to

Marius *ſent againſt the* Cimbri.

d recall *Marius* and his troops from *Gaul*. By order of the ſenate he joined his troops to the proconſul's army on the *Po*, and upon their union was declared commander in chief, his conſulate and reputation giving him a ſuperiority over *Catulus*. However, he received here a ſenſible mortification from his old lieutenant *Sylla*. That brave officer had, by a ſuperior conduct, found means to ſupply the camp of *Catulus* with great plenty of proviſions, while *Marius*'s men wanted even neceſſaries. *Sylla* therefore went to the conſul's camp, and maliciouſly offered to relieve his troops in their diſtreſs, with the overplus of the proviſions which he had amaſſed in the proconſul's camp. Neceſſity obliged *Marius* to accept the offer; but never was preſent received with more reluctance [e]. From this time *Sylla* entered into an open competition with

e *Marius*, notwithſtanding the ſuperiority which five conſulates gave him, over a man who had not yet been raiſed to any of the great employments of the republic.

The Cimbri *provoked by* Marius.

In the mean time, the *Cimbri*, finding the *Teutones* did not appear, reſolved to come to action without them. But that they might act with ſome appearance of juſtice, they firſt ſent a deputation to the *Roman* general, deſiring him to aſſign them and their allies the *Teutones*, lands in the country where they were, and threatening, in caſe of a refuſal, to make the *Romans* feel the weight of their arms. *Marius* anſwered ſternly, *You aſk lands for your allies the* Teutones; *I have given them ſome already. Their carcaſſes are now rotting in the fields by the* Cenus, *and their bones made uſe of for fences to the vineyards*. The deputies, exaſperated at this ſevere jeſt, threatened to make him

f repent of his inſults, as ſoon as the *Teutones* ſhould paſs the *Alps*. *You need not then delay a moment*, anſwered Marius; *they have already paſſed the* Alps, *and you ſhall immediately ſee them*. Then ſhewing them the chiefs of the *Teutonic* army in chains; *Pray ſalute your allies*, ſaid he to the deputies with a ſneer, *and make yourſelves ready to come and join them*. Theſe inſults provoked the *Cimbri* to ſuch a degree, that *Bojorix*, one of their kings, came in perſon to *Marius*'s camp, and challenged him to fix the day and place of battle. This the *Romans* had ſcarce ever done; but *Marius* pitched upon the plain of *Vercellæ*, which was not large enough to contain half the enemy's forces, As for the day, he named the eve of the calends of *Auguſt*, the third day from

[d] Jul. Obseq. c. 100. Diodor. Sicul. ecl. l. xxxvi. [e] Plut. in Sylla.

from that time. Both generals kept their agreement. The army of *Catulus* amounted a to twenty thouſand three hundred, and that of *Marius* to thirty-two thouſand. The enemy's cavalry were no more than fifteen thouſand; but their infantry ſeemed innumerable; for we are told, that they covered, when drawn up in a ſquare, thirty furlongs. *Marius*, as commander in chief, drew up the whole army; and, in order to deprive the proconſul of any ſhare of the glory of the day, he poſted his troops in the centre, and his own in the two wings, which projected before the main body, and muſt conſequently ſuſtain the efforts of the enemy's army. But his meaſures were diſconcerted by an unforeſeen accident. For, before the action began, the cavalry of the *Cimbri* made a motion, as if they intended to wheel about and flank the *Roman* army. Hereupon *Marius*, at the head of the two wings, advanced againſt them. The b *Cimbrian* horſe at his approach retired, and drew the conſul after them. When he was at ſome diſtance from the main body, the enemy's infantry charged the legions commanded by *Catulus* and *Sylla* with incredible fury. The *Romans*, animated by the example of their leaders, ſtood the ſhock without giving ground, keeping themſelves upon the defenſive till the enemy's firſt fury was ſpent. When they found their ſtrength began to fail them, the legionaries charged them in their turn. As the ſun ſhone with greal violence, thoſe northern people, not accuſtomed to the heats of *Italy*, were ſoon covered with ſweat, and ſcarce able to lift up their arms to ſtrike a blow; ſo that they made but a faint reſiſtance. They were ſoon overcome; but they had put it out of their own power to ſave themſelves from the victorious enemy by flight. c That they might keep their ranks the better, they had, like true barbarians, tied themſelves to one another with cords faſtened to their belts; ſo that the *Romans* made what havock they pleaſed of thoſe helpleſs barbarians. To complete their misfortune, *Marius*, returning with his troops from the purſuit of their cavalry, fell upon them, when quite exhauſted with fatigue and the heat of the day. All that followed was a dreadful butchery, the whole plain being covered with dead bodies. From the field of battle the *Romans* marched to the enemy's camp, where they had a new battle to fight with their wives, who were even more fierce than their huſbands. From their carts and waggons, which formed a kind of fortification, they diſcharged ſhowers of darts on their friends and enemies without diſtinction. Then they firſt ſuffocated their d children in their arms, and afterwards killed themſelves. The greateſt part hanged themſelves on trees. One was found hanging from a cart with two of her children at her heels. Many of the men, for want of trees and ſtakes, tied ſtrings in running knots about their necks, and faſtened them to the tails of their horſes, and the horns and feet of their oxen, to ſtrangle themſelves that way. Thus thoſe unhappy creatures put an end to their lives by all the methods they could contrive. Two of their kings or leaders ſtabbed each other. *Bojorix* and *Luig*, their chief commanders, died in the action ſword in hand. *Clodic* and *Seſorix*, two of their generals, were made priſoners with ſixty thouſand of their men, who were all put in chains, and ſold to the beſt bidder: a hundred and twenty thouſand of the barbarians were left dead upon e the ſpot; whereas the *Romans* had ſcarce three hundred men miſſing in both armies. Thus was this whole nation almoſt extirpated, whoſe incurſions and robberies were looked upon as a public ſcourge. After the battle, all the ſpoils and enſigns were brought to the camp of *Catulus*, which was a plain declaration, that the victory was chiefly owing to his men. But hereupon a diſpute ariſing between the ſoldiers of the two camps, the generals agreed to refer the matter to the arbitration of the embaſſadors of *Parma*, who happened at that time to be in the army. Theſe being led to the field of battle, found almoſt all the darts, with which the barbarians had been killed, marked with the name of *Catulus*, who had taken care to imprint it on the arms of his ſoldiers before the battle. Beſides, *Marius*'s men had taken from the enemy only f two ſtandards; whereas *Sylla* brought to the proconſul's camp thirty-one, with the brazen bull, which the *Cimbri* worſhipped. Upon the whole, the arbitrators gave ſentence in favour of *Catulus*; ſo that *Sylla* ſaw with pleaſure the greateſt part of the glory of the action taken from *Marius*, who had endeavoured to ingroſs it all to himſelf. However, when the news of this ſignal victory was brought to *Rome*, the people gave all the honour of it to *Marius*, calling him *the third founder of* Rome, *the deliverer of his country*; nay, they even invoked him as a god; and neither time, nor the moſt circumſtantial accounts, could undeceive them, ſo as to bring them to allow any ſhare of the ſucceſs to *Catulus*. But *Marius* himſelf had not the confidence to deprive *Catulus* of the glory which was due to him. Beſides, he was afraid that the army of *Catulus* would

An engagement between the Romans *and the* Cimbri.

The Cimbri *entirely defeated by* Marius *and* Catulus.

The victory chiefly owing to Catulus's *men.*

The victory aſcribed at Rome *to* Marius *alone.*

Chap. 9.

a would oppoſe his triumph, if he pretended to exclude their general. They were therefore both honoured with a triumph. The ſpoils taken from the enemy were carried before the triumphant victors; but, if we give credit to *Florus* [f], no part of the ſhew ſtruck the people ſo much as the ſight of king *Teutobocchus*, who was, according to that writer, of ſuch a gigantic ſtature, that his head appeared above the trophies which were carried in proceſſion. After the triumph, both generals, purſuant to a vow each of them had made, built a temple in memory of their victory: *Marius*, who had no taſte for arts, in a very plain manner, to *virtue and honour*; and *Catulus*, with great elegance and beauty, to *the fortune of this day*. *Marius*, on the day his temple was dedicated, entertained the people with games after the *Greek* manb ner; but, as war was his element, he was immediately tired with them, and withdrew [g].

Both build temples in memory of their victory.

Thus was *Italy* delivered from her fears by the defeat of the *Teutones* and *Cimbri*. The only enemy the *Romans* had now to contend with were the rebellious ſlaves in *Sicily*. The republic had ſent againſt them, two years before the defeat of the *Cimbri*, the prætor *Lucius Licinius Lucullus* with an army of fourteen thouſand men, legionaries and auxiliaries, excluſive of the ſuccours that were ſent him from *Greece* and *Lucania*. As ſoon as the *Roman* army landed, *Salvius*, who had ſhut up *Athenio* in the citadel of *Triocala*, as we have related above, delivered him from his confinement, and adviſed with him, as he was a man of ſome experience, about the means of reſiſting the new general. In a council of war, which they held, it was agreed, that *Salvius* c ſhould continue in the city of *Triocala* to defend it, if attacked, and that *Athenio* ſhould, at the head of forty thouſand men, march againſt *Lucullus*, and give him battle. Accordingly *Athenio* advanced with his army into the neighbourhood of *Scirtæum*, and there came to an engagement with the prætor, in which the victory was warmly diſputed. The ſlaves, who for the moſt part had ſerved in war before they were reduced to ſlavery, fought with a regularity and courage which the *Romans* did not expect. Inſomuch, that the ſucceſs would have been doubtful, if *Athenio*, advancing into the middle of the enemy's battalions at the head of three hundred horſe, had not been wounded in both his knees. He fell from his horſe through faintneſs, and d was covered with a heap of dead bodies. Hereupon his troops, having no commander of reputation to head them, diſperſed and fled in the utmoſt confuſion. The *Romans* purſued the fugitives, and killed above twenty thouſand of them. The news of this defeat no ſooner reached *Triocala*, than the cowardly *Salvius* abandoned the place. But, in the mean time, *Athenio*, having got from under the dead bodies that covered him, gained *Triocala* with the remains of his army before the prætor, who ſpent nine days in uſeleſs precautions, inveſted the place. *Athenio* ſuſtained the ſiege with an intrepidity ſeldom found in men of his rank, and forced *Lucullus* to raiſe the ſiege, and retire from before the place amidſt the hiſſes of the ſlaves, who inſulted him and his army from their walls, as they filed off. He withdrew to *Syracuſe*, and there ſpent the remainder of the year, wholly intent on inriching himſelf at the expence of his e province. His year therefore was no ſooner expired, than he was recalled, and being accuſed before the people of oppreſſion, he was condemned to baniſhment [h]. The prætor *C. Servilius* was ſent to ſucceed him; but that weak general was even more unfortunate than his predeceſſor. *Athenio*, who now carried on the rebellion alone, *Salvius* being dead, attacked the *Roman* army, gave them a total overthrow, and made himſelf maſter of their camp. After this victory *Athenio* advanced to *Meſſana*, and, having made a fruitleſs attempt upon that city, beſieged *Macella* and took it. The progreſs of the rebellion opened at length the eyes of the ſenate, who ſent *Manius Aquilius*, the collegue of *Marius* for the preſent year, to ſuppreſs it. *Aquilius* croſſed f over into *Sicily* with a conſular army, and having made it his whole buſineſs in his conſulſhip to reduce the rebels to great ſtreights for want of proviſions, in the year of his proconſulate he intirely deſtroyed them. He took the field, and brought the enemy to a battle, which both parties maintained with equal vigor, till the two generals met, and determined the victory by a ſingle combat. *Aquilius* not diſdaining to enter the liſts with *Athenio*, a ſtop was put to the battle, the *Romans* on one ſide, and the ſlaves on the other, making way for the two champions. The proconſul, who was a man of great ſtrength and reſolution, laid his adverſary dead on the ground at one blow; and the *Romans*, taking advantage of his victory and the enemy's fears, fell

War with the ſlaves.

Licinius *defeats the ſlaves in* Sicily.

But is forced to raiſe the ſiege of Triocala.

C. Servilius *defeated by the ſlaves.*

The conſul Aquilius *defeats the ſlaves, and puts an end to the war.*

[f] Flor. l. iii. c. 3. eclog. 1. l. xxxvi.

[g] Plut. in Mario & Sylla. Val. Max. l. v. c. 7.

[h] Diodor. Sicul.

fell upon them with freſh vigor, and made ſuch a ſlaughter of the diſheartened rebels, a that of their vaſt army ſcarce ten thouſand eſcaped to their camp, where they choſe rather to kill one another than ſurrender. When they were reduced to a thouſand, one *Satyrius* capitulated with the proconſul, who promiſed him and his companions their lives, but afterwards ſent them to *Rome* to fight the wild beaſts in the ſhows of the circus. But they choſe rather to fall by each other's hands. And thus ended a rebellion, which had laſted four years, and coſt the republic, according to ſome writers, near a million of ſlaves. *Aquilius* on his return was honoured with an ovation, the republic having more regard to her ancient cuſtom of not granting a triumph to the conquerors of rebels, eſpecially if they were ſlaves, than to the merit and ſervices of *Aquilius* [i]. b

Is honoured with an ovation.

The republic, after the defeat of the *Cimbri* and the reduction of the ſlaves, had ſcarce any enemies left abroad, but nouriſhed ſuch in her own boſom as proved more miſchievous to her, than either the barbarians of *Germany*, or the ſlaves of *Sicily*. *Marius*, whoſe ambition knew no bounds, ſtood now for the ſixth conſulſhip, with as much eagerneſs as he had done for the firſt. Though naturally fierce and rough, he became mild and affable, careſſed the meaneſt of the people, and ingratiated himſelf with them by the moſt ſervile condeſcenſions. His competitor was the great *Metellus*, ſurnamed *Numidicus*, whoſe virtues and experience, joined to the wiſhes of all honeſt men, loudly called him to the government of the republic. But *Marius*, by diſtributing under-hand large ſums among the people, got *Metellus* excluded, himſelf c choſen, and one *Lucius Valerius Flaccus*, a very weak man, appointed for his collegue. The firſt ſtep *Marius* took after his election was, to contract an intimate friendſhip with *L. Apuleius Saturninus* and *Servilius Glaucia*, two daring and factious men, who had all the ſcum of the indigent and ſeditious people conſtantly at their beck. *Apuleius* had been long devoted to the conſul, and had procured him, as we have obſerved above, his fourth conſulate. *Glaucia* was the prætor, to whom the cognizance of civil cauſes belonged, and was naturally factious and violent. Theſe three entered into an aſſociation with a deſign to ingroſs all the power to themſelves. *Apuleius* had been once before tribune of the people, and now ſtood for that poſt a ſecond time. But he had the misfortune to come in competition with *A. Nonnius*, a man of d an unblemiſhed character, and highly eſteemed by the people. *Marius* uſed all his intereſt in behalf of his friend *Apuleius*; but both his intrigues and ſolicitations were ineffectual: all the voices were for *Nonnius*, who was accordingly declared tribune. Hereupon *Apuleius*, giving himſelf wholly up to the dictates of his fury, cauſed *Nonnius* to be ſtabbed at the breaking up of the aſſembly, and then got himſelf tumultuouſly proclaimed tribune by thoſe of his own party, before any conſiderable part of the people were aſſembled to give their ſuffrages. The conſul confirmed the election; and the murder of *Nonnius* was no more mentioned. And now *Marius*, *Apuleius*, and *Glaucia*, formed a kind of triumvirate, whoſe whole aim was to humble the ſenate, and aſſume all power to themſelves. About this time embaſſadors arrived at e *Rome* from *Mithridates the Great*, king of *Pontus*, ſent by their maſter to adjuſt ſome ſmall differences between him and the republic. Theſe *Apuleius*, at the inſtigation of *Marius*, uſed in a moſt brutiſh manner. The conſul, in all likelihood, weary of an inactive life, hoped by that means to provoke *Mithridates* to begin a war. However that be, the embaſſadors laid their complaints before the ſenate, and the conſcript fathers, glad of an opportunity of humbling the inſolent tribune, cited him before their tribunal. But, on the day when ſentence was to be pronounced, the populace ſurrounded the hall where the ſenate met, in ſuch crouds, that they intimidated the judges; ſo that the factious tribune was acquitted by a majority of votes [k].

The mean practices of Marius.

His ſixth conſulſhip.

Apuleius *murders his competitor, and aſſumes the tribunate.*

Marius's *aſſociation with him and* Glaucia.

After this victory over the ſenate, *Apuleius*, as tribune of the people, renewed f the ancient quarrel about the diviſion of the lands. *Marius* and *Catulus* had, by the defeat of the *Cimbri*, recovered ſome lands in *Ciſalpine Gaul*, of which thoſe barbarians had taken poſſeſſion; and *Apuleius* was for unjuſtly taking theſe lands from the true owners, and giving them to *Marius*'s ſoldiers, who were for the moſt part people without houſe or home, and intirely devoted to their general. In the law which he had prepared together with *Marius*, whoſe tool he was, for the diſtribution of the lands, there was a clauſe expreſsly providing, *That the ſenate ſhould come and ſwear in full aſſembly to confirm whatever ſhould be enacted by the people, and not to oppoſe them in any thing*; *and*

Apuleius *receives the ancient quarrel about the diſtribution of lands.*

[i] Diodor. Sicul. l. xxxviii. eclog. 1. Flor. l. iii. c. 29. Cic. de orat. Liv. in epit. [k] Diodor. Sicul. apud Ful. Ursin.

a *and that whoever refuſed to take that oath ſhould be degraded, and condemned to a fine of twenty talents.* Nothing could be more unreaſonable than ſuch a law, ſince it ſubjected the ſenate to the people. On the day therefore of the comitia, when it was to be admitted or rejected, many men of great weight and authority mounted the roſtra to diſſuade the people from paſſing it. But they were pulled down by the mob of the country tribes, whom *Marius* and *Apuleius* had brought in great crouds into the city. Theſe violent proceedings provoked the city tribes, who, finding themſelves the weakeſt, that the aſſembly might be diſſolved, cried out, *That they heard it thunder*; which, according to the laws, obliged them to ſuſpend for that day all deliberations. But the country tribes, having among them many veterans, moſt of them men of mettle, diſregarding that ſuperſtitious cuſtom, fell upon the city tribes, b and, having driven them with ſtones and clubs out of the forum, got the law paſſed. The next day *Marius*, who was at the bottom of all this and the chief manager of the plot, as conſul, made a report to the ſenate of the law in queſtion, exclaimed againſt the late violences, and declared, for his part that he was determined never to take ſo unreaſonable an oath, and that he did not doubt, but every honeſt man would be of his opinion; for if the law was good in itſelf, there was no neceſſity for ſwearing; and if it was a bad one, they were all obliged in honour not to ſwear. This he ſaid to enſnare *Metellus*, whom he hated ever ſince their quarrel in *Numidia*. He hoped that his declaring againſt the oath would draw a like declaration from that great man, and did not doubt, but when he had once made ſuch a public declaration, c he would ſtand firm to his reſolution, which would infallibly expoſe him to the hatred of the people. The event anſwered his expectation; *Metellus* proteſted, that he would not take the oath, and the whole ſenate did the ſame. A few days after, *Apuleius* ſummoned the ſenate to appear in the comitia in order to take the oath; and then *Marius* made his appearance among the reſt; and while the eyes of all the ſenators were fixed upon him, he, to their great ſurprize, declared, that he had changed his ſentiments: *I am not ſo ſtiff and obſtinate.* ſaid he, *as to be tied down by any declaration I may have made upon an affair of ſo much weight, before I had thoroughly conſidered it; but am ready to ſwear, and having ſwore, will punctually obſerve the law, when it once becomes a law.* Theſe laſt words he added, to put a plauſible d colour upon his ſhameful breach of faith. If it was a law, it ought without all doubt, to be obeyed. But this was a mean ſubterfuge and knaviſh pretence. It was no law, being without any of the requiſite conditions; and therefore, inſtead of obeying, he ought to have oppoſed it. The ſenators upon this declaration of *Marius*, which was applauded by all the country tribes, were afraid to open their mouths. *Marius* took their ſilence for a tacit conſent, and immediately went to the temple of *Saturn*, according to the ancient cuſtom, and there took the oath, even without the reſtriction he himſelf had propoſed. The ſenators, over-awed by the people, followed his example. But *Metellus* reſolutely perſiſted in his former opinion, notwithſtanding the repreſentations of his friends, who earneſtly intreated him to yield to the times. He told e thoſe, who preſſed him to take the oath, that to do a baſe and unworthy action was under all circumſtances ſhameful; that to do well, when no danger attended it, was common; but to do well, in the midſt of dangers, was the property of a truly good and honeſt man. Upon his refuſal, the aſſembly, at the inſtigation of *Marius* and *Apuleius*, condemned him to baniſhment. The nobility, the whole body of the patricians and the city tribes, offered to oppoſe this moſt unjuſt decree of the populace. Many, out of affection for ſo good and virtuous a citizen, had brought arms under their robes, being determined to defend him to the laſt extremity. But that wiſe ſenator, who truly loved his country, after having, in a tender manner, returned them thanks for their kindneſs, declared, that he would not ſuffer a ſingle drop of blood to be f ſpilt on his account. He then went into baniſhment, which in ſo glorious a cauſe did him more honour than all his victories or triumphs. He left the city with this wiſe reflection; *Either the face of affairs will change, and the people repent what they have done; in which caſe I ſhall be recalled and reſtored with honour: or they will remain in the preſent poſture; and then it will be beſt for me to be at a diſtance from* Rome. The illuſtrious exile went to reſide, ſome ſay at *Rhodes*, others at *Smyrna*, where, in a ſweet tranquillity, he gave himſelf intirely up to the ſtudy of philoſophy, enjoying in his retreat thoſe pleaſures which flow from a good conſcience [1].

Marius's *treachery and double dealing.*

Metellus *condemned to baniſhment.*

Marius,

[1] PLUT. in Mario. Cic. pro Sextio & Balbo. APPIAN. de bell. civil. Auth. de vir illuſtr.

Marius, *Apuleius*, and *Glaucia* congratulated each other on their having at laſt ruined their common enemy. The point *Apuleius* had in view was, to get himſelf continued in the tribuneſhip, *Glaucia* aſpired at the conſulate, and *Marius* was for maintaining himſelf in his poſt another year. To compaſs their ends, they ſcrupled nothing. *Apuleius*, like a monſter let looſe, committed the moſt flagrant acts of violence and injuſtice with impunity. *Marius*, who was the ſoul of the plot, left to the other two the execution of the wicked ſchemes which he adviſed. He pretended to keep the balance even between the people and the ſenate. On one ſide, he raiſed diſturbances underhand, by means of his two confederates, in order to make himſelf neceſſary, and pave the way for his ſeventh conſulſhip. On the other hand, he pretended a great deſire to compoſe them, hoping thereby to ingratiate himſelf with the b ſenate. By this artful conduct he would have gained his point, had not his deceit been diſcovered by an accident. One evening ſome ſenators came to wait on the conſul, and to implore his aſſiſtance againſt the attempts of the ſeditious tribune. *Marius*, who was willing to keep fair with the nobility, received them very graciouſly, and promiſed to exert his power againſt *Apuleius*. While he was conferring with the ſenators about the proper meaſures for preſerving the republic, *Apuleius* came to receive his directions about raiſing new diſturbances, and being let in at a back door unknown to the ſenators, was carried into another apartment. Then *Marius*, pretending a looſeneſs, under that colour, was continually running from one apartment to the other, exaſperating the ſenators againſt the tribune, and the tribune againſt the c ſenators. But this being ſoon after known, he became ſuſpected by both parties. *Apuleius* and *Glaucia* began to take umbrage at his complaiſance for the patricians; and the patricians grew jealous of his great intimacy with thoſe two incendiaries. In the mean time, *Apuleius* and *Glaucia* canvaſſed, independently on the conſul, the former for a third tribuneſhip, and the latter for the conſulate; and both reſolved to ſtick at nothing. Nay, *Apuleius* ſet up the contemptible *Equitius*, of whom we have ſpoke above, for tribune of the people, and, without any regard to common decency, carried matters ſo far, that *Marius* himſelf thought it adviſeable to ſend *Equitius* to priſon, ordering him to be kept there till the election of the tribunes was over. But *Apuleius*, having ſpirited up the people to break open the priſon, ſet *Equitius* at liberty, d and prevailed upon the turbulent populace to proclaim him tribune of the people. But the pretended tribune died before he entered upon his office. At the ſame time *Glaucia*, who ſtood for the conſulate, carried his furious attempts to ſuch exceſs, that he was become quite inſupportable. When the comitia for the election of conſuls came on, *Marius* was excluded, and the orator *Marcus Antonius* choſen in the firſt place; *Glaucia* expected to be nominated in the ſecond; but finding he had a formidable competitor in *Memmius*, who was infinitely ſuperior to him in all reſpects, and highly eſteemed on account of his probity, he made no ſcruple to ſend one of his attendants to murder him in the open forum. After a murder ſo public and daring, *Glaucia* and *Apuleius* his accomplice, to avoid the puniſhment they deſerved, openly attempted e to deſtroy the republic itſelf. They carried a multitude of deſperate men to the houſe of *Apuleius*, who there exhorted them to an open rebellion. We are told, that they appointed him to be their general, and offered him the title of king, which he is ſaid to have accepted. But be that as it will, it was now an open conſpiracy; the ſenate declared them enemies to their country, and paſſed one of thoſe decrees, which were never made, but in times of the utmoſt difficulty and danger: the two conſuls *Marius* and *Flaccus* were ordered to provide for the public welfare in what manner they judged proper; which was impowering them to revenge with the ſword the diſturbances thoſe ſeditious men were raiſing in the republic. Hereupon *Marius* found himſelf obliged to arm, in order to ſuppreſs a ſedition which he ſecretly favoured, but could f protect no longer. No time was to be loſt: *Glaucia* and *Apuleius* had already ſeized the capitol. Arms therefore were given to all thoſe who declared for the ſenate; the knights, the ſenators, and all who had the welfare of their country at heart, armed themſelves againſt the two rebels. But *Marius* affected delays, and plainly ſhewed, it was much againſt his inclination that he obeyed the orders of the ſenate. In the mean time, the whole rabble of the country tribes entered the city with a deſign to join their friends in the capitol, but were obliged to fight a battle in the forum before they could reach the citadel. When they were hard preſſed, *Apuleius* made a ſally, and coverd their retreat to the capitol. During the action, the ſeditious tribune hoiſted up a cap on the top of a lance to invite the ſlaves to take arms in his favour in hopes of their liberty.

Diſturbances raiſed by Apuleius.

The violent proceedings of Apuleius *and* Glaucia.

Memmius *murdered.*

Apuleius *and* Glaucia *openly rebel;*

And ſeize the capitol.

a liberty. In the mean time, the ſenators and knights, tired with the delays of *Marius*, who was ever pleading ſome excuſe or other, cauſed the pipes to be cut, which conveyed water into the capitol, which ſoon reduced the rioters to a deſperate condition. In this extremity *Suffeius*, one of their leaders, was for ſetting fire to the temple of *Jupiter*, in hopes they ſhould make their eſcape, during the confuſion and tumult which commonly attend ſuch accidents. But *Apuleius* and *Glaucia*, depending upon their friendſhip with *Marius*, ſurrendered to him, after he had promiſed, upon the public faith, to ſave their lives. This promiſe was in itſelf void and unlawful, ſince the ſenate had already declared them rebels, and ordered the conſul to treat them as ſuch. But *Marius* was reſolved to ſave a body of deſperate men, whoſe fury might be of

b uſe to him on ſome other occaſion. He therefore gave them leave to march out of the capitol unmoleſted. *Glaucia* retired to the houſe of one *Claudius* for refuge; but the people ſoon dragged him from thence, and cut off his head. His brother *Dolabella* and one *L. Geganius*, who retired to the herb-market, were murdered there. Hereupon *Marius* ſhut up the reſt, with *Apuleius* their chief, in the old palace of *Tullus Hoſtilius*, giving out, that he confined them there in order to bring them to condign puniſhment. But the palace was in reality a place of ſafety for them, rather than a priſon; and the guards, placed at the gates, were not ſo much to prevent their making their eſcape, as to ſecure them againſt the inſults of the people. Of this the ſenators and knights were well appriſed; and therefore, having aſſembled the people, they

c diſperſed the guards, broke open the gates of the palace, and with clubs and ſtones diſpatched *Suffeius*, *Labienus*, *Equitius*, *Apuleius* himſelf, and all the leading men of his party. The people, not ſatisfied with the death of *Apuleius*, tore his body into a thouſand pieces. And now, the ſtorm being blown over, the comitia aſſembled in tranquillity, and all the acts of the preceding tribunate were declared abſolutely null, for want of liberty in the ſuffrages. After this the tribes met again to chuſe a collegue for *Marcus Antonius*, who had been elected on the day that *Memmius* was murdered. The perſon raiſed to that dignity was *A. Poſthumius Albinus*, a man of excellent parts and a ſincere friend to his country [m].

A battle in the forum.

The rebels in the capitol forced to ſurrender to Marius.

Who endeavours to ſave them;

But in vain.

The new conſular year was begun with purifying the city, which had been pol-

d luted with ſo much blood in the late troubles. To the ceremonies uſed on this occaſion others ſucceeded for averting evils, foreboded by ſome imaginary prognoſtics. It was not then known, that in the year, when theſe prodigies were ſaid to have happened, a child was born in *Rome*, who would one day overturn the republic. This was *Julius Cæſar*, who came into the world on the twelfth day of the month *Quintilis*, in the ſixth conſulate of *Marius*, whence the fifth month of the old *Roman* year was called *Julius*. The new conſuls had the pleaſure to ſee the games, which *P. Claudius Pulcher* the ædile gave, celebrated without trouble or confuſion. They were the moſt ſplendid that had yet been ſeen in *Rome*. We are told, that *Claudius* was the firſt who cauſed the ſcenes to be painted; which was ſo artfully done, ſays *Pliny* [n], that the

e birds attempted to alight on the tops of the houſes, and to perch on the trees, which were painted on the cloth. Thus were the firſt months of this year ſpent in tranquillity. But it was not long, ere the leaven of ſedition, which *Marius* had ſown among the tribunes, began to ſhew itſelf in *Sextius Titius*, who attempted to ingratiate himſelf with the people, and raiſe new troubles, by reviving the *Gracchian* law about the diviſion of lands. But the conſul *M. Antonius* prevented the miſchief he intended, and brought him into ſuch contempt, that, as ſoon as he was out of his office, he was accuſed of the moſt infamous and unnatural practices, and condemned to baniſhment. And now, after *Marius* and his adherents were thus fully diſappointed, it was thought a proper ſeaſon to recall the great *Metellus*. All the *Cæcilian* family, of which the *Metelli* were

f a branch, intereſted themſelves in the cauſe of their relation. The exile's ſon appeared in deep mourning, fell proſtrate before the tribes, and did all for the recalling of his father, which perſons accuſed of capital crimes uſed to do to ſave their own lives. This affectionate conduct towards his father procured him the ſurname of *Pius*, which he bore the reſt of his life. The whole body of the patricians joined with the ſon, and intreated the people in a public aſſembly to recall ſo worthy a citizen. *Marius* did all that lay in his power to prevent the return of a patrician, who was the ſupport of the ſenate, a true pattern of the old *Roman* probity, and the dread of the ſeditious. But, in ſpite of *Marius*'s utmoſt efforts, equity prevailed, and the return of *Metellus*

The birth of Julius Cæſar.

Sextius Titius *tribune of the people, baniſhed.*

Metellus *recalled.*

[m] Plut. in Mario. Appian. de bell. civil. l. i. Flor. l. iii. c. 16. Cic. pro Sextio, Rabirio, &c. Val. Max. l. iii. c. 2. [n] Plin. l. xxxv. c. 7.

Metellus was carried by a majority of ſuffrages. The meſſenger ſent to acquaint him with the decree of the people, finding him at a public ſhow in the city of *Trallis* in *Lydia*, delivered to him the letter, and at the ſame time whiſpered him, that it contained joyful news. But the illuſtrious philoſopher, without the leaſt change of countenance, continued his attention to the ſhow, and did not open the packet till the games were ended. The ſame greatneſs of ſoul, which had kept him from dejection in his diſgrace, guarded him againſt immoderate joy in his proſperity. All the perſons of diſtinction in *Rome* went to receive him at the gate of the city. He was accompanied from the gate to his own houſe by vaſt crowds of people, who teſtified the ſincerity of their joy by loud acclamations. His houſe was crouded from morning to night with perſons of all ranks, who came to ſee and congratulate him. In ſhort, his return was a real triumph. *Marius*, to avoid the mortification of ſeeing a triumphant enemy, left *Rome* and went into *Aſia*, giving out, that he was going to perform ſome ſacrifices, which he had vowed to *Cybele* the mother of the gods. But the true motive of his voyage into *Aſia* was, to kindle a war, and cut out new work for his republic there. He owed his grandeur wholly to arms, and could not maintain it in peaceable times, being deſtitute of thoſe talents which were neceſſary to gain applauſe in a commonwealth, where eloquence bore a great ſway in all public deliberations. In order therefore to have an opportunity of diſplaying anew his talent for war, he went to the court of *Mithridates* king of *Pontus*, who ſeemed the moſt diſpoſed to quarrel. The king received him with all the honour due to his reputation, careſſed him in the moſt affectionate manner, and did all that lay in his power to oblige a man of ſo much weight in his republic. But all to no purpoſe; he could draw nothing from the proud *Roman*, but inſolent treatment. *Marius* did not doubt, but, if he could provoke that young, powerful, and brave king to take arms againſt *Rome*, he ſhould have the command of the forces employed in that war; and therefore he treated him with great haughtineſs and contempt. One day he addreſſed himſelf to him very bluntly in theſe terms; *You muſt either, O king, endeavour to be more powerful than the* Romans, *or quietly ſubmit to their will.* The king of *Pontus*, the proudeſt prince of his time, was quite aſtoniſhed at the diſcourſe of the bold commonwealth's man. However, as he was a great politician, he did not think this a proper time to declare his reſentments; and therefore, concealing his diſpleaſure, he diſmiſſed *Marius* loaded with preſents [o].

a

b

Marius *retires from* Rome.

c

His inſolent behaviour at the court of Mithridates.

d

But to return to *Metellus*, the people ſoon gave him a ſenſible proof of the regard they had for him. Upon his preſenting to the tribes his relation *Q. Cæcilius Metellus*, the people very readily choſe him conſul, and gave him for his collegue *T. Didius*, who had been honoured with a triumph fourteen years before, for having defeated the *Scordiſci*. The two conſuls drew lots for their provinces, when *Italy* fell to *Metellus*, and *Spain* to *Didius*, whither he carried a conſular army to make head againſt the *Spaniſh* rebels, who had taken arms in great numbers, and committed dreadful devaſtations in the *Roman* province. Under *Didius* ſerved *Sertorius* in quality of legionary tribune. He was a native of *Nurſia* in *Sabinia*, and had already given many proofs of his valour; but in the preſent war with the revolted *Spaniards*, he gained more reputation than his general. He reduced the cities of *Caſtulo* and *Gyriſænium*, two places of great importance; and it was chiefly owing to his maſterly conduct, that *Didius* overthrew in a pitched battle the *Vaccæi*, of whom he cut twenty thouſand in pieces. After the conſul had, by the help of his brave tribune, reduced the rebels, he ſtained his victory by an unheard-of piece of treachery and cruelty. One of the *Roman* generals had ſettled five years before a colony of *Spaniards* near the city of *Colenda*. Theſe, before they were brought to this new ſettlement, had committed robberies in ſeveral parts of *Spain*. *Didius* ſuſpecting, without any grounds, that they deſigned to return to their ancient way of living, obliged them to quit the lands they were poſſeſſed of, and promiſed them thoſe of *Colenda*, which city he had juſt reduced after a nine months ſiege. The *Spaniards*, depending on the general's promiſe, came with their wives and children to the *Roman* camp, where, under pretence of accommodating them better, they were admitted within the intrenchments. When the cruel conſul had them thus in his power, he cauſed the whole multitude to be divided into three companies, placing the men in one, the women in another, and the children in the third. The poor people ſuſpected no treachery, till they heard the conſul order his legionaries

Sertorius *gains great reputation in* Spain.

e

f

[o] Plut. ibid.

a legionaries to fall upon them, and put them all, without diſtinction, to the ſword. His orders were put in execution with the utmoſt barbarity, not one of thoſe unhappy wretches eſcaping. A moſt deteſtable piece of cruelty! but applauded at *Rome*. To ſuch a degree were the *Romans* degenerated from their antient probity! This maſſacre exaſperated the *Celtiberians*, who taking arms faced the conſular army in the open field, and came to a pitched battle with them, in which they fought like men in deſpair, till night parted the two armies. The loſs of the *Romans* was equal to theirs; but *Didius* by a ſtratagem made them believe they had been worſted. He ordered moſt of the bodies of the *Romans*, who had been ſlain, to be carried out of the field of battle in the night. The *Celtiberians*, when they came early next morning, according to their b cuſtom, to bury their dead, were ſo terrified at ſeeing ſuch a number of their own men ſlain, and ſo few *Romans*, that they ſubmitted to *Didius* upon his own terms. Thus, partly by force and partly by artifice, the *Roman* general ſettled *Hither Spain* in peace, and returned five years after his conſulſhip to *Rome*, where his ſervices were rewarded with a triumph [p]. This ſame year the prætor *Cornelius Dolabella* gained conſiderable advantages over the revolted *Luſitanians* in *Further Spain*. Hiſtorians indeed have not given us any account of his exploits, but in the triumphal tables he is ſaid to have triumphed over the *Luſitanians* this preſent year.

The cruelty of Didius *in* Spain.

The Celtiberians *ſubmit to* Didius.

In the mean time, the conſul *Metellus* maintained peace at home, and puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity all ſpeeches that tended to ſedition. *C. Plautius Decianus*, one c of the prætors, was baniſhed for dropping, in a public ſpeech, ſome expreſſions in favour of the furious tribune *Apuleius*. The tribunes themſelves durſt no longer propoſe ſeditious laws, or attempt to raiſe diſturbances among the populace. The preſence of *Metellus* and the abſence of *Marius* equally contributed to the public tranquillity. In *Aſia*, that is, in the ancient kingdom of *Pergamus*, the excellent proconſul *Q. Mucius Scævola* puniſhed the iniquity of the *Roman* knights or publicans in a very exemplary manner. He found them guilty of moſt enormous extortions, in raiſing and managing the revenues of the republic; and therefore, without any regard to the dignity or power of ſo formidable a body, he cauſed many of them to be publicly carried to priſon, and condemned a ſlave to be crucified, who had been the agent of d an oppreſſive publican, and an accomplice in his maſter's knavery. He appointed men of integrity, and well verſed in money affairs, to examine the books of the publicans, and by this means reformed his province in leſs than nine months. On his departure the *Aſiatics* inſtituted a feſtival to perpetuate among them the memory of his virtues. This feſtival, which from him was called *Mucia*, did him more honour than a triumph. Many of the governors of the provinces followed the example of *Mucius*, and the ſenate charged the conſuls and prætors to do the ſame in their reſpective provinces; ſo that a ſtop was put for ſome time to the oppreſſions of the publicans, which had rendered the yoke of the republic inſupportable [q].

Mucius Scævola *puniſhes the publicans in* Aſia.

In the ſucceeding conſulate of *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus* and *P. Licinius Craſſus*, *Ma-* Marius *diſregarded at* Rome.
rius returned from *Aſia*; and, ſoon after his arrival in *Rome*, he built himſelf a houſe e cloſe by the forum, either to eaſe his clients, as he himſelf gave out, of the trouble of going far, or in hopes of having more numerous levees there, than in a diſtant part of the town. But he found, that his rough behaviour kept people from him where-ever he lived. His haughty manners were not becoming in a free ſtate, where every one thinks himſelf to be upon a level with the beſt, and where the great can gain and maintain friends only by an obliging behaviour and good offices. He met with the fate of moſt warriors, who live to a great age in peace. Their victories are forgot, and they, as *Plutarch* obſerves, if not recommended by civil virtues, are, like old ruſty weapons, laid aſide as quite uſeleſs. But nothing gave *Marius* ſo great uneaſineſs as to ſee his old rival *Sylla* aggrandiſe himſelf, as he thought, at his expence. f *Bocchus*, king of *Mauritania*, after he had been declared an ally of the *Roman* people, dedicated in the capitol ſeveral trophies of *Sylla*'s victories, and placed near them ſome golden ſtatues, repreſenting in what manner he had delivered *Jugurtha* into the hands of *Sylla*. *Marius*, diſtracted with rage, attempted to pull down a monument, which aſcribed to his rival all the glory of ſo memorable an event. *Sylla*, on the other hand, oppoſed him with all his credit. Every one took party according to his intereſt and inclination; ſo that the whole city was divided into two factions; but by the vigilance of the conſuls a ſtop was put to the ſedition, when it was juſt upon the point of

Is jealous of Sylla's *glory.*

[p] Plut. in Sertorio. Appian. in Iberic. Front. ſtrat. l. v. c. 11. [q] Diodor. Sicul. Vales. Cic. ad Attic. l. vi. & in Verr. act. 7.

of breaking out. *Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus* and *C. Caſſius Longinus*, the two ſucceeding conſuls, took more care to maintain peace and tranquillity at home, than to ſignaliſe themſelves by feats of arms abroad. During their adminiſtration, *Rome* enjoyed all the advantages of peace and plenty, and was ſo ſenſible of her happineſs, that ſhe preferred to the many warriors, who deſired to ſucceed them, men brought up in peaceable employments, viz. *Licinius Craſſus*, the famous orator, and *Q. Mucius Scævola*, a learned civilian. But theſe pacific conſuls ſowed, without deſign, the ſeeds of one of the moſt bloody wars that had ever broke out in the neighbourhood of *Rome*. They got a law paſſed, which obliged the allies, who lived in *Rome* and falſely pretended to the right of *Roman* citizenſhip, to return to their own homes. By the help of theſe intruders ſome ſeditious tribunes had ſown diſcord among the real citizens; whence it ſeemed but juſt, that thoſe ſtrangers ſhould be ſent home to their reſpective countries. Nevertheleſs this law, how juſt ſoever and equitable in itſelf, was ſo reſented by the people of the *Italian* provinces, that it afterwards gave birth to the *war of the allies*. The conſuls, after having paſſed this law and drawn lots for their provinces, ſet out, the one for *Tranſalpine*, the other for *Ciſalpine Gaul*. *Scævola*, to whom *Tranſalpine Gaul* had fallen, finding little to do in his province, returned to *Rome*, and generouſly diſbanded his army before his year expired, thinking it an unneceſſary burden to the republic. *Craſſus*, though he ſought for enemies, and ſearched into all the corners of the *Alps* for people to fight with, could find none, but a company of ſtrolling robbers, whom he defeated. Nevertheleſs, he demanded a triumph on his return; but his collegue, out of a pure regard to equity, oppoſed it, declaring, that he would not ſuffer ſo great an honour to be depreciated and thrown away on ſuch ſlight advantages. The following conſulſhip of *L. Domitius Ahenobarbus* and *Cælius Caldus* was as peaceable as the former. *Cælius* was a new man (M), of no birth or merit, and ſurnamed *Caldus* from his warm temper; but he had no opportunity of raiſing any diſturbances, ſome of the chief nobility being at this time admitted into the college of tribunes. The conſulate of *C. Valerius Flaccus* and *M. Herennius* was remarkable for nothing, but the pompous ſhow of lions, with which *Sylla* entertained the people in the circus, and the unjuſt condemnation of *P. Rutilius Rufus* a conſular. *Bocchus* ſent *Sylla* a hundred lions, and with them ſome *Mauritanian* hunters, who were uſed to fight them. This was a pleaſing entertainment to the people, and the remembrance of it contributed afterwards as much towards *Sylla*'s promotion to the conſulate, as either his reputation or exploits. *P. Rutilius Rufus* had attended *Mucius Scævola* into *Aſia*, and was thought the author of his ſevere reformation of the publicans. He was unjuſtly, and purely out of revenge, accuſed by that powerful body, and condemned to baniſhment. He retired to *Smyrna*, where he was ſo well pleaſed with the converſation of the *Greek* philoſophers, that he refuſed to return to *Rome*, when the people ſome years after annulled the decree of his baniſhment[r].

Origin of the ſocial war.

A pompous ſhew given by Sylla.

Rutilius Rufus *unjuſtly baniſhed.*

The following year, when *C. Claudius Pulcher* and *M. Perperna* were conſuls, the ſenate ordered *Sylla* to carry back *Ariobarzanes*, king of *Cappadocia*, to his dominions, whence he had been driven by *Tigranes* king of *Armenia*. This *Sylla* effected, after having defeated *Gordius*, whom the *Armenians* had placed on the throne, as we have related at length in the hiſtory of *Armenia*. On this occaſion *Sylla* received an embaſſy from *Arbaces* king of *Parthia*, deſiring the friendſhip of the *Roman* people. The *Roman* general thought this one of the moſt fortunate occurrences of his life, and eſteemed it,

Embaſſadors from the king of Parthia *to* Sylla.

[r] Val. Max. l. vi. c. 4. Vell. Patercul. l. ii. Plut. in Sylla. Cic. in Brut. & pro Muræna.

(M) The diviſion of the *Roman* people into *Nobiles*, *Novi*, and *Ignobiles*, often occurs in hiſtory, and was taken from the right of expoſing publicly the images or ſtatues of their anceſtors; an honour only allowed to thoſe whoſe anceſtors or themſelves had bore ſome curule office, that is, had been curule ædile, cenſor, prætor, or conſul. He who could expoſe the pictures or ſtatues of his anceſtors was ſtyled *Nobilis*; he, who could only produce his own, was called *Homo Novus*; and he, who could neither expoſe his own, nor the pictures of any of his anceſtors, was termed *Ignobilis*. So that *jus imaginis* was much the ſame thing among the ancient *Romans*, as the right of bearing a coat of arms among us. For a great while none but the patricians were *Nobiles*, they alone being raiſed to the curule offices. Hence in many places of *Livy*, *Salluſt*, and other ancient writers, we find the word *Nobilitas* uſed for the patrician order. But in after-ages, when the plebeians were admitted to the curule offices, both they and their poſterity were honoured with the title of *Nobiles* (9).

(9) *Vide Sigon. de jur. civ. Rom. l.* ii. *c.* 20.

a it a happy omen, that he ſhould be the firſt *Roman* who was known to ſo warlike and powerful a people [f].

AT *Rome*, *Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus*, one of the cenſors, accuſed his collegue *L. Craſſus* of exceſſive fondneſs for one of his *muræna*. The favourite *muræna* was ſo tame that it would come to *Craſſus* at his call, and feed out of his hand. The grave cenſor was ſo fond of this fiſh, that he took pleaſure in adorning it with the richeſt jewels he had. When it died, he put himſelf in mourning, and erected a tomb for it. When *Craſſus*, who was for his eloquence, as *Cicero* tells us, the wonder of his age, came to ſpeak in his own defence, he was very ſatirical on his auſtere accuſer, and uttered his ironical jeſts with ſuch geſtures, as drew upon his collegue the laughter of the whole

A Roman cenſor puts himſelf in mourning upon the death of a fiſh.

b aſſembly. *I have been guilty*, ſaid he, *of this enormous crime*; *I have, it is true, wept at the loſs of a favourite fiſh: but you, good* Domitius, *have bore the loſs of three wives without ſhedding a tear*. However, the cenſors, notwithſtanding their quarrels, joined in many uſeful regulations. They drove out of *Rome* ſeveral maſters, who had opened ſchools, though no ways qualified for that important employment.

THE enſuing year, *Sext. Julius Cæſar* (N) and *L. Marcius Philippus* were raiſed to the conſulate. During their adminiſtration, *M. Livius Druſus*, tribune of the people, occaſioned, though undeſignedly, the breaking out of that unfortunate war, at the very gates of *Rome*, which hiſtorians ſometimes call the *ſocial war*, or the *war of the allies*, and ſometimes the *Marſian war*, becauſe it began in the country of the *Marſi*.

The ſocial war breaks out.
Year after the flood 22·3.
Before Chriſt 86.
Of Rome 662.

c *Druſus* was deſcended of an illuſtrious family, and had improved the great talents nature had given him, by the ſtudy of eloquence. He was a ſincere friend to his country, and therefore, with a view to the public welfare, he attempted to remedy thoſe diſorders which had been introduced into the adminiſtration. But his very remedies increaſed them, and rendered the diſtempers of the republic incurable. Tho' there had been of late no open ſedition, he obſerved, that a general diſſatisfaction reigned in the three orders of men, who made up the whole body of the commonwealth. The cognizance of civil cauſes had been, by one of *C. Gracchus*'s laws, taken from the ſenate and given to the knights; and this the conſcript fathers could not bear, but inſiſted on their being reinſtated in their ancient privileges. On the other hand,

Druſus, *tribune of the people, author of this war.*

d knights would by no means part with a prerogative, which had been given them by a law paſſed in the comitia. The people murmured, becauſe the execution of the *Gracchian* law was neglected, and no care was taken to aſſign them lands; but the nobility refuſed to part with any of the lands they poſſeſſed. The *Italian* allies were no leſs diſſatisfied than the ſenate and people. They aſpired at the right of ſuffrage, and at the offices in the republic, which they had ſo much aſſiſted in her conqueſts. They remonſtrated, that they paid conſiderable taxes; that in the time of war their countries raiſed double the number of forces that were raiſed in *Rome*; that the commonwealth owed partly to their valour that prodigious power which ſhe had acquired; and laſtly, that it was but juſt they ſhould ſhare the honours of a ſtate which they had helped to

His ſcheme to reconcile all orders of men.

e aggrandize, both with their arms and treaſures. Now *Druſus* formed a ſcheme to reconcile all orders of men, and put an end to all diſcontents, which, he foreſaw, would in proceſs of time, if not removed, produce a general inſurrection. A glorious deſign! but now impracticable. He began with endeavouring to reconcile the ſenators and knights, thinking he had found out an effectual expedient for gaining ſo important a point. He propoſed to reſtore to the ſenate the cognizance of civil cauſes, which had been conferred on the knights, and to make that ſecond order amends, by admitting three hundred of them into the ſenate. But this ſcheme was no ſooner propoſed, than both the bodies, which he deſigned to reconcile, declared againſt it with great vehe-

Is oppoſed with great warmth.

f mence. The ſenators ſcorned to admit into their body ſuch a number of men far inferior to them in birth, which, they ſaid, would depreciate the ſenatorial dignity. On the other hand, ſuch of the knights, as had reaſon to fear they ſhould not be in the number of the three hundred deſigned for ſenators, declared, that they would not by any means, or for any equivalent whatſoever, ſuffer their order to be deprived of a juriſdiction, which made them very conſiderable in *Rome*. *Q. Servilius Cæpio* put himſelf at the head of the knignts, and the conſul *Marcius Philippus* appeared for the ſenate,

[f] PLUT. in Sylla.

(N) This *Sextius Julius Cæſar* was uncle to the famous *Julius Cæſar*. His ſiſter *Julia* was wife to *Marius* according to *Plutarch*; and *Suetonius* tells us, that ſhe was aunt to *Julius Cæſar*, the firſt *Roman* emperor.

senate, to oppose the designed accommodation. *Philippus*, who was a man of a warm and fiery temper, had the boldness to interrupt the tribune *Drusus*, while he was one day haranguing the people from the rostra, and to command him silence. Hereupon one of the tribune's officers collaring the consul, handled him so roughly, that the blood gushed out of his nose. After this *Drusus*, who had the people on his side, ordered the consul to be carried to prison, for attempting to interrupt a tribune in the exercise of his authority, The tribune finding his well-meant scheme opposed, with great warmth, both by the knights and senators, to ingratiate himself with the people, proposed a law for distributing gratis among the poor what bread they wanted. He represented, that there was no danger of the treasury's being exhausted by this bounty, since immense sums were annually brought into it from the provinces; that there were at that time lodged in the temple of *Saturn*, where the public treasures were kept, 1620829 pounds weight of gold; that the public treasury ought not to be like the sea, which swallows up every thing and returns nothing, *&c.* The law met with great opposition, but at length passed to the universal satisfaction of the indigent citizens. In the next place, *Drusus* made it his business to gain the affections of the *Italian* allies, especially of the *Latins*. In order to this, he proposed a law for investing them with all the privileges of *Roman* citizens. But this law was opposed with great violence, not only by the senators and knights, but even by the people, who could not bear the thoughts of making those their fellow-citizens, whom they looked upon as their subjects. In the mean time, the *Italian* allies flocked to *Rome* from all parts to support their protector. But, finding they could not by his means gain their point, they entered into a plot, without his knowledge, to extort by force what they despaired of getting by interest. Some of the leading men among them formed a design of assassinating the consuls, during the ceremony of the *Feriæ Latinæ*, which was annually performed on the hill of *Alba* after the election of the great magistrates. But *Drusus* being informed of the plot, notwithstanding all the care the conspirators took to conceal it, he immediately acquainted the consuls with the wicked designs of the allies, and by that means saved their lives. But those, whom the well-meaning tribune had saved from a conspiracy, conspired to destroy him. While he was one day returning from the forum, where he had harangued the people in behalf of the allies, a great crowd of people attended him to the door of his house, where he was stabbed with a knife, which the ruffian left in the wound, and then made his escape. When *Drusus* felt himself wounded, he cried out, *Ungrateful republic! Wilt thou ever find a man more zealous for thy true interest, than I have been?* And a few hours after expired. It was never discovered who had hired the assassin; but the suspicion of this black attempt fell on the consul *Philippus*, on *Cæpio*, and on *Varus*, one of his fellow-tribunes, who soon after proposed a law, declaring traytors and enemies to the state all those, who should move for granting to the allies the prerogative of citizenship. *Drusus* was a man of an unspotted character, and for love to his country was no-ways inferior to the greatest heroes of *Rome*. He dedicated all his thoughts, cares, and life itself to the service of his republic. But, as the evil was now become incurable, all his attempts, for preserving the state from impending ruin, were unsuccessful. Not many years after the ungrateful republic lost her liberty; and the sovereign power, which *Drusus*'s measures might have prevented, soon devolved to his family; for he was the grandfather of *Livia*, the wife of *Augustus*, and consequently the great grandfather of the emperor *Tiberius* [t].

Drusus commands the consul Marcius Philippus *to be carried to prison.*

The probity of Drusus.

Drusus *assassinated.*

His character

The death of *Drusus*, thus basely assassinated for attempting to procure the right of citizenship to the *Italian* allies, provoked them to such a degree, that they began to arm with a design to do themselves justice. *Pompædius Silo*, the most famous general among the *Marsi*, put himself at the head of ten thousand men, and marched towards *Rome*, which he designed to surprise and plunder. But *Cn. Domitius*, his old friend, meeting him on the road as he was going to his country-house, prevailed upon him to lay aside his design, and return to his own country [u]. As the republic was threatened with a war, two men of distinguished merit were promoted to the consulate, viz. *L. Julius Cæsar* and *P. Rutilius Lupus*. In the very beginning of their administration, the *Marsi*, *Peligni*, *Samnites*, *Campanians*, and *Lucanians*, and in short all the provinces from the *Liris* to the *Adriatic*, revolted at once. *Rome* had never engaged more formidable enemies. As they had all served in the armies of the republic, they

The allies arm

[t] Appian. de bell. civil. l. i. Vell. Patercul. l. ii. Liv. epit. l. lxxi. c. 20. Plin. l. xxxiii. c. 3. Val. Max. l. ix. c. 5. Flor. l. iii. c. 17. [u] Diodor. Sicul. apud Vales. Cic. de orat. l. i.

a they were as well diſciplined as her legions, and their leaders had learnt the art of war under her moſt famous commanders. It is ſaid of the *Marſi* in particular, that *Rome* had never gained a victory, in which they had not a great ſhare. The firſt ſtep they took in their revolt was, to erect themſelves into a republic in oppoſition to that of *Rome*. *Corfinium*, a great and ſtrong city in the country of the *Peligni*, was made the capital of their new republic. Thither were carried all the hoſtages given by the cities in the revolt, and prodigious ſtores of arms and proviſions. The city of *Aſculum Picenum* among the reſt reſolved to ſend her hoſtages to *Corfinium*, which *Servilius*, who governed that province in quality of proconſul, no ſooner heard, than he flew to *Aſculum*, and entering it, threatened the inhabitants with the vengeance b of *Rome*. But they, deſpiſing his menaces, ran to arms, and cut in pieces the proconſul, *Fonteius* his lieutenant, and all the *Romans* they found in their territory. War being thus openly declared, *Rome* made what haſte ſhe could to levy troops, and appoint the conſuls their provinces. *Cæſar* was ordered into *Samnium*, and *Rutilius* into the country of the *Marſi*. The latter choſe for his lieutenant-general *Cn. Pompeius*, the father of *Pompey the Great*, *C. Marius*, *Q. Cæpio*, *C. Perperna*, and *Valerius Meſſala*. *Cæſar* nominated for his chief officers *P. Lentulus*, *Cornelius Sylla*, *T. Didius*, *P. Licinius Craſſus*, and *M. Marcellus*. Thus were all the commanders of note in *Rome* employed in this new war. Neither were theſe lieutenants to ſerve barely as ſubalterns; every one had a body of troops under his command with the title of c proconſul: nor were they confined to particular provinces or diſtricts; every one was ordered to go where-ever he was wanted, and all directed to aſſiſt each other. While *Rome* was taking theſe wiſe meaſures, the allies choſe alſo their conſuls and prætors, and formed a ſenate conſiſting of five hundred perſons to govern their new ſtate; ſo that *Italy* was now, for the firſt time, divided into two great and powerful republics. In the mean time, *Cn. Pompeius*, marching with a detachment from *Rome* to revenge the death of *Servilius* on the *Aſculani*, attempted to take their city by aſſault. But the inhabitants made an unexpected ſally, put the *Romans* to flight, and purſued them with great ſlaughter. After this the two conſuls took the field; *Julius Cæſar* entered *Samnium*, and *Rutilius* the country of the *Marſi*. The *Latins*, d who ſtill continued faithful to the republic, furniſhed their contingent of troops as uſual. The *Hetrurians* likewiſe, the *Umbrians*, and the eaſtern kings ſent large ſupplies to ſupport *Rome* in ſo dangerous a war. The faithful *Minatius Magius*, whom *Velleius Paterculus* reckons among his anceſtors, though a native of *Aſculum*, raiſed as many men for the *Romans* as amounted to the number of a legion. *Sertorius*, at this time quæſtor in *Ciſalpine Gaul*, brought a reinforcement of *Gauls* to the relief of his country, fought the allies with his uſual bravery, and having loſt one of his eyes in this war, he ever after gloried in that honourable deformity [w].

And erect themſelves into a republic

Cn. Pompeius put to flight by the allies.

The country of the *Marſi*, which had fallen to *Rutilius*, was defended by two able generals, *Preſenteius* and *Vettius Cato*. The former was oppoſed by *C. Perperna*, who c commanded a great body of troops under the conſul. The *Roman* immediately offered the enemy battle, which *Preſenteius* did not decline. Both armies fought with unparalled bravery; but the *Romans* were at laſt put to the rout, after having loſt about four thouſand men. A few days after this defeat, *Vettius Cato*, who oppoſed *Rutilius*, being informed that the conſul deſigned to paſs the river *Telonius* in the night, lay in ambuſh for the conſular army, attacked them unexpectedly, and drove them back into the river. In this action eight thouſand *Romans* were either cut in pieces, or drowned in the river. The conſul himſelf was killed with a great many officers of diſtinction. The attack was ſo ſudden, that *Marius*, who was encamped on the banks of the river at a ſmall diſtance from the conſul, had no notice of it, till the *Telonius* brought a great f number of dead bodies to his camp. The news of this overthrow, and the ſight of the conſul's body, which was brought to *Rome*, filled the city with terror. For fear of a ſurpriſe guards were placed at all the gates, the number of the centinels on the ramparts was increaſed, and all the avenues to the city well guarded. Theſe were neceſſary precautions during a war, wherein the ſoldiers of the two oppoſite parties were dreſſed and armed after the ſame manner, ſpoke the ſame language, and were well acquainted with the cuſtoms of each other. The legions, which *Rutilius* had commanded, were divided between *Marius* and *Cæpio*. The latter ſuffered himſelf to be ſhamefully over-reached by *Pompædius Silo*, commander in chief of the allies.

Perperna *defeated by the allies.*

The conſul Rutilius *defeated and killed.*

He

[w] Vell. Patercul. l. i. Plut. in Sertorio. Appian. bell. civil. l. i.

He came as a ſuppliant to the proconſul, accompanied by two young ſlaves richly a
dreſſed, whom he pretended to be his ſons, each of them carrying in his hand a lump of lead, the one covered with a thin plate of gold, and the other of ſilver, which he ſaid were the preſents his children came to lay at his feet. The proconſul received *Pompædius* with great politeneſs, and admitted him into his confidence; when the crafty *Italian*, pretending to lead him to a place where he might ſurpriſe the enemy, conducted him into narrow defiles, where the proconſul was ſlain, and the beſt part of his army cut in pieces [x]. Thus fell *Q. Cæpio*, who, by his warm oppoſition to *Druſus*'s ſcheme, had been the chief author of the preſent war.

Q. Cæpio defeated and killed.

These ſucceſſes raiſed the courage of the allies, who under their various leaders
The allies gain conſiderable advantages. gained conſiderable advantages over the *Romans*. *Judacilius*, *Afranius*, and *Ventidius*, three officers of diſtinction among the confederates, having united their forces, obliged *Cn. Pompeius* to ſhelter himſelf behind the walls of *Firmum* in *Picenum*. *Marius Egnatius* ſurpriſed the city of *Venafrum* in *Campania*, and cut in pieces the *Roman* gariſon, conſiſting of two cohorts. The city of *Nola* ſurrendered to *Aponius*, one of the conſuls of the allies, and delivered up to him the *Roman* gariſon, to the number of two thouſand men, with the prætor *L. Poſthumius*, who commanded them. The ſame *Aponius* ſeized the cities of *Stabiæ*, *Liternum*, and *Salernum*, and over-ran all *Campania*. In *Lucania*, *Lamponius* drove *M. Licinius* out of the field, killed eight hundred of his men, and obliged him to take refuge in the city of *Grumentum*. *Judacilius* reduced almoſt all *Apulia*, and brought the cities of c
Canuſium and *Venuſia* over to the confederates [y].

In *Samnium*, the conſul *Julius Cæſar* was defeated by *Vettius Cato* the *Samnite*, and
The conſul Julius Cæſar *defeated.* forced to take ſhelter in a neighbouring city, after having loſt two thouſand men. However, he ſoon left the place of his retreat to relieve *Acerræ*, which was cloſely beſieged by *Aponius*. That general, having releaſed *Oxyntas* the ſon of *Jugurtha* from his confinement in the city of *Venuſia*, brought him to his army, and there treated him as king. The *Numidians*, who ſerved in the conſul's army, no ſooner heard that the ſon of their old king was fighting for the allies, than they began to deſert by companies; inſomuch, that the conſul was obliged to part with all his *Numidian* cavalry, and ſend them back into *Africa*. This diminution of the conſular d
troops raiſed the courage of *Aponius*, who came to inſult the *Romans* at the very gates
The allies repulſed by Cæſar. of their camp. But *Cæſar* ſallying out unexpectedly, fell ſo briſkly on the enemy, that they were forced to retire after having loſt ſix thouſand men. As this was the firſt victory the *Romans* had gained over the allies, it occaſioned great joy both at *Rome* and in the army. The ſenate rewarded the brave conſul by confirming the title of *Imperator* (O), which the ſoldiers had given him on the field of battle. In the mean time, *Marius*, being attacked in his camp by *Herrius Acinius*, the chief of the *Marucini*, put the enemy to flight, and forced them to take ſhelter in a place which they deemed
The Marucini *defeated by* Marius *and* Sylla. inacceſſible. But *Sylla*, whom they did not expect, paſſing accidentally that way with his flying camp, attacked them, made a terrible ſlaughter of their troops, and e
completed the victory with the death of their general; which was no ſmall mortification to *Marius*. At the ſame time *Servius Sulpicius*, having defeated in a pitched battle the *Peligni* and reduced their whole country, marched to the relief of *Cn. Pompeius*, who was beſieged in *Firmum* by *Afranius*, attacked his camp, killed him in
Sulpicius *overcomes and kills* Afranius. the action, and cut moſt of his troops in pieces. After this victory, *Pompeius* laid ſiege to *Aſculum*, whither the remains of the enemy's army had fled for refuge. In the country of the *Marſi*, *Marius*, after having continued ſeveral months in a ſtate of inaction, to inure his troops to diſcipline, at length took the field, and gave battle. But he was ſenſible in the action, that he was not now the ſame man. As he was in the ſixty-eighth year of his age, and ſubject to various diſtempers, his ſtrength and former f
vivacity had failed him. His troops, not being animated by his example, as they expected, ſuſtained the firſt ſhock but faintly, and then fled in diſorder to their
Marius *defeated.* camp. The bad ſucceſs of this battle was ſuch a mortification to *Marius*, that, under pretence of his infirmities, he reſigned the command, and returned to *Rome* [z].

The

[x] Appian. ibid. Oros. l. v. c. 18. [y] Appian. & Liv. ibid. Flor. l. iii. c. 18. Oros. l. v. c. 18. [z] Plut. in Mario & Sylla. Appian. ibid.

(O) In the times of the republic the title of *Imperator* was an occaſional mark of honour, which the armies ſometimes beſtowed on their generals in their acclamations, and which the ſenate confirmed in favour of thoſe who had ſignalized themſelves by important victories. But under the *Cæſars* it became a title of ſovereignty.

Chap. 9.

a THE fame of this victory gained by the *Marſi* induced the *Umbrians* and *Hetrurians* to declare for the confederates. It was therefore neceſſary for *Rome* to increaſe the number of her forces, in proportion as the number of her enemies increaſed; but as the capital alone was not able to furniſh as many as were requiſite to complete the many legions that were to be raiſed, the ſenate, by a ſtep which was never taken but in the utmoſt danger, ordered the freed-men to be inliſted, and formed twelve cohorts of them, which were employed as gariſons in the maritime cities; ſo that *Rome* could ſend all her legions, under the command of *Lucius Porcius* and *Aulus Plautius*, againſt the united forces of the *Umbrians* and *Hetrurians*, whom they defeated in a pitched battle, but not without the loſs of many brave legionaries [a].

Freed-men inliſted at Rome.

b As the conſular year was near expiring, the conſul *Julius Cæſar*, deſirous to put an end to the war before he went out of his office, drew up a law, which was confirmed by the ſenate, and enacted, *That all the nations in* Italy, *whoſe alliance with* Rome *was indiſputable, ſhould enjoy the rights of* Roman *citizens*. This law, which was ever after called the *Julian* law, much abated the ardor of the enemy, and drew off ſeveral nations from the confederacy; however, the war was ſtill carried on by the *Lucanians*, *Samnites*, *Marſi*, *Picentes*, *&c.* The new conſuls therefore, *Cn. Pompius Strabo* and *L. Porcius Cato*, no ſooner entered upon their office, than they took the field. The former, who was the father of *Pompey the Great*, and called *Strabo* becauſe he *ſquinted*, went to carry on the ſiege of *Aſculum*, and deſtroyed a whole c army of *Marſi*, who came to relieve it. Five thouſand of them were killed upon the ſpot, with their general *Francus*, a man of great bravery and experience in war, and the reſt periſhed with hunger and cold among the *Apennines*, where they had taken ſhelter. However, *Aſculum* ſtill held out againſt the conſular army, depending on relief from the brave *Judacilius*, a native of that place. That intrepid commander ordered his countrymen to make a ſally at a time appointed, promiſing to force his way into the city through the *Roman* army. Accordingly he made the attempt at the head of eight cohorts, and, tho' not ſeconded by the *Aſculans*, bravely performed his promiſe, and entered the place; a glorious action, not inferior to the illuſtrious exploits of the braveſt *Romans!* Having thus forced his way ſword in d hand into the city, he firſt put to death thoſe who had prevented the ſally, and then, finding he could not force the *Romans* to raiſe the ſiege, he put an end to his life by poiſon, that he might not ſurvive the ſhame of his country [b].

The Julian *law.*

An army of Marſi *deſtroyed.*

The gallant behaviour of Judacilius.

IN the mean time, *Aulus Sempronius Aſellio*, the *prætor urbanus*, having exaſperated the rich by many judgments he gave againſt uſury, was murdered by them, as he was offering a ſacrifice to *Caſtor* and *Pollux* in the forum. The ſenate ordered inquiries to be made after the authors of ſo black an attempt; but the money of the uſurers ſtopped the mouths both of the accuſers and witneſſes; ſo that this notorious and ſcandalous iniquity eſcaped unpuniſhed. However, the tribune *M. Plautius Sylvanus*, to put a ſtop to the licentiouſneſs of the people, made a law, whereby it was e declared a capital crime for any citizen *to come into the comitium with arms of any kind, or to diſturb the judges in their courts*. The ſame tribune, by another law, deprived the *Roman* knights of their juriſdiction, which they abuſed in a moſt flagrant manner. The *Plautian* law enacted, that each tribe ſhould chuſe fifteen men out of their own body, to whom the cognizance of civil cauſes ſhould be committed, By this means men only of known probity, of what rank ſoever they were, had the charge of adminiſtering juſtice, which was done with great impartiality. This zealous tribune, in conjunction with *Caius Papirius Carbo*, one of his collegues, put the laſt hand to the *Julian* law, which we have mentioned above, in favour of the allies, and got it confirmed by the people, and publiſhed in the following words: *All the citizens of* f *the allied cities, who ſhall be in* Italy *at the time of the promulgation of this law, ſhall be deemed citizens of* Rome, *provided they regiſter their names with one of the three prætors within ſixty days*. This brought the *Italians* to *Rome* in ſuch numbers, that the new citizens ſoon became more numerous than the old; but, leſt this ſhould make ſtrangers maſters of the elections, and conſequently of the republic, the new cenſors, *Lucius Cæſar* and *P. Licinius Craſſus*, did not incorporate them in the thirty-five *Roman* tribes, but formed them into new tribes, who were to vote laſt. By this means all matters were determined by a majority of voices, before the new tribes gave their ſuffrages. The allies were ſenſible of this artifice, but diſſembled their diſſatiſ-

The prætor Aſellio aſſaſſinated.

The Roman *knights deprived of their juriſdiction.*

The new citizens formed into tribes.

[a] APPIAN. ibid. [b] Idem ibid.

diſſatisfaction, being reſolved, when an opportunity offered, to put themſelves upon a level with the old inhabitants of *Rome* [c]. a

The Veſtini *under* Vettius. Cato *defeated.*

During theſe regulations at *Rome*, the war was purſued with vigor in the provinces which continued in the revolt. The conſul *Pompeius*, having turned the ſiege of *Aſculum* into a blockade, led his beſt troops againſt *Vettius Cato*, who covered the country of the *Veſtini* with a great army, defeated him in a pitched battle, and reduced ſeveral cities. He afterwards granted *Vettius* a friendly conference, at which *Cicero*, who was making his firſt campaign under the conſul, was preſent. How this conference ended, we are not told; but all hiſtorians agree, that the conſul *Pompeius* put an end to the war with the *Veſtini* [d]. In the country of the *Marſi*, the conſul *Porcius Cato*, after having gained conſiderable advantages over that warlike people, reſolved b

The conſul Porcius Cato *killed.*

to force their camp on the banks of the lake *Fucinus*; but he was killed in the attempt by a dart diſcharged at him, as was ſuſpected, not by the enemy, but by young *Marius*, who had quarrelled with him ſome days before, for ſpeaking contemptuouſly of his father. The *Marſi* took advantage of this accident, put the *Romans* to the rout, and purſued them with great ſlaughter. On the other hand, the proconſul *Coſconius* defeated and killed the famous *Marius Egnatius* in a pitched battle. Upon his death, *Trebatius* the *Samnite* took upon him the command of the army; but he was likewiſe overcome in a ſecond battle, and forced to take refuge in *Canuſium*, after having loſt in the action and the purſuit above fifteen thouſand men. Then *Coſconius* over-ran the countries of the *Larinates*, *Venuſians*, and *Pediculi*, and reduced them to c

Great advantages gained over the allies by Sylla.

obedience. The confederates began now to be in pain for *Corfinium*, the capital of their new republic, and therefore removed their ſenate and magazines to *Eſernia* in the country of the *Samnites*. They alſo ſent an embaſſy to *Mithridates* in *Aſia*, who had now declared againſt *Rome*, hoping to obtain from him ſuch ſupplies, as would enable them to recover their affairs; but *Sylla*, the hero of this campaign, fruſtrated their expectations. He beſieged the city of *Stabiæ* in *Campania*, took it by aſſault, and gave it up to be plundered by his ſoldiers. He then marched againſt the *Roman* army, who had juſt murdered their general *Poſthumius*; but, inſtead of puniſhing them, he, to their great ſurpriſe, treated them with uncommon civility, and added them to his own legions. When his army was thus reinforced, he undertook the d

ſiege of *Pompeii*, a ſtrong city in the neighbourhood of *Stabiæ*. *Cluentius*, one of the generals of the allies, haſtened to the relief of the beſieged; but was repulſed with great loſs, *Cluentius*, having not long after received a reinforcement of *Gauls*, appeared again in the field, and inſulted *Sylla* within reach of his intrenchments; but a *Gauliſh* champion, who challenged the braveſt *Roman* to a ſingle combat at the head of the two armies, being killed by a young *Mauritanian*, the reſt, ſtruck with a panic, fled, and the troops of *Cluentius* with them. *Sylla* purſued them, cut thirty thouſand of the fugitives in pieces, and then returning to the ſiege of *Pompeii*, reduced that important place. From *Pompeii* he marched to *Nola*, whither *Cluentius* had fled with the remains of his ſhattered army. He attacked him anew under the walls of e

that city, killed him in the battle, and with him twenty thouſand *Samnites*, who had flocked from all parts to join him after his firſt defeat. The victorious general, having taken and plundered the enemy's camp, brought his legions into *Hirpinia*, which he reduced, after having made himſelf maſter of *Aſculana*, the metropolis of the country. He then fell upon *Samnium*, where he was ſurrounded in narrow paſſes by the famous *Aponius*, and reduced to the utmoſt diſtreſs. However, he found means to recover this falſe ſtep, and eſcape, when all his men looked upon themſelves as loſt. He agreed to a truce with *Aponius*, then ſtole out of his camp in the dark, and taking a compaſs, fell on the enemy's rear, while they were buſy in plundering the deſerted camp, ſo vigorouſly and ſo unexpectedly, that the *Samnites*, ſeized with f

terror, fled, without making any reſiſtance. Having now no enemy to contend with in the field, he marched to *Bovianum*, and took it by ſtorm [e].

The city of Aſculum *reduced.*

In the mean time, the conſul *Pompeius*, after a long ſiege, reduced the city of *Aſculum*, and puniſhed the inhabitants, who had murdered a *Roman* prætor, with the utmoſt ſeverity. He ſaved a ſmall number of their chiefs to grace his triumph, and cauſed all the other perſons of diſtinction in the place to be put to death. To the reſt of the inhabitants he granted life and liberty; but confiſcated their lands, and gave their

[c] Appian. ibid. Aul. Gell. l. xiii. c. 4. Liv. epit. l. lxxiv. c. 53. Cic. pro Archia. Pædian. in Cic. pro Cornelio. [d] Festus in Verranis. Cic. Phil. II. Liv. epit. l, lxxxv. c. 19. [e] Plut. in Sylla. Appian. ibid.

a their houſes up to be plundered by his ſoldiers. When winter approached, the generals returned to *Rome*, where *Sylla*, who had eclipſed all the other commanders during this campaign, was rewarded with the conſulate. He had alſo intereſt enough to get *Q. Rufus Pompeius*, whoſe ſon had lately married his daughter *Cornelia*, choſen for his collegue. The conſul *Pompeius*, on his return to *Rome* was honoured with a triumph, which many illuſtrious captives graced, and among the reſt *P. Ventidius* and his wife, who carried in her arms her young ſon, whom we ſhall ſee in the courſe of this hiſtory conſul in *Rome*, and riding himſelf in triumph to the capitol, after having conquered the moſt warlike and formidable enemy *Rome* ever engaged.

Sylla *choſen conſul.*

As ſoon as *Sylla* entered on his new office, he began to uſe all his intereſt, both

b with the patricians and plebeians, to get the command of the army, which was to be employed againſt *Mithridates*, conferred upon himſelf; but in this he was oppoſed by *Marius*, who, tho' worn out with many diſtempers, and inſufficient for that ſervice on account of his age, was ſtill deſirous of appearing at the head of an army. In order to ſupplant his rival *Sylla*, he contracted a ſtrict friendſhip with *P. Sulpicius*, tribune of the people, whoſe character *Plutarch* gives us in the following words: *Sulpicius*, ſays he, *excelled all men in wickedneſs; he was a compound of cruelty, impudence, and all ſorts of crimes, which, how enormous ſoever, he committed with the greateſt confidence and unconcern. He kept three thouſand deſperate men in conſtant pay, and had conſtantly about him a company of young knights, whom he ſtyled his* antiſenatorial band.

Marius *jealous of* Sylla's *glory.*

The tribune Sulpicius.

c The ſeditious tribune, to ſtrengthen his own and *Marius*'s party, paſſed ſeveral laws in favour of the people, whom by that means he gained over to his intereſt. He then applied himſelf wholly to the ſecuring of the *Italian* allies; and, in order to this, he propoſed a law, enacting, That all the inhabitants of *Italy*, who had lately obtained the right of citizenſhip, ſhould be blended with the other citizens, incorporated into the thirty-five tribes, and conſequently ſhould have the very ſame right of voting, each in his tribe, as others had, without any diſtinction. This was effectually making himſelf maſter of a majority of voices on all occaſions; for he did not doubt, but all the new citizens would be under his influence, and would vote as he ſhould direct [c].

Propoſes a law in favour of the allies.

d Before the comitia met for the accepting or rejecting of this law, *Rome* had the ſatisfaction to hear, that her generals againſt the allies were attended with uncommon ſucceſs. *Ser. Sulpicius* brought the whole country of the *Marucini* under ſubjection. The *Veſtini* and *Peligni* ſubmitted of their own accord to the old conſul *Cn. Pompeius*, who was returned, after his triumph, to his camp at *Aſculum*; nay, they even promiſed to deliver up their leader *Vettius*: but, as they were dragging him along in chains, a faithful ſlave, thinking it his duty to deliver his maſter from the inſults of his haughty enemies, firſt ſtabbed him, and then himſelf. *L. Licinius Muræna* and *Q. Cæcilius Pius* obliged the *Marſi*, among whom the war had begun, to ſue for peace; but the brave *Pompædius* ſtill ſupported the ſinking cauſe at the head of twenty thouſand ſlaves, whom he had juſt armed. Againſt him marched *Cæcilius Pius* and *Ser.*

The Marucini, Veſtini, &c. *reduced.*

e *Sulpicius*, and gave him battle, in which his army was routed and he himſelf killed. The only place that now held out for the allies was *Nola*; and *Sylla* ſet out from *Rome* to reduce it: but he was ſoon recalled, to reſtrain the inſolence of the tribune *Sulpicius*, who carried all before him at *Rome*, not by perſuaſion, but by violence and force. He had already appointed a day for the comitia to meet, in order to accept the law for incorporating the allies into the thirty-five tribes. *Sylla*, upon his arrival, joined his collegue *Pompeius Rufus*, and both agreed to order ſeveral *feriæ* or holidays to be kept, during which it was not lawful for the people to meet or tranſact any buſineſs. This they did to gain time; but *Sulpicius* no ſooner heard, that the conſuls had proclaimed *feriæ*, than he left his houſe, and attended by his guards, whom

Diſturbances raiſed in Rome *by the tribune* Sulpicius.

f he ordered to conceal daggers under their robes, marched ſtrait to the temple of *Caſtor*, where the conſuls had aſſembled the ſenate. The conſcript fathers were ſurpriſed when they ſaw *Sulpicius* appear, and more ſo, when they heard him inſolently command them to diſannul the conſular decree, which ordered *feriæ* to be kept. The conſuls oppoſed the repealing of the decree, and ſeveral of the ſenators did the ſame. Hereupon the furious tribune let looſe his antiſenatorial band upon them, who, drawing their daggers, fell upon the defenceleſs ſenators. The conſul *Pompeius* eſcaped in the croud; but his ſon, a young ſenator, who had lately married *Sylla*'s daughter, was

The ſon of the conſul Pompeius *killed.*

[c] Plut. Appian. ibid.

killed by the aſſaſſins. *Sylla*, being cloſely purſued by *Sulpicius*'s ruffians, took re- a
fuge in *Marius*'s houſe; which they not ſuſpecting, hurried by, ſo that *Sylla* eſcaped falling into their hands. *Marius*, tho' naturally cruel and revengeful, did not care to ſtain his hands with the blood of a conſul, who had taken refuge in his houſe. He only forced him to ſwear, that he would aboliſh the *feriæ*, which he had appointed. After exacting this oath, *Marius* himſelf let *Sylla* eſcape by a back-door: and *Sylla* kept his word; for he went directly to the comitium, and, in the preſence of the people, repealed the *feriæ*. By this compliance he ſo far pleaſed *Sulpicius*, that the tribune did not deprive him of his office; whereas he prevailed upon the people, whoſe ſuffrages he had at his command, to depoſe *Pompeius*[f].

Sylla *retires from* Rome.

And now *Sylla*, not thinking himſelf any longer ſafe in *Rome*, where the oppoſite b
party prevailed, left the city, and repaired in all haſte to his camp near *Nola*. The *feriæ* being repealed and both conſuls fled, *Sulpicius*, now abſolute maſter at *Rome*, got the law paſſed, incorporating the allies into the thirty-five tribes, and at the ſame time extorted from the people another in favour of *Marius*. The ſenate had already inveſted *Sylla* with the command of the army, which was to be employed againſt *Mithridates*; but *Sulpicius* got a law paſſed, enacting, That the conſul ſhould continue in *Italy*, and that *Marius*, tho' now only a private man, ſhould command the *Roman* legions in *Aſia*. *Marius* no ſooner received his commiſſion, than he diſpatched two military tribunes, one of whom was *Gratedius*, a relation of his own, to acquaint the troops under the command of *Sylla*, that their general was c
changed, and that they were no longer to obey *Sylla*, but *Marius*, whom the *Roman* people had appointed to carry on the war againſt the king of *Pontus*; but the ſoldiers, who were greatly attached to *Sylla*, inſtead of obeying the orders that were brought from *Marius*, buried the two meſſengers under a heap of ſtones, and cried out with one voice, *Let us march to* Rome; *let us revenge there the injuries done to the conſular dignity, and the oppreſſion of our fellow citizens*. On the other hand, *Marius*, by way of repriſal for the death of the two tribunes, put *Sylla*'s friends in the city to the ſword, and plundered their houſes; which *Sylla* no ſooner heard,

The people appoint Marius *to command in* Aſia.

Sylla *marches to* Rome.

than he determined to march ſtrait to *Rome*. His army conſiſted of ſix legions, who, being all warmed with his ſpirit, breathed nothing but vengeance and plunder; d
but ſeveral officers, unwilling to turn their arms againſt their own country, quitted the ſervice. On the other hand, many who diſliked the violence of *Marius* and *Sulpicius*, left *Rome*, and took refuge in *Sylla*'s camp; ſo that the road from *Nola* to *Rome* was crouded with people hurrying to and fro, ſome from the camp to the city, others from the city to the camp. Many retired into the country, to avoid taking either ſide in this civil war. *Q. Pompeius*, the other conſul, whom *Sulpicius* had depoſed, haſtened to join his collegue with all the troops he could get together.

Marius and *Sulpicius* being informed, that the two conſuls were advancing, at the head of a numerous army, towards the city, and having themſelves no troops to oppoſe them, prevailed upon the conſcript fathers to ſend two prætors, *Brutus* and e
Servilius, to meet *Sylla* upon the road, and ſtop him in his march. The prætors delivered their meſſage to *Sylla* in terms a little too haughty; which ſo incenſed the ſoldiery, that they broke their faſces, tore off their purple robes, and would have cut them in pieces, with their attendants, had not *Sylla* reſtrained their fury. When the *Romans* ſaw the two magiſtrates return without the enſigns and marks of their dignity, and in great diſorder, they concluded, that all reſpect for the laws was laid aſide, and that violence and ſuperior power was thenceforth to determine all things. *Marius* and *Sulpicius*, who had only a handful of factious men to oppoſe a powerful and inraged enemy, diſpatched, in the name of the ſenate, meſſenger after meſſenger, to amuſe the conſul with rambling propoſals and retard his march. The conſul, who f
was well appriſed of their deſign, to elude one artifice with another, pretended to acquieſce in their propoſals, and, in the preſence of the meſſengers, ordered the ground to be marked out for a camp; but, as ſoon as the deputies were gone, he detached a ſtrong party, under the command of *L. Baſilius* and *C. Mummius*, with orders to ſecure one of the gates, and marched himſelf at the head of his legions after them with ſuch expedition, that he was in ſight of *Rome* in a few hours. The party he had ſent before ſeized the *Eſquiline* gate, and *Sylla* reinforced that detachment with a whole legion. The conſul *Pompeius*, at the head of another legion, made himſelf

Sylla *marches to* Rome.

[f] Plut. & Appian. ibid.

himſelf maſter of the gate *Collina*. A third legion was poſted at the head of the bridge *Sublicius*, to ſhut up the entrance into the city on the ſide of the river. A fourth legion was ordered to patrol round the walls, near the gate *Cælimontana*; and guard the approaches to it. The two other legions were ordered to march into the city ſword in hand. When they came into the ſtreet that faced the *Eſquiline* gate, *Marius* and *Sulpicius* appeared at the head of a company tumultuouſly aſſembled. Hereupon the trumpets of the conſular army ſounded the charge, which rouſed the martial ardor of the citizens, who were all formed to war; but, as they had no arms, they got up to the tops of their houſes, and fearing the town ſhould be plundered by *Sylla*'s armed legions, diſcharged from thence ſuch ſhowers of tiles and ſtones upon them, as made the legionaries firſt halt, and then retire to the very gate. Upon this *Sylla* flew to the head of his legions, ordered them to advance, and taking a torch in his hand, threatened to ſet fire to the houſes, if the citizens did not immediately deſiſt from all hoſtilities. This terrified the people, who remained now only ſpectators of the battle between the two parties. In vain did *Marius* and *Sulpicius* call them to their aſſiſtance; no-body offered to take up arms, not even the ſlaves, tho' they proclaimed liberty by ſound of trumpet to all thoſe who ſhould join them. *Marius*, not being able, with a handful of ſeditious men, to withſtand the conſul's regular troops, was driven back, from ſtreet to ſtreet, to the temple of the goddeſs *Tellus*, where he made a ſtand, and charged the legions with great vigor; which obliged *Sylla* to ſend for ſome legionaries he had left at one of the gates. At the ſight of this reinforcement, *Marius*, fearing he ſhould be ſurrounded, retired, firſt to the capitol, and from thence to one of the gates of the city, which he was glad to leave, for fear of falling into the hands of his enemies. And now *Sylla*, ſeeing himſelf maſter of the city, poſted guards in all the open places, to prevent diſorders. He and his collegue were in motion all night, to reſtrain the ſoldiers, and to prevent their pillaging the houſes of their fellow citizens. He even cauſed ſome of his legionaries to be ſeverely puniſhed for entering a private houſe, and plundering it. As ſoon as it was day, the two conſuls aſſembled the people in the comitium, and harangued them with as much tranquillity, as if there had been no blood ſhed in *Rome*. *Sylla*, who was an excellent orator, after having deplored the calamities of the commonwealth, in terms no leſs moving than lively, propoſed the following laws, which, he ſaid, would reform the many abuſes that had crept into the government; 1*ſt*, That no law ſhould be brought before the people, till it had been ſeen and approved of by the ſenate. 2*dly*, That the comitia ſhould not for the future be held by tribes, but by centuries. 3*dly*, That no citizen, who had been tribune of the people, ſhould be capable of any other magiſtracy. 4*thly*, That all the laws of the tribune *Sulpicius* ſhould be declared void and null. Theſe propoſals coming from a man, who was at the head of ſix legions and maſter of *Rome*, were readily accepted by the people [g].

Sylla *enters* Rome *by force.*

Mariuſ*eſcapes out of* Rome.

Several laws made by Sylla.

It the next place, articles of impeachment were drawn up againſt *Caius Marius*, his ſon, the tribune *Sulpicius*, ſeveral other tribunes of the people, two ſenators, and a great many of their adherents. They were all proſcribed, declared enemies to *Rome*, and a reward ſet upon their heads. The decree of the ſenate proſcribing them was proclaimed by ſound of trumpet in *Rome*, and in all the provinces ſubject to the republic. Every ſubject, friend, or ally of the republic was ordered to ſeize and put them to death, where-ever they ſhould be found. At the ſame time *Sylla* detached troops to all parts. *Sulpicius*, being betrayed by one of his ſlaves, was immediately ſeized, and his head ſtruck off by one of *Sylla*'s horſemen. His head was brought to *Rome*, and fixed upon a ſtake over-againſt the roſtra, where he had made ſo many ſeditious ſpeeches. The treacherous ſlave received at once the reward and puniſhment due to his treachery. *Sylla* ſet him at liberty, ordered the money to be paid him for the diſcovery of *Sulpicius*; but at the ſame time commanded him to be thrown down headlong from the *Tarpeian* rock for betraying his maſter.

Marius *and* Sulpicius *proſcribed.*

Sulpicius *ſeized, and killed.*

The people could not behold the head of one of their magiſtrates expoſed to public view, without a ſecret indignation. The ſenate likewiſe murmured at the proſcription of *Marius*, from a natural compaſſion, always ſhewn to heroes, when fallen into diſtreſs. Tho' the fathers were well pleaſed to ſee the people humbled, yet, jealous of the honour and dignity of their body, they could not bear, that their collegues ſhould be proſcribed like villains and thieves. The people in general reproached

The ſenate and people diſpleaſed with Sylla's *conduct.*

Sylla

[g] Appian. in Plut. ibid.

Sylla with ingratitude, for condemning to death a man, who, not long before, had a ſaved his life, when he was at his mercy. If *Marius* had given way to *Sulpicius*, who was for diſpatching *Sylla*, he had, by his death, been maſter of all; but he choſe rather to ſpare his life, for which *Sylla*, when it came to his turn to be uppermoſt, made him a very ungrateful and ungenerous acknowledgment. Theſe reflections alienated the minds of all from *Sylla*, as he experienced at the next elections; for *Nonnius*, his ſiſter's ſon, and *Servius Sulpicius*, who had long ſerved under him, were excluded from the conſulate, tho' earneſtly recommended by him; but he, inſtead of reſenting ſuch treatment, affected to be well pleaſed with it, ſaying, That he ſaw with joy the people by his means reſtored to their full liberty of chuſing whom they pleaſed; nay, to reconcile the minds of the people to him, he ſuffered them to b
Cinna *choſen conſul.* raiſe to the conſulate *L. Cornelius Cinna*, who was of the contrary faction, after having prevailed upon him in private to renounce, in a moſt ſolemn manner, his former principles and engagements with *Marius*, and to ſwear an inviolable attachment to the party of the ſenate. This oath *Cinna* took in the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, adding to it the following imprecation; *If I do not punctually obſerve the oath in its full extent, may I be thrown out of the city, in the ſame manner, as I throw this ſtone out of my hand*; at which words he threw on the ground a ſtone which he held in his hand.
His character. *Cinna* was a man of no principles, of moſt depraved manners, furious and inconſiderate in all his undertakings, wholly addicted to the popular faction, a declared enemy to the nobility, and capable of ſupporting the intereſt of his faction, with a c
courage and conſtancy worthy of a better citizen. The collegue given him by the tribes was *Cn. Octavius*, a man of an unblemiſhed character, and whoſe love for his country was the governing principle of his life. And now *Sylla* was wholly intent on making the beſt uſe of the little time he and his collegue *Pompeius* were to enjoy the conſulate. Their chief aim was, to rid the republic of the two *Marii*, father and ſon, for whom, tho' proſcribed, intereſt was ſecretly made in *Rome*. A great price was ſet upon their heads, and ſquadrons of horſe, ſent out in queſt of them, had been long ſcouring the neighbouring country, with orders to bring them to *Rome* dead or alive h.

The flight and adventures of Marius. The ſufferings and dangers of *Marius* in his flight and exile were very extraordi- d
nary, and would be as affecting, if we could forget his crimes, and remember only his victories. As ſoon as he was got out of *Rome*, all thoſe who attended him in his flight, ſeparated and diſperſed; and night coming on, he retired, with young *Marius* and *Granius*, his wife's ſon by a former huſband, to a ſmall houſe he had near *Rome*. From thence he ſent his ſon for proviſions to a neighbouring farm of his father-in-law *Mucius* (P); but, in the mean time, being informed, that a party of horſe was ſearching for him in that neighbourhood, he left his houſe, without waiting for his ſon's return, and, attended by *Granius* alone, haſtened to *Oſtia*, where a friend of his, called *Numerius*, had provided a ſhip for him againſt all events. He immediately went on board, and weighing anchor, coaſted along the *Italian* ſhore. He was in no e
ſmall apprehenſion of one *Geminius*, a leading man in *Terracina* and his ſworn enemy. He therefore directed the ſeamen to keep clear of that place, and avoid a ſhore, which might prove fatal to him: which they were willing to do; but the wind ſhifting on a ſudden and blowing hard, the mariners, fearing the ſhip would not be able to weather the ſtorm, and ſeeing *Marius* indiſpoſed and ſea-ſick, tacked about, and with great difficulty made *Circæum*. There they landed *Marius*, who, oppreſſed with hunger, exhauſted with the fatigues of the ſea, and ſurrounded with dangers on all ſides, rambled about the fields in the utmoſt diſtreſs, it being danger-
ous

h Plut. ibid.

(P) This *Mucius* was the famous *Quintus Mucius Scævola*, one of the moſt virtuous and learned citizens of *Rome*. When *Sylla* appeared in *Rome* after the defeat of *Marius*, and all things gave way to the will of the conqueror, *Scævola* alone had courage enough to oppoſe, in *Sylla*'s preſence, the ſentence of condemnation, which the ſenators were going to paſs againſt *Marius*. When the conqueror threatened him with the ſevereſt vengeance, if he refuſed to ſubſcribe the decree of proſcription. *You attempt in vain*, ſaid he, *to intimidate me with your threatenings. You may let out, if you pleaſe, the little blood that is left in my veins in my old age. Neither the fight of the armed ſoldiers, who ſurround you, nor the fear of any puniſhment you can inflict upon me, ſhall ever force me to declare that hero an enemy to his country, to whom* Rome *is indebted for her ſafety, and her moſt glorious conqueſts* (10).

(10) *Val. Max. l.* iii.

a ous for him to meet people, and no leſs ſo to meet none, by reaſon of the extreme want to which he was reduced.

On the other hand, *Marius* the ſon ran no leſs dangers at the houſe of *Mucius*, where he made all the haſte he could to provide himſelf with ſuch things as he wanted, and to pack them up; but, day-light overtaking him, he had like to have been diſcovered by a party of *Sylla*'s horſe, who appeared at ſome diſtance riding full ſpeed towards the farm; but the faithful ſlave, who took care of it, found out an expedient to ſave the life of the young *Roman*. He hid him in a cart loaded with beans, and then putting to his horſes, drove towards the horſemen, as if he were going with his cart to *Rome*. The ſoldiers paſſed by him, and breaking into the houſe, earched
b every corner of it; but in the mean time the ſlave conveyed young *Marius* to his wife, who immediately ſupplied him with mony and proviſions. As ſoon as it grew dark, he took leave of his wife, and made to the ſea-ſide, where he went on board a ſhip, which was bound for *Africa*, and ready to ſet ſail. He had a good paſſage, and arrived ſafe in a country, where the great *Marius* was known and revered [i].

In the mean time, the father, wandering about the fields in the neighbourhood of *Circæum*, towards the evening met with ſome cowherds, of whom he begged a morſel of bread; but they had not wherewithal to relieve him. Some of them, knowing *Marius*, adviſed him to be gone as ſoon as poſſible; for they had ſeen a little beyond the place a party of horſe in ſearch of him. He therefore turned
c out of the high-road, and, tho' ready to faint for hunger and weakneſs, got with much-ado to a neighbouring wood, where he paſſed the night very uncomfortably. The next day, pinched with hunger, and willing to make uſe of the little ſtrength he had left, before it was quite exhauſted, he travelled by the ſea-ſide, amuſing *Granius*, and the few domeſtics he had with him, with ſeveral ſtories, to leſſen their fatigues and encourage them not to deſert him. He told them, that, when he was a child, an eagle's airy, with ſeven young ones in it, fell into his lap; and that his parents, being much ſurpriſed at the accident, conſulted the augurs about it, who anſwered, that the child would be ſeven times poſſeſſed of the ſupreme power and authority in his country. This was, no doubt, invented by *Marius*, to keep
d up the courage of thoſe who were with him. *Plutarch* tells us, that an eagle never hatches more than two young ones at a time; but, be that as it will, it is certain, that *Marius*, in his exile and greateſt extremities, uſed often to ſay, that he ſtill entertained hopes of a ſeventh conſulſhip [k].

When *Marius* and his company were within twenty furlongs of *Minturnæ*, they diſcovered a troop of horſe making up to them with all ſpeed, and at the ſame time two ſmall veſſels under ſail near the ſhore. Hereupon they immediately threw themſelves into the ſea, and ſwam towards the ſhips. *Granius* ſoon reached one of them; but *Marius*, whoſe body was heavy and unwieldy, was with great difficulty borne above the water by two ſlaves, and put into the other veſſel. He was ſcarce got on
e board, when the ſoldiers, who were in queſt of him, came to the ſtrand, and from thence commanded the mariners to ſend the proſcribed aſhore, or to throw them over board. Hereupon the ſailors long deliberated, whether they ſhould deliver up *Marius* to his enemies, or ſecure his eſcape; and at laſt compaſſion prevailed. The veſſels continued their courſe, and one of them landed *Granius* in the iſland of *Ænaria*; but the ſailors who had *Marius* on board, changing on a ſudden their reſolution, came to an anchor in the mouth of the *Liris*. There they adviſed him to land and take ſome reſt, till the wind became more favourable. *Marius* followed their advice; and, lying down in an adjacent field, ſlept very ſoundly. In the mean time, the maſter of the veſſel weighed anchor, and put to ſea with a fair gale, thinking it neither
f honourable to deliver *Marius* into the hands of his enemies, nor ſafe to favour his eſcape. When *Marius* awaked, he found himſelf, to his great ſurprize, intirely deſerted; no ſhip at anchor; no domeſtics about him; all had diſappeared. This melancholy ſolitude increaſed his fears; he began to ſuſpect his own domeſtics, and every thing ſeemed to threaten him with death. After he had lain ſome time penſive, he recovered his ſpirits, and ſummoning all his courge, he ſtarted up, and, walking croſs the marſhes formed by the overflowing of the *Liris*, wandered about, often wading through the mire and water up to the waiſt. At length he got to the hut of an old man, who looked after the fens, whom he earneſtly beſought to aſſiſt and

[i] Plut. ibid. [k] Idem ibid.

and preſerve a man, who, if he eſcaped the preſent danger, would make him returns a beyond his expectation. The poor man, ſtruck with the venerable aſpect of *Marius*, whom perhaps he likewiſe knew, told him, that if he wanted only reſt, his cottage was very quiet; but, if he wanted to be concealed, he would lead him to a more private place. *Marius* deſired him to do ſo; and the old man carried him into the fens, made him lie down in a cave by the river-ſide, and covered him with reeds. He was ſcarce laid down, when he heard a great noiſe round the cottage. *Geminius* had ſent ſeveral troops of horſe from *Terracina*, upon a ſuſpicion that *Marius* had fled to the marches of *Minturnæ*. Theſe threatened the poor old man with the diſpleaſure of the conſuls and ſenate, and the ſevereſt puniſhments, for harbouring and concealing an enemy to the republic. *Marius*, who heard all this, thinking himſelf b no longer ſafe in the place where he lay concealed, to deceive both the old man and the ſoldiers, left the cave, and, pulling off his garments, plunged into the lake of *Marcia* up to the chin in water, and covered his head with reeds; but the ſoldiers who were in purſuit of him, obſerving the water troubled and muddy about the place where he had thrown himſelf into the lake, after a diligent ſearch, diſcovered him, and, tying a cord about his neck, dragged him out of his new hiding-place, and led him naked to *Minturnæ*, to be executed there, purſuant to the decree of the ſenate, which had been publiſhed in all the cities of *Italy*.

Marius *is diſcovered, and ſeized.*

The magiſtrates of *Minturnæ*, into whoſe hands he was delivered by the ſoldiers, conſidering that his faction was ſtill formidable, and that *Sylla*'s conſulſhip was near c expiring, thought it dangerous to prefer either party to the other, and therefore were not in haſte to put the ſentence of the ſenate in execution. They did not even ſhut him up in their priſon; but ſent him, under a ſtrong guard, to the houſe of one *Fannia*, a rich woman, who was ſuſpected not to be well affected to him on an old account. She had been formerly married to one *Tinnius*, from whom being afterwards divorced, ſhe demanded her portion, which was very conſiderable. Hereupon her huſband, who had no mind to return it, accuſed her of adultery; and the cauſe was brought before *Marius* in his ſixth conſulſhip. Upon a full inquiry, it appeared, that *Fannia* had been guilty of incontinence before matrimony, and that it was not unknown to *Tinnius*; notwithſtanding which he married her, and had cohabited with her a con- d ſiderable time. *Marius* therefore, after having heard both parties, ordered *Tinnius* to return the fortune, and laid a ſmall fine upon *Fannia*. The *Minturnenſes* took it for granted, that *Fannia* would reſent the diſgrace with which *Marius* had branded her; but ſhe, thinking ſhe had more reaſon to thank *Marius* for the return of her fortune, than to be offended at him for the eaſy fine he had laid upon her, took great care of him, and did all that lay in her power to comfort and encourage him (Q).

In the mean time, the magiſtrates of *Minturnæ*, after having conſulted together, determined at laſt to obey the decree of the ſenate, and put *Marius* to death immediately; but none of their citizens caring to imbrue his hands in the blood of ſo glorious a conqueror, an executioner was choſen out of the troops of the gariſon; ſome e ſay he was a *Cimber*, others that he was a *Gaul*. However that be, when he went into the room where *Marius* was lodged with his ſword drawn, the eyes of that great warrior, as the place where he lay was dark, ſeemed to dart out flames; and at the ſame time the ruffian heard, or imagined to hear, a loud voice, ſaying, *Stop, wretch! dareſt thou kill* Caius Marius! This filled him with terror; he dropped his ſword, and ruſhing out into the ſtreet, he uttered theſe words only, *I cannot kill* Caius Marius! This raiſed the compaſſion of the *Minturnenſes*, who immediately reverſed their ſentence, and were even angry with themſelves for making ſuch an unjuſt and ungrateful return, to one who had preſerved *Italy*. They therefore cried out with one voice, *Let him go where he pleaſes*; *let him find his fate ſomewhere elſe*; *we beg pardon of the gods for* f *thruſting* Marius *diſtreſſed and naked out of our city*. After this, they crouded into his room,

But is ſet at liberty.

(Q) When *Marius* was brought to *Fannia*'s houſe, as ſoon as the door was open, an aſs came running out to drink at a ſpring hard-by; and looking very briſk and lively upon *Marius*, firſt ſtood before him, then brayed aloud, and pranced by him. This was enongh to raiſe the ſpirits of the proſcribed general, who was ſuperſtitious even to childiſhneſs. What was purely accidental often paſſed with him for ſome myſterious event. He now fancied, that the ſea would be more favourable to him than the land, ſince the aſs neglected its dry paſture, and turned from it to the water; and therefore, when the *Minturnenſes* reſolved to favour his eſcape, he conjured them to conduct him to the ſea-ſide. A man muſt be made up of ſuperſtitious follies to put ſuch an interpretation, as *Marius* did, on that action; and nevertheleſs, what is pleaſant enough, the event ſeemed to juſtify his conjectures: for at the ſea-ſide he found a veſſel ready equipped, which conveyed him ſafe to *Ænaria*.

a room, removed him from thence, and conducted him towards the ſea-ſide, every one lending a helping hand to forward his flight, and ſtriving to outdo each other in relieving and comforting the diſtreſſed hero. In order to get to the ſea-ſide, they were obliged either to paſs through a grove conſecrated to the nymph *Marcia*, or to go a vaſt way about, which would have taken up too much of their time. The *Minturnenſes* had a ſingular veneration for this grove, and never ſuffered any thing to be removed out of it, that was once within it. They therefore ſcrupled to paſs through it, and were in great perplexity, fearing they might be overtaken by one of *Sylla*'s parties, who were ſcouring the country, before they reached the ſea-ſide the other way. While they were deliberating among themſelves which way they ſhould b take, an old man among them cried out, *There is no place ſo ſacred, but we may paſs through it for the preſervation of* Marius. Hereupon *Marius* firſt entered the grove, and the whole company marched after him, and arrived ſafe at the ſea-ſide, where *Marius* went on board a ſmall veſſel, which had been provided for him by one *Belæus*. *Marius*, when he returned to *Rome* at the head of an army, cauſed this whole adventure to be repreſented in a large piece of painting, and hung it up in the temple of *Marcia*, whom ſome take to be the ſame with *Circe* [l].

However, the illuſtrious exile was not yet come to an end of his labours. He ordered his pilot to ſteer for the iſland of *Ænaria*, where he arrived ſafe, and rejoined *Granius*, whom he took on board with his other friends, and then ſailed for *Africa*; c but, their water failing them in their paſſage, they were forced to touch at *Eryx* in *Sicily*. There the *Roman* quæſtor, who was appointed to guard the coaſt, and put to death ſuch of the proſcribed as ſhould land there, had like to have ſeized *Marius*, and actually killed ſixteen of his retinue, who were gone aſhore to fetch water. Hereupon *Marius*, putting to ſea again with all expedition, made the iſland of *Meninx* near the *Little Syrtis*, where he was informed, that his ſon had made his eſcape with *Cethegus*; and that they were both gone to the *Numidian* court, to implore the aſſiſtance of king *Hiempſal*. Being ſomewhat comforted with this news, he ventured to paſs over to the continent of *Africa*, and landed at the old port of *Carthage*. He was ſcarce got aſhore, when *Sextilius*, who then governed the *African* province in quality of d proprætor, was informed of his arrival. As *Sextilius* was a politic man, and neither cared to diſobey the orders of the ſenate, nor incur the hatred of the *Marian* faction, by putting this great man to death, he immediately ſent one of his officers to him, adviſing him to ſeek a retreat elſewhere, and threatening to put the decree of the ſenate in execution, if he ſet foot in *Africa*. At this meſſage the great *Marius* was ready to ſink under the weight of his calamity. He continued ſome time ſilent, looking ſternly upon the meſſenger; and at length, when the officer aſked what anſwer he ſhould return to the prætor, *Go, tell your maſter*, ſaid he, *that you have ſeen the exiled* Marius *ſitting on the ruins of* Carthage. By this noble anſwer he placed in a proper light the miſfortunes of that once celebrated city and his own, as affecting inſtances of the vi- e ciſſitude of human affairs. Whether the prætor was moved with this meſſage, is uncertain; but *Marius* ſeems to have continued ſome time in that neighbourhood [m].

In the mean time, young *Marius*, who, as we have related above, had ſet ſail for *Africa*, landing on the coaſt of *Numidia*, was received in a very gracious manner by king *Hiempſal*, or, as others will have it, by his ſon *Mandreſtal*, who had ſucceeded to the crown; but that prince, being irreſolute and undetermined what part to act, whenever his noble gueſt talked of departing, found out ſome pretence or other to detain him. Hereupon *Marius* and *Cethegus*, who attended him in his misfortunes, began to ſuſpect, that ſome treachery lay concealed under the extraordinary civilities ſhewn them by the *Numidian* king; and would have made their eſcape, had they not f found themſelves carefully watched, and, in ſhort, kept in a kind of honourable captivity. However, they found means at laſt to elude the king's evil deſigns. Their ſafety was owing to a very ſeaſonable adventure. As young *Marius* was very handſome and well-made, one of the king's concubines fell in love with him, and even diſcovered her paſſion to him. The young *Roman* declined at firſt entering into any correſpondence with her, from an awful regard to the ſacred laws of hoſpitality; but finding at laſt, that by her means alone he could avoid the ſnares that were laid for him, and that there appeared more generoſity than wantonneſs, in the tenders ſhe made him of her affection, he gratified the fair *Numidian*, who thereupon found means, as

[l] Plut. in Mario. Val. Max. l. viii. c. 2. Vell. Patercul. l. ii. Appian. l. i. de bell. civil.

[m] Plut. in Mario.

as her love was not merely the effect of an irregular appetite, to convey him and his companions ſafe out of the king's dominions. The young *Roman*, being thus delivered, we may ſay, from his captivity, haſtened to the *Roman* province, where he found his father juſt landed. After they had tenderly ſaluted and embraced each other, they began to conſult together about the preſent ſituation of their affairs. As they were walking by the ſea-ſide, the old hero obſerved two ſcorpions fighting with great fury; and as his head was always filled with ſigns and prognoſtics, he drew ſiniſter interpretations from that combat. *Let us fly*, ſaid he to his ſon, *Let us fly*; *ſome great danger threatens us here.* This ſaid, he and his company went immediately into a fiſher's boat, and made towards *Cercina*, an iſland not far from the continent. They had ſcarce put off from the ſhore, when they ſaw the coaſt covered with horſemen, whom the king had ſent to bring back young *Marius*. In the iſland of *Cercina*, which lay near the *Little Syrtis*, and is now known by the name of *Cereara*, they found *Albinovanus*, who was likewiſe proſcribed; and there they all ſpent the winter together [n].

During theſe occurrences, *Sylla* and his collegue *Q. Pompeius Rufus* acted in concert at *Rome*, and made it their whole buſineſs to quiet the minds of the people there. As no-body offered to oppoſe their meaſures, and a ſeeming calm reigned among all orders of men, the conſul *Pompeius*, who had not yet appeared at the head of his legions, reſolved to take the field, and march againſt thoſe few allies, who ſtill continued in arms. The *Roman* army was ſtill in the hands of *Pompeius Strabo*, who, after his triumph, had returned to his old camp, with the title of proconſul. When he heard that the conſul was coming to ſucceed him, and ſnatch out of his hands the glory of finiſhing a war, in which he had acquired ſo much honour, he artfully applied himſelf to his troops, and worked them up to a reſolution of not parting with a general, under whoſe conduct they had gained ſo many victories. However, the conſul was quietly received in the camp, and took poſſeſſion of the army, the proconſul himſelf inveſting him in his office, and with the ornaments of his new dignity, without betraying the leaſt reluctance; but the next day, when the legions were aſſembled again to aſſiſt, according to cuſtom, at the ſacrifice, which new generals uſed to offer, ſome legionaries all on a ſudden fell upon the conſul, and killed him at the foot of the altar. In this tumult *Pompeius Strabo* acted his part with great dexterity; he ſhed tears over the body of the dead conſul, broke out into bitter invectives againſt the aſſaſſins, who had imbrued their hands in the blood of the ſupreme magiſtrate of the republic, and threatened to ſacrifice to his manes all thoſe who had any hand in ſo flagitious an attempt, of which there had been yet no inſtance in the republic; but, notwithſtanding theſe declarations, he made no inquiry after the criminals, but, tho' continued in the command of the army, buried the whole in oblivion [o].

The conſul Pompeius Rufus *aſſaſſinated by his ſoldiers.*

Sylla, who had but a few days to continue in his office, being alarmed at the aſſaſſination of his collegue, reſolved to ſet out immediately for *Aſia*. However, he was forced to continue ſome days at *Rome* after his conſulſhip was expired, and had the mortification to ſee the firſt furious ſteps of *Cinna*, whom he believed intirely come off from his mad zeal for the popular faction; for he no ſooner entered upon the conſulſhip, than joining with *M. Virginius*, tribune of the people, he cited *Sylla*, to whom he had ſworn an inviolable attachment, to appear on a charge of male-adminiſtration. Hereupon that general, not thinking himſelf any longer ſafe in *Italy*, embarqued his troops, and ſet ſail for the eaſt, leaving *Rome* at the mercy of *Cinna* and his faction. Their firſt attempt was, to get a law paſſed in favour of the allies, whom *Cinna* was for incorporating into the thirty-five tribes, and putting upon a level with the ancient citizens. The conſul *Octavius*, who was attached to the ſenate, foreſeeing, that, by this important piece of ſervice, *Cinna* would ſecure the votes of the new citizens, and carry all before him in the aſſemblies of the people, oppoſed the law with all his intereſt. *Cinna* therefore ordered the new citizens to come to the comitium with daggers under their robes, being reſolved to get the law paſſed by force. *Octavius*, being informed of theſe unwarrantable proceedings, reſolved to oppoſe force with force; and accordingly went to the forum, attended by a numerous body of old citizens, with arms concealed under their garments. He no ſooner appeared in the forum, than the new citizens, at the inſtigation of *Cinna*, fell upon him with great fury. *Octavius* ſtood his ground; whereupon a battle enſued, in which, as the two parties were ſhut up in a narrow compaſs, much blood was ſhed. At length the new citizens

Sylla, *cited to give an account of his conduct, ſets ſail for* Aſia.

Cinna *raiſes new diſturbances.*

A battle in the forum.

[n] Plut. ibid. [o] Appian. bell. civil. l. i. Vell. Paterc. l. ii. Val. Max. l. ix.

a citizens were overpowered, and driven from ſtreet to ſtreet, till they abandoned the city, together with the conſul *Cinna*, and ſix tribunes of his faction. We are told, that ten thouſand of the new citizens were killed in this battle, *Cinna*, being thus driven from the capital, had recourſe to the neighbouring cities. ſoliciting troops and money to maintain what he called the cauſe of the allies. As ſoon as he was gone, the ſenate depoſed him, and choſe *L. Cornelius Merula* conſul in his room. This new inſult quickened him in his application to the allies, who all concurred with uncommon chearfulneſs to ſupply him with troops, or money to hire them. The great ſums he received enabled him to corrupt a conſiderable body of *Roman* troops, that lay incamped in the neighbourhood of *Capua*. They all joined him to a man, and b took the military oath, which he adminiſtered to them in his conſular habit, as if he had not been depoſed. When the allies heard, that he was at the head of a *Roman* army, they flocked to him from all parts of *Italy*, in ſuch crowds, that in a ſhort time he had no fewer than thirty legions under his banners; a prodigious army! able to make all *Italy* tremble. And now *Cinna* reſolved to recall the proſcribed; and accordingly diſpatched an expreſs to *Marius*, who was ſtill in the little iſland of *Cercina*, acquainting him, that he might return to *Italy*, without fear of the ſenate and their decrees. This ſtep alarmed the conſcript fathers, who immediately ordered the two conſuls, *Octavius* and *Merula*, to fortify both the city and citadel, by placing all the *baliſtæ* and *catapultæ* in the magazines on the walls. They were alſo commiſſioned to raiſe c what forces they judged neceſſary, and to take into the ſervice ſuch of the confederates as had not declared for *Cinna*. At the ſame time, the fathers recalled *Pompeius Strabo*, who was yet making war with ſome ſmall remains of the revolted *Italians* on the coaſts of the *Adriatic* ſea, and was at the head of a very numerous army, the command of which he had kept after the murder of the conſul *Pompeius Rufus*; but that general, not being yet determined what party to take, affected delays, and carried himſelf ſo artfully, that no-body knew what ſide he favoured. Some writers are of opinion, that his true deſign was to let the two factions waſte each other, and then raiſe himſelf upon the ruins of both [p]. In the mean time, *Marius*, putting to ſea with all expedition, landed at *Telamon*, a port in *Hetruria*, with a body of *Mauruſian* horſe raiſed d in *Africa*. Upon the news of his arrival, great numbers of ſhepherds, ſlaves, and men of deſperate fortunes, flocked to him from all parts; ſo that he ſoon ſaw himſelf at the head of a conſiderable army. He then ſent a meſſenger to *Cinna*, ſignifying to him, that he was ready to acknowledge him for conſul, and aſſiſt him to the utmoſt of his power againſt their common enemies. *Cinna* immediately acquainted *Sertorius* with the arrival of *Marius*, and the tenders he made him of his ſervice. *Sertorius*, having been diſobliged by *Sylla*, who had employed all his intereſt againſt him when he ſtood for the tribuneſhip, had joined the contrary faction, and at this time, as he was a brave and experienced officer, ſhared the command of the army with *Cinna*. He was a man of great prudence and moderation; and therefore dreading the rough e and revengeful temper of *Marius*, he adviſed *Cinna* not to admit him into his army, remonſtrating, that *Cinna* was powerful enough, without the addition of *Marius*'s undiſciplined troops, to triumph over his enemies; that he could not make *Marius* his aſſociate, without making him his maſter; that he was inſatiably covetous of glory, and ever ready to envy it in his competitors; that he would aſſume to himſelf all the ſucceſs of the war; and laſtly, that he was a man in whom it was not always ſafe to confide. All this *Cinna* owned to be true; *But how*, ſaid he, *can I ſend back a man, who, upon my word, has left* Africa, *and whom I myſelf have invited to join his reſentments with ours againſt our common enemies? Since you yourſelf had invited him to your aſſiſtance*, replied *Sertorius*, *there was no need of this conſultation. The only thing we can* f *do now is, to watch his conduct as narrowly as we do the deſigns of our moſt inveterate enemies.* After this ſecret conference, *Cinna* ſent back the meſſenger to *Marius*, ſtyling him proconſul in his letter, and empowering him to chuſe lictors for his guard; but *Marius*, putting on the appearance of great humility on this occaſion, refuſed the title, the lictors, and all other marks of the proconſular dignity, as not agreeing with his preſent circumſtances. He affected on the contrary to wear nothing but an old gown; his hair and beard rough; he walked with a ſlow pace, like a man quite oppreſſed with his misfortunes: but, through the diſguiſe of that mournful countenance, ſomething ſo fierce appeared in his looks, that he rather created terror, than moved compaſſion [q].

Cinna *ſolicits ſuccours from the allies.*

Marius *recalled.*

Marius *lands in* Italy.

Cinna *gives* Marius *the title of proconſul.*

AND

[p] Oros. l. v. c. 19. [q] Plut. in Mario & Sertorio. Appian. bell. civil. l. i.

Rome *blocked up by* Cinna, Marius *and* Sertorius.

And now *Cinna*, *Marius*, and *Sertorius* took each their province in this new war. a In a council of war they reſolved to march directly to the capital. *Cinna* was to block it up on the ſide of the *Tiber*; *Sertorius* to inveſt it on the oppoſite ſide; and *Marius* to ſcour the country, and prevent any proviſions from being conveyed into the city either by land or water. *Pompeius Strabo* was incamped with his army before the gate *Collina*, to cover the city on that ſide. This politic general had offered *Cinna* his ſervice and his army, thinking that his party was moſt likely to prevail; but *Cinna*, looking upon him as a time-ſerver, in whom it was not ſafe to confide, had rejected his offer with ſcorn; which obliged him to take part with the conſuls *Octavius* and *Merula*. As he was incamped near *Sertorius*, the firſt act of hoſti-

The firſt hoſtilities.

lity began between theſe two generals; but it was rather a ſkirmiſh than a battle, there b being killed only ſix hundred men on both ſides. This rencounter, however, was remarkable for an accident, which ought to have given the *Romans* a diſtaſte for civil wars: two brothers, who had choſen oppoſite parties, meeting in the heat of the action, the one gave the other a mortal wound without knowing him; but when he heard the voice of his dying brother, he ran to embrace him, and finding him at the laſt gaſp, *Dear brother*, he cried out, *tho' different intereſts have divided us, one common pile ſhall unite us.* This ſaid, he plunged into his own body the ſword, which was yet ſtained with the blood of his brother, and died by his ſide. This moving accident made ſome impreſſion on the ſoldiery; but paſſion and party-zeal, or rather fury, ſoon hardened all hearts; ſo that all regard to friends and relations was laid c aſide by both parties [r].

Rome *in the utmoſt confuſion.*

As *Cinna*'s forces increaſed daily, he formed a fourth army, which he put under the command of *Papirius Carbo*. This filled the city with dread and confuſion. The two conſuls who defended it, *Octavius* and *Merula*, were men of great probity, and much better qualified to maintain the laws and religion in their purity, than to ſuſtain the attacks of an enemy. *Octavius* was ſo ſcrupulous an obſerver of the moſt venerable cuſtoms in *Rome*, that they in vain preſſed him, even in this criſis, to arm the ſlaves in defence of the city. They could only get this anſwer, *That he would not make ſlaves free of that city, from which, in maintenance of the laws, he was driving away* Marius. He was indeed a man of good ſenſe and underſtanding, and ſupported d the dignity of his office with a becoming majeſty; but placed too great a confidence in auguries, and was more intent on conſulting divines, than men ſkilled in military affairs. As for *Merula*, he placed more confidence in the protection of *Jupiter*, whoſe flamen he was, than in the valour of the many brave men he had under his command. The ſenate therefore had recourſe to *Cæcilius Metellus*, the ſon of *Metellus Numidicus*, who was making war upon the revolted *Samnites* with a conſiderable body of *Roman* troops. The ſenate, well acquainted with the ability and courage of that general, ſent him orders to put an end to that war upon as honourable conditions as he could, to march his army immediately to the relief of his country, and, if he could not conclude a peace, to leave his troops under the command of his lieutenants, and re- e turn himſelf to *Rome*. *Metellus*, purſuant to his orders, immediately entered into a treaty with the *Samnite* generals; but, while the negotiation was carrying on, *Marius*, by offering the *Samnites* more advantagious terms than *Metellus* had done, gained them over to his party; ſo that *Metellus*, leaving his forces to his lieutenants, returned to the capital, where he no ſooner appeared, than the ſoldiers, diſſatisfied with the indolence of the conſuls, loudly demanded him for their general, declaring, that, under the conduct of ſo brave a commander, they did not fear repulſing the enemy, and ſaving *Rome*; but *Metellus*, as modeſt as brave, rejected theſe ſeditious applauſes with indignation, upbraided the ſoldiers with want of diſcipline, and openly declared, as he was too ſtrictly obſervant of the old cuſtoms and laws, that he would f not aſſume an office, which properly belonged to the conſuls. This made many of the citizens deſpair of being able to defend the city; and they deſerted in companies to *Cinna*, whoſe generals were not ſo ſcrupulouſly virtuous. *Sertorius* was the only man among them who had any noble ſentiments; the others had neither honour nor virtue. In the mean time, *Marius* made himſelf maſter of all the maritime places in the neighbourhood of *Rome*, took *Oſtia* itſelf by treachery, pillaged it, put moſt of the inhabitants to the ſword, and building a bridge over the *Tiber*, cut off all communication between the city and the ſea. He then marched with his army towards the city, and poſting himſelf on the *Janiculum*, blocked it up on that ſide [s].

Marius *takes* Oſtia.

Tho',

[r] Oros. l. v. c. 19. Liv. epit. ibid. [s] Plut. Appian. Liv. ibid.

a THO' the capital was greatly weakened by daily deſertions, yet *Octavias* found means to raiſe a conſiderable army in it, with which he incamped under the walls, as did likewiſe Q. *Metellus* and *Pompeius Strabo*, each of them commanding a ſeparate body. *Cinna*, who ſcrupled no attempt, how villanous ſoever, which could ſerve his cauſe, undertook to get *Pompeius Strabo* aſſaſſinated in his tent; but his ſon ſaved his life; which was the firſt remarkable action of *Pompey the Great*. Young *Pompey*, who was making his firſt campaign under the proconſul his father, had choſen for his companion one *Terentius*, a patrician of his own age. The treacherous *Cinna*, by many alluring promiſes, gained over *Terentius* to his intereſt, and prevailed upon him to undertake the aſſaſſinating of the general and his ſon, and at the ſame time the debauching of his army, and carrying the legions to *Sylla*'s camp; but young *Pompey*, b receiving notice of this wicked deſign a few hours before it was to be put in execution, placed a faithful guard round the prætorium; ſo that none of the conſpirators, who had deſigned to ſet fire to the general's tent, could come near it. He then watched all the motions of the camp, and endeavoured to appeaſe the fury of the legionaries, who hated their general, by ſuch acts of prudence as were worthy the oldeſt commanders. Some of the mutineers had forced open one of the gates of the camp, in order to deſert to *Cinna*. Hereupon the general's ſon, laying himſelf flat on his back in their way, cried out, That they ſhould not break their oath and deſert their commander, without paſſing over his body. By this means he put a ſtop to their deſertion, and afterwards wrought ſo effectually upon them by his affecting ſpeeches and c engaging carriage, that he reconciled them to his father [t].

Pompey *ſaves his father's life.*

IN the mean time, *Marius*, who was incamped on the *Janiculum*, uſed his utmoſt efforts to make himſelf maſter of the ſtrong fort built on that hill, and was very near ſucceeding in his attempt by the treachery of one *Appius Claudius*, a military tribune in the place, who, having formerly received ſome favours of *Marius*, opened one of the gates to him; but the gariſon, tho' ſurpriſed, made a brave reſiſtance, and in the mean time, *Octavius* and *Pompeius Strabo* haſtening to their relief, a ſharp engagement enſued, which ended wholly to the advantage of the conſular troops [u].

Marius *makes a fruitleſs attempt on the* Janiculum.

NOTWITHSTANDING this advantage, the city was ſoon reduced to a moſt deplord able condition: a plague broke out among the troops of *Pompeius* with ſuch violence, that in a few days it carried off eleven thouſand men. Soon after the general himſelf was killed with lightning, which did a great deal of miſchief in his army. As *Pompeius* was a very wicked man, capable of the greateſt crimes, and had aſſaſſinated a conſul before the altar, the people, looking upon his death as a puniſhment upon him from heaven, dragged his body with an iron hook through all the ſtreets of the city, and then threw it into the *Tiber* [w]. The command of his army was given to *L. Craſſus* who, together with *Octavius* and *Metellus*, went and incamped near the hill *Alba* along the *Appian* way, with a deſign to open a communication with the country on that ſide; but *Cinna*, *Marius*, *Sertorius*, and *Carbo*, joining their forces, poſted themſelves above the conſular troops on the ſame *Appian* way; ſo that no proviſions could e be conveyed from the country to the city. And now a famine beginning to be felt in the capital, the people complained loudly of the ſenate, as if they kept up a war for their own private intereſt, which expoſed them, their wives, and children to the danger of being ſtarved. To make the diſorder in *Rome* ſtill greater, *Cinna* treated under-hand with the citizens, and, by his emiſſaries, prevailed upon moſt of the ſlaves to ſhake off their maſters yoke, and take refuge in his camp, where they were declared free, The example of the ſlaves was followed by citizens of all ranks, who, abandoning the defence of the city, deſerted openly and in large companies. The ſame ſpirit of mutiny and deſertion reigned in the conſular army, which viſibly de- Rome *reduced* f creaſed; inſomuch, that *Metellus*, deſpairing of being able to ſave *Rome*, left the *to great* camp, and retired into *Liguria*, whence he ſoon after paſſed over into *Africa*. The *ſtreights.* ſenate, ſeeing their party and authority daily declining, and fearing a general inſurrection, thought it time to come to a treaty with *Cinna*; and accordingly ſent deputies to his camp, with ſome overtures of peace. *Cinna*, before he would hear them, aſked, whether they were come to treat with him as conſul, or only as a private man? This queſtion, which they did not expect, ſurpriſed them; and, as they had no inſtructions touching ſo nice a point, they deſired leave to return to *Rome* to conſult the ſenate. The conſcript fathers were greatly perplexed, not knowing what anſwer to give, nor what

Pompeius Strabo *killed by lightening.*

[t] PLUT. in Pomp. [u] PLUT. & APPIAN. ibid. [w] VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 21. JUL. OBSEQ. c. 116.

what courſe to take. They thought it inconſiſtent both with honour and juſtice to depoſe *Merula*, a wiſe magiſtrate, whom they had in a manner compelled to quit the office of high-prieſt of *Jupiter*, and accept of the conſulſhip. On the other hand, as the city was cloſely blocked up on all ſides, and the famine increaſed daily, without any hopes of relief, it was to be feared, that the populace would riſe, and let the enemy into the city. In this dilemma, *Merula* himſelf, preferring, like a good citizen, the welfare of his country to his own honour, freely abdicated, and by his abdication left the ſenate at liberty to acknowledge *Cinna* for lawful conſul. Accordingly, the conſcript fathers ſent back their deputies to him, with inſtructions to treat with him as conſul, and to invite him to *Rome*, to exerciſe there the functions of his dignity; however, they were ordered to require of him an oath, that he would ſpare the blood of the citizens, and put no *Roman* to death but by due form of law. *Cinna* refuſed to take that oath; but proteſted, that he would never give his conſent to the death of any citizen. He even ſent word to the conſul *Octavius*, that he would not do amiſs to retire from the city till the ſtorm was blown over. During this conference, *Marius*, who ſtood by, ſaid nothing; but the ſourneſs of his countenance and the ſternneſs of his looks threatened the city with blood and ſlaughter. As ſoon as the meſſengers were diſmiſſed, *Cinna*, *Marius*, *Sertorius*, and *Carbo* began their march at the head of their troops, and advanced towards the city, the ſenate having ordered the gates to be opened to them. *Cinna* entered the city with a ſtrong guard; but *Marius* halted at the gate, and when he was preſſed to advance, he replied with a ſarcaſtical tone, That he was a baniſhed man, and conſequently debarred by the laws from entering; that therefore, if they had any occaſion for his ſervice, they muſt get that law repealed, which drove him into exile. Hereupon *Cinna* marched directly to the forum; and having aſſembled the people, propoſed to them the diſannulling of the decree which proſcribed *Marius* and his adherents; but *Marius*, impatient to ſhed the blood of his enemies, when only two or three tribes had voted, pulled off the maſk, and, without waiting for a lawful repeal, entered the city, ſurrounded by his guards, choſen from among the ſlaves, who had flocked to him, and whom he called his *Bardiæans* (R). The firſt order he gave theſe cruel and inhuman aſſaſſins was, immediately to murder all thoſe, who, coming to him and meeting him in the ſtreets, ſaluted him, and were not anſwered with the like civility. This ſignal was a general dead warrant, and great numbers of the flatterers, who came to make their court to the new tyrant, were cruelly maſſacred before his eyes. *Q. Ancharius*, a ſenator of great diſtinction, who had been honoured with the prætorſhip, choſe to pay his compliments to *Marius* when he was offering a ſacrifice in the capitol; but the tyrant caſting a fierce look upon him, he was inſtantly cut in pieces in the very temple of *Jupiter*. *Cinna*, for the preſent, exerciſed his cruelty only on his collegue *Octavius*, who ſtill took upon him to perform the functions of his office, and was therefore, at the inſtigation of *Cinna*, ſlain in his curule chair by *Cenſorinus*. But *Marius*'s *Bardiæans*, or *Bardiates*, ſet no bounds to their luſt, cruelty, and avarice: they firſt murdered their former maſters, abuſed their children, and inſulted their wives in the groſſeſt manner; then they extended their cruelty and licentiouſneſs to all ranks of perſons, not ſparing the moſt venerable matrons in the republic; and carried their iniquities to ſuch an exceſs, that *Cinna* and *Sertorius*, having conſulted together how to rid *Rome* of this barbarous crew, reſolved to put them all to death; and accordingly ſent a detachment to ſurpriſe them, one night while they were aſleep in the camp, and cut them all off to a man. *Marius* was much grieved at the loſs of his favourite guard; and being afraid, as he breathed nothing but blood, that *Cinna* had already ſatisfied his revenge, he deſired the heads of the faction to meet, in order to deliberate

Cinna *acknowledged conſul.*

Cinna *and* Marius *enter* Rome.

Marius's *cruelty.*

(R) We are at a loſs to know how *Marius* came to give his guards this name. *Thuanus*, as appears from a note in the margin of his *Plutarch*, thought there was a fault in the text, and that, inſtead of *Bardiæans*, we ought to read *Bardyetes* or *Bardyates*; for the *Bardyetes* were a moſt barbarous and ſavage nation in *Spain*, and this might very naturally induce *Marius* to call his guards by that name, on purpoſe to frighten the people, and make them tremble at the fierceneſs of their nature. There is a good deal of reaſon for this conjecture. However, M. *Dacier*, in her notes on *Plutarch*, offers another: *Plutarch* tells us, ſays ſhe, that the greateſt grievance of the people was the abominable licentiouſneſs and infamous debaucheries of thoſe guards. It may therefore not abſurdly be conceived, that *Marius* on that account, called them not his *Bardiæans*, but *Bardeans*, from the *Greek* word Βαρδῆν, which, in the *Ambracian* dialect, ſignifies *to raviſh women*. But, after all, this may be refining too much on the matter, as the ſame writer obſerves. Perhaps *Plutarch* wrote not Βαρδιαῖες, but Μαριαῖες, that is, *the Marians, or the life-guard of* Marius.

a deliberate what kind of government they ſhould ſettle, ſince all the power was devolved upon *Cinna* after the death of his collegue. At his requeſt, *Cinna*, *Carbo* and *Sertorius* came to confer with him; and in this conference *Marins* is ſaid to have ſpoke like a madman. *Sertorius*, the only man among them who had any good principles or ſenſe of morality, endeavoured to moderate his fury; but in vain: *Cinna* and *Carbo* concurred in his ſentiments, and the reſolution they took, was to murder, without mercy, all the ſenators who had oppoſed the popular faction. Purſuant to this reſolution, *C. Attilius Serranus*, *P. Lentulus*, *Caius* and *Lucius Cæſar*, *C. Numitorius*, and *M. Bæbius*, all ſenators of great note, were murdered in the ſtreets. *P. Craſſus*, a young ſenator, endeavoured to make his eſcape; but being cloſely purb ſued by *Caius Fulvius Fimbria*, one of the moſt furious zealots of *Marius*'s party, his father meeting him, killed him, for fear he ſhould fall into the hands of his enemies, and then preſented himſelf before the bloody *Fimbria*, by whom he was inhumanly maſſacred. This ſlaughter laſted five days, during which time the beſt part of the ſenators were cut off, their heads were ſtuck upon poles over-againſt the roſtra, and their mangled bodies dragged with hooks into the forum, where they were left to be devoured by the dogs. However, *Metella*, the wife of *Sylla* and daughter of *Metellus Numidicus*, and her children eſcaped this general ſlaughter. *Marius* indeed cauſed a ſtrict ſearch to be made after them; but they eluded the vigilance and fury of the tyrant, being privately conveyed out of town by ſome of *Sylla*'s friends. *Marius*, c highly exaſperated at their eſcape, cauſed their houſe to be razed, their goods confiſcated, and *Sylla* himſelf to be declared an enemy to his country, While *Marius* was thus venting his brutal rage on *Sylla*'s friends in the city, his ſoldiers, the miniſters of his cruelty, were, like ſo many blood-hounds, diſperſed about the country, in ſearch of thoſe who had fled. The neighbouring towns, villages, and all the highways, ſwarmed with aſſaſſins. On this occaſion *Plutarch* obſerves with great concern, that the moſt ſacred ties of friendſhip and hoſpitality are not proof againſt treachery in the days of adverſity; for there were but very few who did not diſcover their friends, who had fled to them for ſhelter. He therefore, with a great deal of reaſon, commends and admires the fidelity of the ſlaves of *Cornutus* in that general defection. *Cor-*

Proſcriptions, murders, &c.

d *nutus* had retired to a houſe in the country; and his faithful ſlaves, obſerving a company of ſoldiers hovering about the neighbourhood, concealed their maſter in the moſt private part of the houſe; and then taking up the body of one, whom the tyrant's officers had juſt murdered, carried it to the houſe, hung it up by the neck, put a gold ring on the finger, and ſhewed it in that condition to the ſoldiers, pretending it was the body of their maſter. They then buried it with great pomp and ſolemnity; and by this innocent artifice, which was perceived by no-body, they ſaved *Cornutus*, and conveyed him into *Gaul*. *Marcus Antonius*, grandfather to the triumvir, and the greateſt orator that had appeared in *Rome* till his time, was not ſo fortunate. He fled to the houſe of a faithful friend in the country, who endeavoured to ſave his life e with great tenderneſs and affection. His friend was in low circumſtances; but, being proud of having under his roof one of the greateſt men in *Rome*, reſolved to entertain him in the beſt manner he could. Accordingly he ſent his ſervant to a tavern in the neighbourhood for ſome of the beſt wine he could get. The vintner perceiving the ſervant nicer than uſual, taſting of ſeveral ſorts, and not ſatisfied but with the very beſt, aſked him, What made him ſo hard to pleaſe? The ſervant told him in confidence, as his truſty friend and acquaintance, That the wine was for the illuſtrious *Marcus Antonius*, who made ſo great a figure in the ſenate. My maſter, ſaid he, keeps that great man concealed in his houſe, and is reſolved on this occaſion to ſtretch his purſe, and make as much of him as he can. The ſervant was no ſooner gone, than f the villain of a vintner went to *Marius*, who was then at ſupper, and told him, he could deliver *Antonius* into his hands. At this news *Marius* gave a great ſhout, clapped his hands for joy, and was for riſing from table and going to the place himſelf; but, being prevented by his friends, he ſent *Anius*, one of his wicked agents, attended by a body of ſoldiers, commanding him to bring *Antonius*'s head with all ſpeed. *Anius* himſelf waited at the door, and ſent in his ſoldiers to diſpatch the orator and bring him his head; but the aſſaſſins, notwithſtanding their natural barbarity, were ſo ſtruck at the ſight of this great man, and moved with the graces and charms of his eloquence, when he began to ſpeak and plead for his life, that tears dropped from their eyes, and none of them would touch him. *Anius*, impatient at their delays, went into the room, and ſeeing his ſoldiers all weeping, and quite

The fidelity of Cornutus's ſlaves.

Marcus Antonius *betrayed and murdered.*

ſoftened by the eloquence of that great orator, checked them ſeverely, and with his own hand cut off his head, and carried it to *Marius*, who, after he had made it matter of ſport to his gueſts, ordered it to be ſtuck up on a pole with the reſt before the roſtra. Such was the end of the greateſt orator *Rome* had ever bred. *Cicero*, who had often heard him, being at this time about twenty years old, calls him the wonder of his age, and adds, that to him it was owing, that *Italy* equalled *Greece* itſelf in the art of ſpeaking [w]. a

And now the rage of the other tyrants, after ſo many murders, began to abate. But *Marius* ſtill thirſted after more *Roman* blood. He wanted to deſtroy two men, who had been both honoured with the faſces. Theſe were *Lutatius Catulus*, who had been his collegue in the conſulate, and partner in the triumph over the *Cimbri*; and the virtuous *Cornelius Merula*, who had generouſly reſigned the conſular dignity to make room for *Cinna*. Great intereſt was made for *Catulus*; but to all thoſe, who interceded for him, *Marius* returned this cold anſwer, *He muſt die*. Hereupon *Catulus*, ſhutting himſelf up in a room, ſmothered or poiſoned himſelf. *Merula* likewiſe robbed his enemy of the cruel pleaſure of putting him to death. As he was high-prieſt of *Jupiter*, he went to the temple of that god, laid down his mitre, in which it was not lawful to die, and, then ſeating himſelf in his pontifical chair, ordered his veins to be opened. After he had bled ſome time, he advanced to the altar, ſprinkled it with blood, and uttering many imprecations againſt the tyrants, devoted them to *Pluto* and the infernal gods. b

Catulus and Merula kill themſelves.

The conſulate of *Cinna* being near expiring, the citizens, who had ſeen the ſtreets for ſome time flowing with blood, and covered with heaps of dead bodies, hoped for ſome reſpite. But *Cinna*, unwilling to truſt them with chuſing him a ſucceſſor, of his own authority nominated himſelf and *Marius* conſuls for the next year. Accordingly, on the calends of *January*, they took poſſeſſion, one of his ſecond, the other of his ſeventh conſulſhip. *Marius* was now ſeventy years of age; but neither his ambition nor his cruelty were yet ſatiated. As he was coming out of his houſe to be inveſted, according to cuſtom, in his office, *Sextus Licinius* unhappily fell in his way, and was by his orders immediately thrown down from the *Tarpeian* rock. The ſame day he proſcribed two prætors; and his ſon, no leſs cruel than himſelf, killed the ſame day a tribune of the people with his own hand [x]. c d

Cinna names himſelf and Marius conſuls.

In the mean time, news came from all parts, that *Sylla*, having put an end to the war with *Mithridates*, was returning into *Italy* at the head of a great army. Soon after the ſenate received a long letter from the victorious general, wherein, with a lively ſtyle, he gave them an account of his victories, and complained of the injuries done him. After enumerating the many ſervices he had done the republic in her wars with the king of *Numidia*, with the *Cimbri*, the allies, and laſtly with *Mithridates*, the moſt powerful king in the eaſt, he concluded thus: For theſe important ſervices you have rewarded me, by ſetting a price upon my head; my friends are murdered without mercy; my wife and children are forced to abandon their native country; my houſe is razed; my goods confiſcated; and all the laws made in my conſulſhip abſolutely diſannulled. You may expect, conſcript fathers, to ſee me in a little time at the gates of *Rome* with a victorious army. And then I ſhall find means to revenge the perſonal injuries I have received; and to inflict ſignal puniſhments both on the tyrants themſelves, and the miniſters of their tyranny. This letter gave the two conſuls a great deal of uneaſineſs. *Marius*, now worn out with hardſhips and years, could no longer bear up his ſpirits flagging at the apprehenſion of a new war, which his own experience repreſented to him as very dangerous. He conſidered, that he had not now to do with an *Octavius* or *Merula*, at the head of an undiſciplined rabble, but with *Sylla*, who was approaching with a victorious army, and who had once before driven him out of *Rome*. At the ſame time he called to mind all his paſt misfortunes, his flight, his baniſhment, the many dangers he had undergone, his tedious wanderings, *&c.* and, dreading to be expoſed anew to the ſame hazards in ſo advanced an age, he fell into great troubles, nocturnal frights, and broken ſlumbers, fancying every moment that he heard a voice, telling him, that *the den, even of an abſent lion, ought to be dreaded*. To divert theſe tormenting thoughts, he had recourſe to a remedy ſcarce known in thoſe days, but too common in ours. He gave himſelf up to exceſſive drinking, chuſing rather to loſe his reaſon, than to be continually haunted with melancholy e f

Sylla writes to the ſenate.

Marius dreads the arrival of Sylla.

He gives himſelf up to exceſſive drinking.

[w] Plut. in Mario. Appian. bell civil. l. i, Cic. in Bruto & alibi paſſim. [x] Plut. Appian ibid.

a melancholy thoughts. This new way of living ſoon bred a diſtemper which led him to his grave. *Poſidonius* the philoſopher, as quoted by *Plutarch*, tells us, that, having over-heated his blood by too much drinking, he fell into a pleuriſy. The ſame philoſopher adds, that he went to his houſe, when he was confined to his bed, and diſcourſed with him about ſome affairs relating to his embaſſy at *Rome*. But *Caius Piſo* ſeems to inſinuate, that he himſelf haſtened his end, though he does not tell us in what manner. He only relates, that *Marius*, walking one night after ſupper with ſome of his friends, entertained them with a recital of all his adventures, which he concluded with ſaying, that it did not become a man of his years to truſt any longer ſo unconſtant a goddeſs as fortune. Having ended his diſcourſe, he embraced all about

b him with a tenderneſs very uncommon to him, went home, and took to his bed. He was ſeized with a delirium, during which, fancying himſelf general in the war againſt *Mithridates*, he uſed ſuch motions and geſtures as if he had been engaged in battle at the head of an army. At length after ſeven days illneſs he died, ſome ſay *His death.* on the ſeventeenth, others on the thirteenth, day, of his ſeventh conſulſhip.

And now the diſtreſſed city fondly imagined, that the inteſtine calamities, which had reduced her to the laſt extremity, were buried with *Marius*. But ſhe ſoon perceived, that ſhe had only changed her tyrant. *Cinna*, the ſurviving conſul, aſſociated with himſelf in the government, though not in the office of conſul, young *Marius*, who, as he had inherited the cruelty of his father, put all the ſenators he could find in *Rome* or its neighbourhood to the ſword. As all the power was lodged *Young* Marius *ſucceeds his father.*

c in the hands of *Cinna* and young *Marius*, they got *Valerius Flaccus*, a creature of old *Marius*, named to ſucceed him in the conſular dignity. He no ſooner entered upon his office, than he paſſed a moſt unjuſt law in favour of the people, declaring all debtors free from their debts, upon paying to their creditors one-fourth of what they owed. Having by this law gained the affections of the indigent multitude, the new conſul conſulted with *Cinna* and *Marius*, how they ſhould prevent the return of *Sylla*, who had under his command a victorious and well-diſciplined army. The expedient they agreed on to put it out of the power of that general to give them any uneaſineſs, or to obſtruct their wicked meaſures, was, to nominate a perſon to ſucceed him in the

d command of the army in the eaſt, under pretence, that his authority was illegal, ſince he had been proſcribed by a decree of the ſenate. Purſuant to this ſcheme, the new conſul *Valerius Flaccus* was appointed to command the *Roman* forces in the *Levant*, *The conſul* Valerius Flaccus *appointed to command the forces of the republic, in the room of* Sylla. and make war with *Mithridates*. But, as *Valerius* was no ſoldier, *Cinna* and *Marius* gave him for his counſellor and lieutenant *C. Fulvius Fimbria*, a ſenator, greatly eſteemed by the troops for his valour. *Fimbria*, though intirely addicted to the *Marian* faction, both deſpiſed and hated *Valerius*. However, he prepared to attend him, in compliance with the orders of *Cinna* and *Marius*, who were abſolute maſters in *Rome*. A ſquadron of ſhips was ſent with a conſiderable number of troops on board, with orders to land in one of the ports of *Theſſaly*, and there wait for *Valerius*, who was to follow with the reſt of the army. *Sylla* was at that time buſy in reſettling

e *Greece*, after having defeated *Archelaus* and *Taxiles*, two of *Mithridates*'s generals. The troops therefore that were to ſerve under *Valerius*, hearing of *Sylla*'s victories, inſtead of waiting for their unexperienced commander, deſerted all to a man, and joined the victorious proconſul, under whoſe conduct they promiſed themſelves great booty and glory. When news of this deſertion was brought to *Rome*, it was reſolved there, that *Valerius* ſhould imbarque with two legions, and ſail directly for *Aſia* to carry on the war there with *Mithridates*. However, he did not leave *Rome* before *December*, towards the end of his conſulſhip, which was no ſooner expired, than *Cinna*, without Cinna *declares himſelf conſul the third time with* Papirius Carbo. ſo much as aſſembling the comitia, declared himſelf conſul the third time, and choſe

f for his collegue *Papirius Carbo*, one of the moſt furious zealots in *Rome* for the *Marian* faction. The other chief dignities in the republic were all filled with men wholly devoted to the intereſt of the reigning tyrant. In ſhort, the face of the republic was intirely changed, and the ancient laws and inſtitutions quite aboliſhed. All the friends of *Sylla*, whom the tyrants could get into their power, were inhumanly murdered, and their eſtates confiſcated. Men of any honour or probity were aſhamed to live in a city, which was now become a neſt of robbers and aſſaſſins. They therefore fled in crouds, and retired to *Sylla* in *Greece*, imploring his protection againſt their domeſtic tyrants. Upon their arrival *Sylla* haſtened to put an end to the war with *Mithridates*, which we have deſcribed at length in our hiſtory of *Pontus*. But, before the articles of Valerius Flaccus *arrives at* Byzantium. peace were agreed on, *Valerius Flaccus* arrived with his two legions at *Byzantium*, being ſent

ſent by *Cinna* to take upon him the command of the *Roman* forces in the *Levant*, and a
to purſue the war with *Mithridates*. He was ſcarce landed, when great differences
aroſe between him and his lieutenant *Fimbria* about their quarters. The lieutenant,
ſenſible of the want of abilities in his general, deſpiſed him, and ſtirred up the ſoldiery
to mutiny. Hereupon *Valerius* depoſed him, and appointed one *Thermus* in his room.
Fimbria, provoked at this affront, kept no bounds with his general, who, as he was
hated by the ſoldiery for his harſh temper, thought it adviſeable to retire for ſome
time from the army; and accordingly croſſed the *Boſphorus*, and took up his quarters
in *Chalcedon*. The audacious *Fimbria* followed him thither with the greateſt part of
the army; which *Valerius* no ſooner heard, than, ſuſpecting his deſign, he fled to
Nicomedia, ſhut the gates, and put himſelf in a condition to ſuſtain a ſiege againſt his b
ſubaltern. *Fimbria* purſued him, made himſelf maſter of *Nicomedia*, and finding
Is murdered by his lieutenant Fimbria. him concealed in a well, dragged him out, and killed him with his own hand. *Cinna*
and his ſenate, inſtead of puniſhing, rewarded, the villainy, by declaring the baſe
aſſaſſin general of all the *Roman* troops in the *Levant* [y].

And now *Fimbria*, ſeeing himſelf at the head of a conſular army, without any regard
to the treaty, which was near concluded between the king of *Pontus* and *Sylla*, renewed
the war with great vigor. He defeated young *Mithridates* in a pitched battle, and
obliged the king himſelf to take ſhelter behind the walls of *Pitane*, a ſtrong city on
the confines of *Æolis* and *Troas*. Thither *Fimbria* purſued him, and, having inveſted
the place by land, ſent meſſengers to *Lucullus*, *Sylla*'s quæſtor and faithful friend, c
intreating him to prevent with the fleet, which he commanded, the king's retreat by
Fimbria *makes war upon* Mithridates *with ſucceſs.* ſea. Had *Lucullus* complied with his requeſt and ſhut up the mouth of the harbour,
the proud *Mithridates* muſt have fallen into the hands of the *Romans*. But *Lucullus*,
deteſting the very name of *Fimbria*, ſailed away, and left an open retreat to the king,
when he might have eaſily taken him, and by that means prevented the bloody war,
which that prince carried on for the ſpace of forty years with the republic. However,
Fimbria took *Pitane* and ſeveral other places, treating the inhabitants with unparallelled
inſolence and cruelty, as we have related at length in our hiſtory of *Pontus*. In the
mean time, *Sylla*, having put the laſt hand to the peace in a conference with the king
at *Dardanus*, marched againſt *Fimbria*, whom he found incamped under the walls of d
Thyatira in *Lydia*. And now two *Roman* armies ſeemed ready to entertain the *Aſiatics*
with a battle among themſelves in the heart of *Aſia*. *Sylla*, advancing within two fur-
longs of *Fimbria*'s camp, ſent him a ſummons, *to ſurrender up his troops to him, diveſt
himſelf of the command, and return to* Italy. *Fimbria* proudly anſwered, *that he deſpiſed
the orders of a proſcribed man, who was declared by the ſenate an enemy to his country.*
Hereupon the two generals began to prepare for a battle; but *Fimbria*'s men declaring,
that they would not take arms againſt their countrymen and friends, and great num-
Fimbria's *men deſert to* Sylla. bers of them deſerting to *Sylla*, the treacherous *Fimbria* reſolved to have his adverſary
aſſaſſinated. But the ſlave he employed for that baſe purpoſe betrayed himſelf by the
terror that appeared in his looks, and then diſcovered the treachery of his maſter. e
Fimbria's *treachery.* This barbarous attempt exaſperated *Sylla* to ſuch a degree, that he immediately led
his legions to attack the traytor in his trenches. *Fimbria*, finding his ſoldiers ready
to abandon him, deſired a conference with *Sylla*. But he, not caring to come near
a traytor, who was capable of any deſperate attempt, only ſent *Rutilius*, one of his
officers, to treat with him, and acquaint him, that if he would leave *Aſia* and deliver
up his troops, he would not only ſave his life, but furniſh him with all neceſſaries for
returning to *Italy*. *Return to* Italy! replied *Fimbria*; *no*; *I know a more expeditious
way*. Having uttered theſe words, he retired to his tent, and ſoon after privately
withdrew to *Pergamus*, where he ſtabbed himſelf with his own ſword in the temple
He kills himſelf. of *Æſculapius*. But, the wound not proving mortal, a faithful ſlave, who attended f
him, diſpatched him, and then plunged the ſword into his own breaſt [z].

And now *Sylla*, having no more enemies to contend with in *Aſia*, reſolved to return
to *Italy*, where *Cinna* and *Papirius Carbo* had appointed themſelves conſuls for the
next year. The former, to eſtabliſh himſelf more firmly in his uſurped authority,
married his daughter *Cornelia* to a young patrician, whoſe extraordinary talents were
already admired in *Rome*. This was the famous *Julius Cæſar*, who afterwards fol-
lowed the ſteps of his father-in-law; and, being no leſs wicked, and more ſucceſsful,
turned at laſt the republic into a monarchy. *Sylla*, before he left *Aſia*, wrote a letter
to

y Appian. bell. civil. & in Mithridatic. Liv. epit. l. lxxxii. c. 64. Plut. in Sylla & Lucullo.
z Plut. in Sylla. Appian. in Mithridat. Liv. epit. l. lxxxiii. c. 32.

The ſenate ſend deputies to Sylla.

a to the ſenate of great temper and moderation; but when their deputies came to meet him at *Dyrrachium*, and intreat him not to carry his reſentments ſo far as to produce a civil war, he ſpoke a very different language, telling them, that he was coming to *Rome* full of rage and revenge; and that all his enemies, if the *Roman* people conſented to it, ſhould periſh either by the ſword, or the axes of the common executioners. Hereupon the two conſuls ordered *Marius*, and the other heads of the party, to raiſe forces and recruit the legions. Several armies were raiſed with incredible expedition, the new citizens and allies readily concurring to ſupport the cauſe of the conſuls, which they looked upon as their own. A fleet was likewiſe brought from *Sicily* to guard the coaſts of *Italy*. In a council of war, at which all the leading men of the party
b aſſiſted, it was reſolved, that one of the conſuls ſhould go and meet *Sylla* before he entered *Italy*, and carry the ſeat of the war into *Dalmatia*. This *Cinna* took upon himſelf, and accordingly cauſed ſome of his forces to be immediately tranſported thither. But the reſt of his ſoldiers refuſed to go on board, and began to mutiny. *Cinna* aſſembled his troops in order to appeaſe them, when one of the lictors, who ſurrounded the conſul as uſual, ſtruck a ſoldier who drew too near to the general. The ſoldier returned blow for blow, and called his comrades to his aſſiſtance. Upon this the ſtones flew about, and the legionaries, who were next to the conſul, fell upon him ſword in hand. *Cinna* fled, but a centurion overtaking him, buried his ſword in his body [a] (S).

Cinna *killed by one of his ſoldiers.*

c Upon the death of *Cinna*, *Carbo* continued ſole maſter of the adminiſtration, till the end of the year. His firſt care was to bring back the troops which his collegue had ſent into *Dalmatia*. He then ordered new levies to be made in all the cities of the allies and in the *Roman* colonies, to keep *Sylla* out of *Italy* by force of arms. We are told, that the troops raiſed for this purpoſe amounted to two hundred thouſand men. They were divided into ſeveral bodies commanded by different generals; viz. *L. Cornelius Scipio* and *C. Junius Norbanus*, whom *Carbo* had got choſen conſuls, *Appius Claudius*, *Sertorius*, young *Marius*, *Flavius Fimbria*, the brother of that *Fimbria* who had killed himſelf in *Aſia*, *M. Marius*, *Albinovanus*, and *Lucius Brutus Damaſippus*. In the mean time, *Sylla* was preparing to imbarque at *Dyrrachium*, now *Du-*
d *razzo*, where he had ordered his fleet, conſiſting of a hundred and twenty ſail, to wait for him. When every thing was ready, he aſſembled his troops, and in the harangue he made to them, gave them by ſeveral hints to underſtand, that he was under ſome apprehenſion, leſt they ſhould diſperſe, and retire to their reſpective homes, as ſoon as they found themſelves on their native ſhore. Hereupon the whole army of their own accord took a new oath, promiſing to ſtand by him to the laſt, and to commit no devaſtations in *Italy*, which might raiſe the country againſt him. They even offered him all the gold and ſilver they had got in the war with *Mithridates*. But *Sylla*, thanking them for their generoſity, declined their offer, and being now well aſſured of their fidelity and affection, he imbarqued, and put to ſea, as he himſelf tells us, againſt fifteen generals and four hundred and fifty cohorts. He had a pro-
e ſperous paſſage, and landed his troops to the number of forty thouſand men at *Brundiſium* and *Tarentum*, without meeting with any oppoſition. There the army reſted a few days, to refreſh themſelves after the fatigues of the ſea, and then began their march croſs *Calabria* and *Apulia* in ſearch of the enemy. On his march he was joined by *Metellus Pius*, who, during the tyranny of old *Marius*, had fled into *Liguria*. *Sylla*, who had no other title but that of proconſul, received him as his collegue, and both advanced at the head of the army into *Campania*, keeping their troops under the moſt exact diſcipline. The conſul *Norbanus* was incamped between *Capua* and *Caſilinum*, in order to ſtop *Sylla*'s march; which the proconſul no ſooner underſtood, than
f he diſpatched two of his officers to him with offers of a pacification. Whether he was really inclined to concord, or artfully diſſembled the rage he concealed in his heart,

Several armies raiſed againſt Sylla.

Sylla *lands in* Italy.

[a] Liv. Appian. ibid. Auth. de vir. illuſtr.

(S) *Plutarch* relates this matter very differently. He ſays, that *Pompey* came to *Cinna*'s camp, and that the cold reception he met with there giving him reaſon to believe that his life was not ſafe, he privately withdrew. His abſence raiſed great murmurs in the army, the ſoldiers imagining, that *Cinna* had ſacrificed him to his jealouſy. This report being ſpread among the troops, they firſt demanded young *Pompey* with loud clamours, and then fell with great fury on the general, whom they charged with his death, and cut him in pieces (11).

(11) *Plut. in Pomp.*

heart, is uncertain. However that be, his offers were rejected, and his deputies a
groſsly inſulted, which ſo incenſed *Sylla*'s troops, that they ran to arms without orders
from their general, drew up in battalia, and went out to inſult *Norbanus* in his camp.
Hereupon an action enſued, in which the conſul was defeated, and ſix thouſand of his
men killed on the ſpot. The fame of this action drew many of the contrary faction
to *Sylla*'s camp, and amongſt the others *Cethegus*, *Verres*, and *Piſo*, all three men of
great diſtinction, and hitherto moſt furious zealots of the *Marian* faction. *Verres*,
who was quæſtor of the proconſul *Carbo*'s army, brought with him his military cheſt,
a preſent very acceptable to *Sylla*. But, in the mean time, the conſul *Scipio* drawing near,
the proconſul's army was in a manner ſurrounded by the innumerable forces of the
enemy. In this diſtreſs *Sylla* had recourſe to his old artifice of pretending to treat of b
peace; and accordingly ſent deputies to the conſul's camp to propoſe an accommo-
dation, pretending, that he was much grieved at the calamities to which the republic
muſt be expoſed by a civil war. *Scipio*, who was ſincerely diſpoſed to peace, hearkened
to the overtures that were made him, and by way of preliminary agreed to a truce,
during which, there being a free intercourſe between the two camps, *Sylla*'s men found
means to debauch the whole conſular army; inſomuch, that when *Sylla* detached
twenty cohorts, as it were, to force the conſul's trenches, the conſular troops, all to
a man, came out to meet them, and joining them marched back with them to *Sylla*'s
camp. The conſul and his ſon, being deſerted by their whole army, which con-
ſiſted of forty cohorts, were ſeized by *Sylla*'s ſoldiers, who delivered them up to their c
general. But he, being under no apprehenſions from commanders, who could be ſo
eaſily over-reached, ſet them both at liberty, and gave them a guard to conduct them
ſafe to the neareſt quarters of their friends. When news of this general deſertion
was brought to *Carbo*, who was then incamped in *Ciſalpine Gaul*, he cried out in great
ſurpriſe, *We have both a fox and a lion to deal with; but the fox is more formidable
than the lion*[b].

Pompey *makes his firſt appearance.*

The news of the great advantages *Sylla* was daily gaining, over the generals of the
adverſe party, prompted young *Pompey* to declare for him. He aſſembled troops in
Picenum, where his family had a great many friends and clients, and taking upon him,
of his own authority, the title of general, though he was then but twenty-three years of d
age, obliged moſt of the towns of *Picenum* to declare for *Sylla*. The ſmall army he
commanded increaſed ſo faſt, that in a ſhort time he had men enough to form three
legions; and at the head of theſe, after he had appointed them their tribunes and cen-
turions, he advanced towards *Campania* to join *Sylla*. The march of the brave youth,
which was ſignalized by the reduction of many cities, drew upon him three generals,
who commanded armies in that neighbourhood under the conſuls. *Carinas*, *Cælius*,
and *Brutus* agreed to obſtruct his march by attacking him in different places. *Brutus*
oppoſed him the firſt with a conſiderable army, conſiſting chiefly of *Gauliſh* horſe. But
Pompey at the head of his own cavalry defeated that of the *Gauls*, after having killed
with his own hand the *Gaul* who commanded them. He then fell ſword in hand on e
Brutus's infantry, cut moſt of them in pieces, and forced the reſt to ſave themſelves
by a diſorderly flight. This ſucceſs, which was chiefly owing to the young general's
perſonal bravery, ſo damped the courage of the two other generals, that they reſolved
to quit the field, and leave the country open to the conqueror. However, he had
not advanced far before he was met by the conſul *Scipio*, who, ſince the deſertion of his
troops, had raiſed a new army. But the infantry on both ſides were no ſooner in
ſight, than the conſul's troops went all over to the young hero; ſo that *Scipio*, deſerted
a ſecond time by his army, was forced to retire with ſhame. *Pompey*'s name being
now become formidable to the adverſe party, *Papirius Carbo*, quitting *Gaul*, haſtened
after him, in order to prevent his joining *Sylla*. His cavalry came up with him at the f
river *Æſis*, which divides *Picenum* and *Umbria*; but the young general having repulſed
them with great vigor, purſued his march, and at laſt reached *Sylla*'s camp, where
he was received with all poſſible demonſtrations of eſteem and ſincere friendſhip. *Sylla*,
charmed with the account he gave him of his exploits, honoured him, though he had
not yet a ſeat in the ſenate, with the title of *Imperator*, which the legionaries gave but
rarely to their braveſt generals. *Rome* being greatly alarmed at the increaſe of *Sylla*'s
army, the two conſuls as well as *Carbo* drew near it, in order to keep up their party
there, and defend the city in caſe of an attack. The conſul *Norbanus* incamped
without

[b] Plut. Appian. ibid.

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a without the walls on the road to *Campania*; and *Carbo*, entering *Rome* at the head of his army, forced the ſenate to declare *Metellus*, *Pompey*, and all the patricians who had joined *Sylla*, enemies to their country. The reſt of the campaign was employed on both ſides in private negotiations, each party endeavouring to debauch the allies of the other. *Sylla*, a great maſter in that art, ſent conſiderable ſums into *Ciſalpine Gaul*, and by that means gained over ſeveral *Gauliſh* nations to his intereſt. On the other hand, the oppoſite faction ſent *Sertorius* into *Spain*, to keep thoſe vaſt provinces in awe, and prevent them from declaring for *Sylla*. At the ſame time, young *Marius* prevailed on the *Samnites* to join him with an army of forty thouſand men, under the command of *Pontius Teleſinus*, an able commander, who had gained great reputation in the war of the confederates [c].

b And now, the conſular year being near expired, *Carbo*, who tyrannized at *Rome* without controul, forced the tribes to chuſe himſelf and young *Marius* conſuls for the next year. As the winter, which was very ſevere, ſuſpended hoſtilities on both ſides for ſome months, the conſuls made it their whole buſineſs to raiſe money for the ſupport of the troops, which they had levied in moſt of the provinces of *Italy*. But, the public treaſury being quite exhauſted, they extorted a decree from the ſenate, empowering them to ſtrip the temples of their ornaments, and turn all the gold and ſilver they found in them into money. The conſuls having now wherewithal to pay their troops, and the rigor of the ſeaſon being abated, their armies took the field, and went in queſt of the enemy. The firſt battle was fought on the banks of the *Æſis*, c between *Carinas*, one of the conſul's generals, and *Metellus Pius*, who was immoveably attached to *Sylla*. The action proved very bloody, and laſted from morning to night. But *Metellus* at length obliged *Carinas* to retire, and ſoon after made himſelf maſter of his camp. The news of this defeat exaſperated young *Marius* to ſuch a degree againſt *Sylla* and his adherents, that he ſent orders to *Junius Brutus*, then prætor in *Rome*, to put all *Sylla*'s friends in the city to death. This order was executed with the utmoſt cruelty; not one of thoſe, whom the inhuman prætor could get into his power, was ſpared. Among the ſlain were *Papirius Carbo*, the conſul's brother, *P. Antiſtius*, father-in-law to *Pompey*, *L. Domitius*, and the great *Mucius Scævola*, pontifex maximus. The latter took refuge in the temple of *Veſta*; but the prætor's d agents followed him thither, and murdered him at the foot of the altar. The account *Sylla* received of theſe cruelties made him reſolve to quit *Campania*, and draw near to *Rome*. Accordingly, he advanced to *Setia* on the banks of the *Liris*, where he was met by young *Marius* at the head of eighty-five cohorts. *Sylla* reſolved, contrary to the advice of all his officers, to venture an engagement, being encouraged by a dream, in which the night before he imagined to ſee old *Marius* adviſing his ſon to beware of the following day, which might be of fatal conſequence to him. Both armies engaged with great intrepidity, and fought with unparallelled bravery. The ſucceſs was long doubtful; but at length *Marius*'s right wing gave way, and the diſpute was ended by the deſertion of ſeven of his cohorts, who all in a body went e over to *Sylla*. Their example drew many others, which ſtruck the conſular army with ſuch terror, that they all betook themſelves to flight, and diſperſed about the fields. The conqueror purſued them, and made a dreadful ſlaughter of the fugitives. The vanquiſhed, ſeeing themſelves cloſely purſued, fled to *Præneſte* in ſuch numbers, that the inhabitants were forced to ſhut the gates before the conſul arrived; ſo that he was drawn up with a cord, and by that means eſcaped for the preſent the fury of his purſuers. All the reſt, who were left without the walls, periſhed by the ſwords of the enemy. *Sylla*, as quoted by *Plutarch*, tells us in his memoirs, that on this occaſion twenty thouſand of the enemy were killed upon the ſpot, and eight thouſand taken priſoners; whereas he loſt in all but three and twenty men [d].

f *Sylla*, flattering himſelf that he ſhould put an end to the war by taking *Marius*, inſtantly inveſted *Præneſte*: but, as the place was too ſtrong to be taken by aſſault, he reſolved to reduce it by famine; and with this view he ſurrounded it with a broad and deep ditch, placing guards at proper diſtances to prevent the conveying in of any proviſions. He committed the care of the blockade to one *Lucretius Ofella*, a ſoldier of fortune, whom he had lately gained over from *Marius*'s party. As for himſelf, he marched with a ſtrong detachment towards *Rome*, which, he was informed, the friends of *Marius* had abandoned upon the news of his defeat. The citizens, oppreſſed with famine,

Papirius Carbo *and young* Marius *conſuls.*

The cruelty of young Marius.

Marius *flies to* Præneſte.

Præneſte *inveſted.*

[c] Appian. Liv. Plut. ibid.

[d] Plut. in Sylla.

famine and all the calamities that attend a civil war, opened the gates to him; so that he entered the city without oppoſition, and incamped in the *Campus Martius*. a

Sylla *enters* Rome.

And now, ſeeing himſelf maſter of the capital, he aſſembled the people, complained to them of the injuſtice done him by his enemies, confiſcated the eſtates of all thoſe who adhered to *Marius*, promoted his friends to the offices he found vacant by the flight of thoſe who had oppoſed him; and then, without ſtaining his firſt coming to the capital with any acts of cruelty, returned to his camp before *Præneste*. In the mean time, *Carbo*, having raiſed a numerous army in *Ciſalpine Gaul* and *Hetruria*, drew near to *Præneste*, with a deſign to throw ſuccours into the place. But *Sylla* meeting him, a bloody action enſued, which laſted from ſun-riſing to ſun-ſet, without any advantage on either ſide. During the engagement, *Marcius Cenſorinus*, one of *Carbo*'s generals, at the head of eight legions, attempted to force the enemy's trenches in another quarter; but he was repulſed by *Pompey* and *Craſſus*. A few days after, theſe two generals were attended with equal ſucceſs againſt *C. Albinius Carinas*, whom they defeated, after having killed five thouſand of his men. *Sylla*'s other generals gained ſtill greater advantages in ſeveral parts of *Italy*. The two *Servilii* beat the conſular troops near *Cluſium*; *Marcus Lucullus* defeated another army near *Fidentia*; and *Metellus* gained a ſignal victory over the united forces of *Carbo* and *Norbanus* in the neighbourhood of *Faventia*. Ten thouſand of them were cut in pieces, and ſix thouſand went over to *Metellus*. Upon the news of this defeat, a legion, which lay at ſome diſtance from *Metellus*'s camp under the command of *Albinovanus*, immediately forſook him, and joined *Metellus*. Hereupon *Albinovanus*, thinking himſelf no longer ſafe in the party he had embraced, abandoned it in ſo criminal a manner as has made his name infamous. He invited *Norbanus*, his general, *C. Apuſtius*, *Flavius Fimbria*, and moſt of the chief officers of his party, to an entertainment. *Norbanus* was prevented, by an unforeſeen accident, from complying with the invitation; and this ſaved him; for the reſt, when they were in the height of their jollity and mirth, were barbarouſly maſſacred by a band of aſſaſſins, whom the traytor had hired for that purpoſe. Such are the effects of party-zeal and domeſtic diſſenſions. *Albinovanus*, thinking himſelf ſufficiently recommended to *Sylla* by this black piece of treachery, withdrew to his camp with all the accomplices of his crime. *Norbanus*, not knowing any longer whom to truſt, went on board a veſſel, which he found ready to ſet ſail for *Rhodes*, and arrived ſafe in that iſland. *Sylla* ſent immediately to demand him of the *Rhodians*; but, while they were deliberating how to behave in ſo nice an affair, *Norbanus* prevented their coming to a determination by ſtabbing himſelf in the middle of the market-place [e].

Great advantages gained by Sylla *and his generals.* b

The treachery of Albinovanus. c

Norbanus *flies to* Rhodes, *where he kills himſelf.* d

IN the mean time, *Carbo*, after having attempted ſeveral times in vain to relieve his collegue *Marius* cloſely beſieged in *Præneste*, retired into *Hetruria* to reinforce his army there with new levies. But while he was incamped near *Cluſium*, news was brought him, that *M. Lucullus* had, with ſixteen cohorts, defeated fifty cohorts of his beſt troops, under the command of *Quinctius*, in the neighbourhood of *Placentia*, killed eighteen thouſand of them, and taken their camp. This misfortune ſtruck *Carbo* with ſuch terror, that, deſpairing of ſucceſs in *Italy*, he withdrew privately from his army, though thirty thouſand ſtrong, and with a few friends imbarqued for *Africa*, to carry on the war there. Upon the news of his flight, *Pompey* and the *Servilii* haſtened to attack the army he had left in the neighbourhood of *Cluſium*, which, as it was deſtitute of a general, made but a faint reſiſtance; twenty thouſand men were killed upon the ſpot, and the reſt either taken or diſperſed. And now one of the three chief ſupporters of the *Marian* faction being dead, another fled, and the third ready to periſh with want in an inveſted town without any hopes of eſcaping, *Sylla* began to think the war at an end. But a new enemy, more brave and reſolute than any *Sylla* had yet encountered, entering the liſts againſt the conqueror, had like to have humbled him, and turned the ſcales in favour of the oppoſite party. This was *Pontius Teleſinus*, a *Samnite* of noble extraction and great experience in war; who having raiſed an army of forty thouſand men, partly *Lucanians* and partly *Samnites*, joined them to thoſe of *Carinas*, *Brutus*, and *Cenſorinus*; and with theſe three chiefs advanced boldly to make a laſt effort, and either relieve *Marius* in *Præneste*, or periſh in the attempt. *Sylla*, being informed of their motions, advanced to meet them at the head of his victorious army, and at the ſame time ſent orders to *Pompey*, who commanded another

Carbo *retires to* Africa. e

Teleſinus *the* Samnite *joins the generals of the* Marian *faction.* f

[e] PLUT. in Sylla. APPIAN. de bell. civil. l. i. VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii.

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a another body, to follow *Teleſinus*, and fall on his rear, while he attacked him in front. The *Samnite*, finding himſelf in a manner ſurrounded by two armies, ſo that he could neither advance nor retire, without being attacked by both at the ſame time, decamped ſilently in the night, and over reaching the two generals, inſtead of purſuing his march to *Præneſte*, took the rout to *Rome*, which he knew was not in a condition to ſuſtain a ſiege. His march was ſo expeditious, that before break of day he came within ten furlongs of the *Collatine* gate. His approach threw the city into the utmoſt confuſion. The gates were immediately ſhut; the men ran to arms and appeared on the walls; the women all in tears crouded to the temples to implore the aſſiſtance of the gods. *Teleſinus* was a ſecond *Hannibal* at the gates of *Rome*, and

b already thought himſelf maſter of it. He then pulled off the maſk, and ſhewing himſelf as much an enemy to *Marius* as to *Sylla*, declared to his troops, who were moſtly *Samnites* and *Lucanians*, that his deſign was not to aſſiſt one *Roman* againſt another, but to extirpate, if poſſible, the whole nation, utterly deſtroy the proud city, and bury its inhabitants under the ruins. He walked through all the lines and ranks of his army, encouraging his men to lay hold of the opportunity which offered of humbling the proud republic, and putting her out of a condition of pretending to lord it over the reſt of *Italy*. *Let fire and ſword*, ſaid he, *deſtroy all*; *let no quarter be given*; *mankind can never be free ſo long as one* Roman *is left alive*. His troops, fired by ſuch a ſpeech, advanced with great fury. The *Roman* youth marched out to oppoſe them

c under the conduct of *Appius Claudius*, a young patrician of noble extraction and great hopes. But he was killed, and the reſt forced back into the city with great ſlaughter. In the mean time, *Sylla*, receiving intelligence of the enemy's march, detached ſeven hundred horſe under the command of *Balbus*, with orders to ride full gallop to *Rome*, and throw themſelves into the city, while he advanced with the utmoſt expedition at the head of all the infantry of his army. The arrival of *Balbus* raiſed the drooping ſpirits of the citizens, who had given themſelves up for loſt. But the ſudden appearance of *Sylla* at the head of his army occaſioned ſuch joy among all ranks of men as can hardly be expreſſed, He arrived about noon, and incamped near the temple of *Venus*. After he had allowed his men a few minutes to refeſh them-

d ſelves, he called them again to arms, and drew them up in order of battle. *Dolabella* and *Torquatus*, two of his lieutenants, endeavoured to diſſuade him from expoſing his troops, haraſſed and ſpent as they were, to a deſperate puſh, when all lay at ſtake. They remonſtrated to him, that he had not a *Marius* or a *Carbo* to deal with, but an experienced general at the head of the *Lucanians* and *Samnites*, two of the moſt warlike nations in *Italy*, and the moſt inveterate enemies of the *Roman* name. But *Sylla*, without hearkening to their remonſtrances, ordered the trumpets to ſound the charge, and began the attack. The fight was the ſharpeſt and moſt bloody that had happened during the whole courſe of the war. The *Samnites*, animated by the example of the brave *Teleſinus*, behaved with their uſual valour, and put the left wing of the *Romans*,

e where *Sylla* himſelf commanded, into great confuſion. Several cohorts fled, and intire legions, not able to keep their ground againſt the *Samnites*, who puſhed them with incredible vigor, began to retire. *Sylla* did all that lay in his power to rally them, and bring them back to the charge. He even preſented himſelf ſword in hand before the runaways to ſtop their flight. But all in vain; the legionaries, who had behaved ſo gallantly in *Aſia*, without any regard to the command or danger of their general, thought only of ſaving themſelves by a ſhameful flight, ſome of them haſtening back to their camp, and others ſtriving to get into the city. The *Samnites* made a dreadful havock of the fugitives, and *Sylla* himſelf narrowly eſcaped death. As he was flying from line to line mounted on a white courſer, two *Samnites*, knowing him

f by his equipage, levelled their javelins at him, which one of his attendants perceiving, gave his horſe a laſh, which made him bounce forwards ſo ſeaſonably, that the javelins juſt grazed upon his tail, and fell deep into the ground at ſome diſtance from him. In this imminent danger *Sylla* took out of his boſom a little golden image of *Apollo*, which he brought from *Delphos*, and conſtantly carried about him in all engagements; and as danger and fear uſually awaken religious ſentiments, he addreſſed himſelf to it in the following words; *Great* Apollo, *the* Pythian, *thou who haſt granted* Cornelius Sylla *victory in ſo many engagements, and raiſed him to the higheſt pitch of glory, haſt thou at laſt brought him to the very gates of his native city to fall there ignominiouſly with his fellow-citizens?* He then endeavoured anew to rally the fugitives. Some of them he threatened, others he conjured only to face about, and look on the

Over-reaches Sylla *and* Pompey, *and marches to* Rome.

He repulſes the Romans.

Sylla *haſtens to the relief of the city.*

Engages Teleſinus.

Sylla's *left wing defeated.*

Sylla *in great danger.*

the enemy. But when he found all was to no purpoſe, and that the left wing was a
intirely broken and put to flight, he had no reſource but in a retreat; and accord-
Sylla *forced to fly to his camp.* ingly endeavoured with the reſt to gain the camp, after having loſt a great number
of his friends, and ſome of the moſt conſiderable officers of the army. A great many
of the citizens likewiſe, whoſe curioſity had led them out to be ſpectators of the
engagement, were trod under foot by the enemy's horſe; others were ſhut out and
left at the mercy of the victorious *Samnites*, and ſome, among whom were ſeveral
ſenators, ſtifled in the croud. A great many of the fugitives retired to the camp
before *Præneste*, which they filled with terror, reporting, that *Sylla* was certainly kil-
led, his army cut in pieces, and *Rome* in the hands of the *Samnites* e.

The Samnite *army defeated by* Craſſus. In the mean time, *M. Craſſus*, who commanded the right wing of the *Roman* b
army, having put to flight *Carinas*, who commanded the enemy's left, fell unexpect-
edly upon the victorious *Samnites*, charged them with unparallelled bravery, over-
powered them, and at length by putting them to flight, ſaved, we may ſay, *Rome*
from undergoing the fate of *Carthage* and *Corinth*. *Sylla* was defeated; *Rome* was
not in a condition to ſtand a ſiege; and the brave *Samnite*, not knowing the fate of
his left wing, was advancing to the gates of the defenceleſs city, crying out to his
ſoldiers, as they marched along, *Courage, my brave* Samnites, *courage! we ſhall be
ſoon maſters of* Rome. *There is no ſafety for us, till we have deſtroyed that den of
wolves, which watch all opportunities to devour us.* And indeed, had it not been for
Craſſus, this great metropolis had been buried in its ruins, and liberty reſtored to the c
reſt of the world. The *Samnites*, now no more conquerors, but conquered, fled to
Antemnæ, whither *Craſſus* purſued them, and from thence ſent an expreſs to acquaint
Teleſinus *is killed.* *Sylla* with his victory. In this engagement *Teleſinus* was killed at the head of his
troops, after having given ſuch proofs of valour, as intitle him to a place among the
greateſt heroes of antiquity. *Carinas*, *Brutus*, and *Cenſorinus*, were all taken pri-
ſoners, and ſoon after beheaded by *Sylla*'s orders. That general, upon notice given
him by *Craſſus* of the defeat and flight of the enemy's army, haſtened to *Antemnæ*,
and there, as he had now no enemy to fear, he gave the firſt inſtances of his cruel
and barbarous temper. For as he approached the place, three thouſand of thoſe
unhappy wretches, who had taken ſhelter there, having ſent deputies to him, in- d
Sylla's *cruelty.* treating him to ſpare their lives, and promiſing him an inviolable fidelity, the cruel
general anſwered, that he would ſpare their lives, provided they put ſuch of their
comrades to death as refuſed to join them. Upon this they fell upon their fellow-
ſoldiers ſword in hand, killed a great number of them, and then preſented themſelves
before *Sylla* without arms, and in the poſture of ſuppliants. He pretended to par-
don them, and carried both thoſe who had ſurrendered, and the reſt, to the number
of ſix, or, as *Appian* will have it, eight thouſand men, to *Rome*, which he entered
amidſt the acclamations of the people. Upon his arrival he cauſed thoſe unfortunate
wretches to be ſhut up in the circus, and then ſummoned the ſenate to meet in the
temple of *Bellona*, which ſtood near the circus. When the fathers were met, he e
began to harangue them; but while they were hearkening with great attention to his
ſpeech, his troops, purſuant to their orders, entered the circus, and fell ſword in hand
on the unfortunate priſoners confined there. The cries and groans of ſo many men
butchered in ſo narrow a place alarmed the ſenators, who were not acquainted with his
orders, and filled them with terror. But *Sylla*, with great unconcern and compoſure
in his countenance, addreſſing himſelf to the conſcript fathers, *Attend*, ſaid he, *to
what I am ſaying, and don't trouble your heads about what is doing without doors:
the noiſe you hear is occaſioned by ſome offenders, whom I have ordered to be chaſtiſed.*
He then continued his diſcourſe with great calmneſs, telling the fathers, that he
deſigned to ſettle the republic upon the ſame foot on which it ſtood in the beſt of f
times. But when the ſenators were informed of the maſſacre in the circus, they
plainly ſaw, that they were ſtill under tyranny, and had only changed their tyrant,
which was to them matter of no leſs ſurpriſe than grief and terror. For in *Sylla* the
nobility had hoped to find a friend, and the people a protector. He had been from
his youth inclined to mirth, and was not only of a jovial, but of ſo compaſſionate, a
temper, that he had been often ſeen to weep upon very ſlight occaſions. But the
change of fortune introduced, in a manner, a change of nature, and begot pride,
arrogance, inhumanity, and all thoſe vices, which, generally ſpeaking, attend an
uncontrouled power and authority.

The

e Plut. & Appian. ibid.

Prænesteſurrenders.

a THE inhabitants and gariſon of *Prænesteſte* no ſooner heard of the defeat of *Teleſinus*, than they delivered up the city to *Oſella*. *Marius* endeavoured to make his eſcape through ſome ſubterraneous paſſages; but finding them all guarded, where they opened into the country, by *Sylla*'s ſoldiers, he laid violent hands on himſelf, as ſome writers tell us, to avoid falling into the power of his enemies. Others ſay, that *Pontius Teleſinus*, brother to him who commanded the *Samnite* army, and the young conſul engaged in a ſingle combat with a deſign to kill each other, and that *Pontius* falling firſt, *Marius* ordered a ſlave to kill him. His head was brought to *Sylla*, who looking upon it with an air of arrogance and contempt, *What did this raſh boy mean*, ſaid he, *in pretending to govern the rudder, before he had learned to handle the oar?* Marius *killed.*

b His head was afterwards by *Sylla*'s orders expoſed in the forum to inſpire terror. All the *Samnites* and *Prænesteſtines* able to bear arms were put to the ſword, and the city was given up to be plundered; ſo that from being one of the moſt populous and rich cities of *Italy*, it became at once the moſt poor and deſolate. *Plutarch* tells us, that *Sylla* upon the news of the ſurrender of *Prænesteſte* haſtened thither, in order to bring the inhabitants and *Samnite* priſoners to a formal trial, that he might put them to death with ſome ſhew of juſtice. Accordingly, he began with citing each particular perſon before his tribunal, and, after hearing their defence, pronounced ſentence like an impartial judge. But finding this a work of too much time, he ordered them all, to the number of twelve thouſand men, to be cooped up cloſe in one place, and gave

Sylla's *cruelty towards the* Prænesteſtines.

c a general order for their execution. They were all inhumanly maſſacred in the preſence of the tyrant, who beheld that cruel butchery, and heard the cries and groans of thoſe unfortunate men, with as much calmneſs and unconcern, as if he had been aſſiſting at a public ſhow. He was pleaſed to except one out of the number of the victims, and offer him his life, becauſe he had formerly entertained him in his houſe. But the generous *Prænesteſtine* rejected the offer with the utmoſt indignation; *I ſcorn*, ſaid he, *to owe my life to the butcher of my country.* This ſaid, he mixed with his fellow-citizens, and periſhed in the general ſlaughter. About the ſame time *Norba*, a city of *Campania*, being after a long ſiege reduced to the laſt extremity by *Æmilius Lepidus*, one of *Sylla*'s generals, the inhabitants, dreading the fate of the *Prænesteſtines*,

Norba *taken.*

d ſet fire to their houſes, and periſhed with all their effects in the flames [f].

THE taking of *Prænesteſte* and *Norba* put an end to the civil war in *Italy*. *Sylla* therefore, having placed in all the *Italian* provinces ſuch governors, as were intirely at his devotion, and pitched ſeveral little camps in different diſtricts to keep the country in awe, returned to *Rome*, which he entered at the head of his troops. The ſame day he aſſembled the people in the comitium, and told them with a haughty air, that he had conquered; but that thoſe, who had made him take arms againſt his country, ſhould expiate the blood they had made him ſhed, with their own. *I will not ſpare one* ſaid he, *who has borne arms againſt me. They ſhall all periſh to a man.* Theſe words from a man, who was abſolute maſter of their lives and fortunes, made the moſt in-

His ſpeech to the people in Comitium.

e trepid tremble. They filled the whole city with dread and horror; and the conſternation was doubled the next day, when they ſaw fixed up in all public places a liſt of proſcribed perſons, containing the names of forty ſenators and ſixteen hundred nights. If any man gave ſhelter to a perſon proſcribed, though his ſon, his brother, or his father, death was the certain reward of his humanity; whereas the aſſaſſin was recompenſed with two talents, though a ſlave had murdered his maſter, or a ſon his father. The children and grand-children of thoſe he proſcribed were by an edict declared infamous, and their eſtates confiſcated. The tyrant choſe ſuch agents to execute his decrees, as had even leſs pity than himſelf. The chief of theſe was the infamous *Catiline*, whoſe ſeditious enterpriſes we ſhall relate hereafter. That profligate wretch, though yet very

His proſcriptions.

Catiline *the miniſter of his cruelties.*

f young, had ſome time before killed his brother; and now, to juſtify his crime, he prevailed upon *Sylla* to inſert his brother's name among the proſcribed. This favour ſo attached him to the tyrant, that he became the chief inſtrument of all his cruelties. At the head of a band of aſſaſſins, he ſcoured the ſtreets, and killed many knights and ſenators before they knew they were proſcribed. The perſons named in the liſt were ſought for in their own houſes, in the porticos, and even in the temples, whence they were dragged to *Sylla*, and cruelly butchered in his preſence. Nor was the maſſacre confined to thoſe named in the liſt. *Sylla* extended his revenge to all who had borne arms againſt him, of what rank ſoever or condition. Nay, his cruel agents took this

[f] PLUT. APPIAN. ibid. DIODOR. SICUL. in excerpt. VELL. PATERCUL. l. i.

Rome *turned into a ſhambles*

this opportunity to gratify their private revenge and avarice, confounding the moſt innocent and peaceable with the moſt guilty, out of ſome private grudge, or purely for the ſake of their wealth and rich furniture. In ſhort the ſlaughter was ſo dreadful, that *Sylla* was reproached with it even by his beſt friends. Among others a young ſenator, named *Caius Metellus*, ventured one day to aſk him in full ſenate, when he deſigned to put a ſtop to the calamities of his fellow-citizens? *We do not*, ſaid he, *intercede for ſuch as you have reſolved to deſtroy; but only deſire you to free thoſe from their uneaſineſs whom you have determined to ſave.* *Sylla*, without ſeeming to take this bold ſpeech amiſs, anſwered coolly, that he knew not yet whom he ſhould ſave. *Name to us then*, replied *Metellus*, *thoſe you have determined to deſtroy.* *That I will do*, anſwered *Sylla* very ſmartly, and immediately cauſed a new liſt to be fixed up of eighty citizens whom he proſcribed, moſt of them ſenators and perſons of great diſtinction. The next day he proſcribed two hundred and twenty more, and an equal number the third. Among theſe were *Carbo*, *Scipio*, *Sertorius*, and *Marcus Marius*; the three former were out of the tyrant's reach; but the latter, who was nearly related to the great *Marius*, and highly favoured by the people, was ſeized by *Cataline* and put to death, after having ſuffered the moſt exquiſite torments tyranny could invent. He was whipped through all the ſtreets of *Rome*, and after this ignominious puniſhment carried beyond the *Tiber*, where by *Sylla's* barbarous agents his eyes were put out, his hands and ears cut off, his tongue torc out, all his joints diſlocated, and his bones broken. *Valerius Maximus* tells us, that one *Marcus Plætorius*, being moved at ſuch an affecting ſight, could not help pitying the unfortunate young man; which ſo offended *Sylla*, that he ordered him to be killed upon the ſpot. Even that natural compaſſion for the unhappy, which no man of any humanity can prevent, was judged criminal and worthy of death (T). And now, after nine thouſand ſenators, knights, and citizens had been inhumanly murdered by *Sylla*'s agents, he aſſembled the people, and told them, that he had proſcribed as many as he could think of at preſent; and as for thoſe he had forgot, they ſhould be proſcribed too, as ſoon as he could call them to his memory [g].

Metellus's *courage.*

M. Marius *put to a cruel death.*

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b

c

FROM *Rome*, *Sylla* extended his cruelties to the neighbouring cities that had declared againſt him, and uſed them without mercy. Some were diſmantled, others oppreſſed with heavy taxes, and immenſe ſums raiſed upon the inhabitants. All the effects of the inhabitants of *Florentia*, *Spoletum*, *Interamna*, and *Sulmona*, were confiſcated and ſold to the beſt bidder. Some cities were intirely demoliſhed, and the citizens all to a man proſcribed. The allies as well as the *Romans* ſubmitted, without reſiſtance, to the tyrannical yoke. *Cato* alone, known afterwards by the name of *Cato Uticenſis*, or *Cato of Utica*, though at this time but fourteen years of age, diſcovered ſome remains of the old *Roman* ſpirit. As *Sylla* ſhewed a great regard for him on account of his ancient friendſhip with his father, his governor *Sarpedo* brought him frequently to the tyrant's houſe, which looked like a priſon, great numbers of citizens being confined there, and many daily executed. One day the young *Roman* ſeeing a great many heads preſented to the tyrant, which were ſaid to be of great men, he aſked his governor how it was poſſible that the author of ſo many murders could eſcape being murdered himſelf? *Becauſe he is more feared*, replied *Sarpedo*, *by the diſheartened citizens, than hated.* *Give me a ſword then*, anſwered the intrepid youth, *and I will with one blow deliver my country from the tyrannical yoke.* *Sarpedo* was ſurpriſed at the courage

The noble ſpirit of young Cato.

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[g] PLUT. APPIAN. ibid. FLOR. l. iii. c. 21. SENECA de ira. PLIN. l. xxxiv. OROS. l. viii.

(T) *Marius* was ſcarce expired in his torments, when *Catiline* cut off his head, and carrying it as a trophy into the forum, preſented it to *Sylla*, while he was haranguing the people. The tyrant received the ſhocking preſent, and beheld it without ſhewing the leaſt concern. As for *Cataline*, his hands being daubed with the blood he had ſhed, he went and waſhed them in the *holy* or *luſtral* water, placed at the gate of *Apollo*'s temple (12). For the heathens had veſſels placed at the gates of their temples filled with water, which they called *luſtral* or *holy*. In this water ſuch as intended to go into the temple waſhed their hands by way of purification. They likewiſe ſprinkled it on the aſſembly to cleanſe them from their impurities. An excluſion from the uſe and benefit of this luſtral water was looked upon by the *Greeks* as a kind of excommunication. For this reaſon *OEdipus*, in the firſt ſcene of the ſecond act in *Sophocles*, forbids thoſe who had been guilty of the death of *Laius* the uſe of the luſtral water. But here the profligate *Catiline*, after the murder he had committed, waſhes his hands in that water, intending by ſuch an impious action to affront and defy religion.

(12) *Plut. in Sylla.*

courage of his pupil, but ever after kept a watchful eye over him, leſt he ſhould by ſome raſh attempt expoſe himſelf and his family to utter deſtruction [h].

WHILE *Italy* was thus groaning under the oppreſſion of the tyrant, *Pompey* was employed againſt his enemies in *Sicily*, which was governed by *Perperna*, *Carbo*'s friend, a man greatly attached to the *Marian* faction. But, upon *Pompey*'s landing, he abandoned the iſland and retired to *Carbo* then in *Africa*. The *Sicilians* no ſooner heard of his flight, than they came in crouds from all parts of the iſland to make their ſubmiſſions to *Pompey*. *Catanea* was the only city that ſeemed determined not to ſubmit. But *Pompey* having begged of the inhabitants as a favour to admit into their city his ſick men, and they complying with his requeſt, he ſent the flower of his troops, and by that means made himſelf maſter of the place. In the mean time, *Carbo*, not thinking himſelf ſafe in *Africa*, retired to the iſland of *Coſſura* between *Sicily* and *Africa*, with a deſign to paſs from thence into *Egypt*. But *Pompey*, being acquainted with his deſign, ſent a ſquadron of galleys to inveſt the iſland, ordering his officers to ſeize *Carbo* and all the outlaws who attended him, and bring them to *Sicily*. *Carbo*, finding he could not eſcape, came and ſurrendered himſelf to the commander of the ſquadron. He had formely ſaved *Pompey*'s eſtate, which the tribunes were for confiſcating, on his father's being convicted of having embezzled the public money. He could not therefore believe, that party-zeal had effaced all ſenſe of gratitude in the heart of a friend. But he found, to his great ſurpriſe, a man, whom he had highly obliged and ſaved from beggary, become, through his attachment to *Sylla*, his implacable enemy. The young general ordered the old magiſtrate, who had been dignified with three conſulates, to be brought before him loaded with chains; ſuffered him to fall proſtrate at his feet, and received his ſubmiſſions with ſuch an air of pride as was ſhocking even to his friends. After he had reproached him with his cruelties, and the diſturbances he had raiſed in the republic, he pronounced ſentence of death againſt him, which was immediately put in execution. However, he ſuffered moſt of thoſe *Romans*, who were taken with *Carbo*, to make their eſcape; which, with his prudent and mild conduct towards the *Sicilians*, gained him the affections of the people. Upon his threatening to puniſh the inhabitants of *Himera* with great ſeverity, for having been more ſanguine than the reſt of the *Sicilians* in the cauſe of *Marius* and *Carbo*, *Sthenis*, their chief magiſtrate, told him, that he was the man who had ſtirred up his fellow-citizens againſt *Sylla*, and that therefore he alone ought to be puniſhed. *Pompey* was ſo taken with this generous freedom, that he not only pardoned him, and for his ſake the city, but received him into his friendſhip. As his ſoldiers, accuſtomed to ſlaughter, put many of the *Sicilians* to death without his orders, he cauſed their ſwords to be ſealed up in their ſcabbards, and ſeverely puniſhed thoſe whoſe ſeals were found broken. By theſe acts of clemency towards the *Sicilians*, he wiped off the reproach of inhumanity and ingratitude, which he had brought on himſelf by the death of *Carbo*. Nay, it was generally thought, that his behaviour towards the chief ſupporter of the *Marian* faction was much againſt his inclination and the bent of his good-nature. At leaſt it is certain, that he made no inquiries after his friends in *Sicily*, and that he not only connived at the eſcape of many who were ſeized, but conveyed them away privately himſelf [i].

Sicily *ſubmits to* Pompey.

Carbo *taken and put to death by* Pompey.

Pompey *by his clemency gains the hearts of the* Sicilians.

AND now *Sylla*, being abſolute maſter of *Rome* and all the countries ſubject to the republic, except *Spain*, reſolved to leave the ſenate and people a ſhadow at leaſt of their former liberty. To this end he retired into the country for ſome days, deſiring the conſcript fathers to chuſe one of their own body in his abſence to govern the commonwealth, which, ſince the death of the conſuls, had no legal magiſtrate. The fathers, out of complaiſance to *Sylla*, created *L. Valerius Flaccus* inter-rex: he was preſident of the ſenate, and wholly devoted to *Sylla*'s intereſt; and this gave him an opportunity of bringing the ſenate to execute the ſcheme he had formed. He wrote to *Valerius*, deſiring him to declare to the ſenate and people, that, ſince affairs were yet unſettled, he was of opinion, that a dictator ſhould be created, not for any limited time, but till all evils and grievances were redreſſed. In his letter he intimated, that at the requeſt of the conſcript fathers he would accept of the employment. This propoſal, which tended to the eſtabliſhing of regal authority in *Rome*, ſurpriſed the ſenators. But the remembrance of ſo much bloodſhed, of ſo many proſcriptions and aſſaſſinations, chilled every heart; and, the law paſſing without oppoſition, *Sylla* was declared dictator

[h] PLUT. in Cat. [i] PLUT. in Pomp. VAL. MAX. l. v. c. 3. LIV. epit.

Sylla *perpetual dictator.* *Year after the flood* 2922. *Before Christ* 77. *Of* Rome 671.

tator without any limitation in point of time. Thus the *Romans*, after many ages, a fell again under the abſolute power of one man; which proved a fatal blow to the republican government, and paved the way to abſolute monarchy. As flattery is the uſual conſequence of ſlavery, the people, formerly ſo jealous of their liberty, worſhipped the idol they had ſet up, erecting to their tyrant an equeſtrian ſtatue of braſs in that very comitium, where they had ſeen the heads of ſo many illuſtrious citizens expoſed to public view.

CHAP. X.

The hiſtory of Rome, *from the perpetual dictatorſhip of* Sylla *to the triumvirate of* Cæſar, Pompey, *and* Craſſus.

SYLLA, now perpetual dictator, or, to ſpeak more properly, king and abſolute b
ſovereign of *Rome*, undertook the reformation of the government, being ſeconded therein by *L. Valerius Flaccus*, whom he appointed his general of the horſe. The firſt law he enacted related to the election of the chief magiſtrates, and imported, that no man ſhould ſtand for the prætorſhip till he had been quæſtor, nor be elected conſul till he had been prætor, which was only the revival of an ancient cuſtom. Notwithſtanding this law, *Lucretius Ofella*, who had carried on the ſiege of *Præneſte*, preſuming on that merit, appeared among the candidates for the conſulate, though he had not yet bore any office in the republic. *Sylla* put him in mind of the law he had juſt enacted; but the bold candidate, preſuming too much on his paſſed ſervices and the favour of the people, continued to ſolicit their ſuffrages; which ſo provoked the c

The dictator orders Ofella *to be put to death.*

dictator, who ſaw him from his tribunal, that he diſpatched a centurion with orders to cut off his head. This execution raiſed the indignation of the aſſembly; but *Sylla* made them thoroughly ſenſible, that they were no longer a free people, by a low, but expreſſive, fable; *A ploughman*, ſaid he, *being tormented with vermin, pulled off his cloaths, and cleaned them. While he was buſy at his work, they began to moleſt him anew, and the ploughman killed a far greater number of thoſe troubleſome inſects the ſecond time than he had done the firſt. They returned to diſturb him a third time; and then the poor labourer, out of all patience, threw his cloaths into the fire; and got rid of them all at once. This fable you may apply to yourſelves. Your ſeditions have hitherto coſt you but little blood.* d *Take care that the caſe of the vermin be not one day your own* [k]. This fable, coming from a man inveſted with an abſolute power, made the whole aſſembly tremble; the tumult was immediately appeaſed, and the election of the conſuls made agreeable to the dictator's will. The perſons choſen were *M. Tullius Decula* and *Cn. Cornelius Dolabella*, two of the chief officers of *Sylla*'s army. They both ſet out for the provinces allotted them, the former for *Gaul*, and the latter for *Macedon*, leaving *Sylla* to reign alone in the capital, where he made ſeveral laws, which were all, except that relating to proſcriptions, allowed to be equitable and judicious. That law ordained, that thoſe,

Sylla *makes ſeveral good laws.*

who eſcaped death after their proſcription, ſhould be killed where-ever they were e
found; that thoſe, who concealed them, ſhould be liable to the ſame puniſhment; that their effects ſhould be ſold to the beſt bidder; and that their children ſhould be incapable of holding any of the great employments of the republic. By another law he greatly weakened the authority of the tribunes of the people; for it enacted, that for the future no tribune ſhould be allowed to ſpeak in the aſſembly of the people for

or

[k] Appian. bell. civil. l. i.

a or againſt any law in agitation; that only ſenators ſhould be choſen tribunes; and that thoſe who had bore this office ſhould be for ever excluded from the ſuperior offices. This made the ambitious diſdain ſeats in a college, beyond which they could not riſe. But the tribunes ſoon recovered their old power, and held it till the time of the emperors, who left them only the name and ſhadow of magiſtrates. The pontifices, augurs, and decemvirs appointed to keep and explain the *Sibylline* books, were by another law reinſtated in their former honours, and empowered to fill up the vacancies in their reſpective bodies; a prerogative as old as their inſtitution, but which had been transferred from them to the people, in the times that the plebeian faction prevailed. To each of theſe colleges he added five new members, ſo that they were no longer
b called decemvirs, but quindecemvirs, their number being increaſed from ten to fifteen. The temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus* having been burnt two years before, and the *Sibylline* books, which were lodged there, deſtroyed in the flames, *Sylla* charged the quindecemvirs to repair that loſs, by ſearching for copies, or at leaſt fragments of them, in the cities of *Erythræa*, *Samos*, *Ilium*, &c. Out of this collection they formed a new book, which was indeed larger, but not ſo authentic, as the originals that had been kept at *Rome*, ever ſince the time of *Tarquin the Proud* (U)[1]. *Sylla* had the mortification to ſee ſome of his laws abrogated before he died; but the greateſt part of them continued in force, and are parts of the *Roman* law to this day.

And now *Sylla*, ruling in *Rome* without controul, under pretence of ſupplying the
c places of the many *Roman* citizens, who had periſhed in the civil wars, gave liberty and

[1] Appian. ibid. Pomponius de orig. juriſ. Tacit. annal. l. xi. Cic. de legib. l. iii. Ulpian. digeſt.

(U) There is a great diſagreement among the ancients as to the number of the *Sibyls*. *Suidas* ſays there were fourteen; *Ælian* reckons but four; *Solinus* only three; and *Martianus Capella* reduces them to two. But moſt authors follow *Varro*, who tells us in expreſs terms that they were ten. Some modern writers indeed, without any regard to the authority of *Varro*, or the other ancients, are for uniting all the *Sibyls* in one. So that, according to them, different names were given to one and the ſame *Sibyl*, from the different places where ſhe uttered her oracles. She had, ſay they, no fixed abode, but being led by the ſpirit, that inſpired her, ſhe firſt publiſhed her predictions in the city of *Erythræa*, the place of her nativity, then rambled about the world, and at length ended her rambles and her life at *Cumæ* in *Italy*. But be that as it will, it is certain, that the *Sibyls* were held in great veneration at *Rome* and among the eaſtern nations. A collection was made of the oracles they uttered, and copies of them multiplied in moſt cities of *Greece*, *Italy*, and *Aſia*. The pagans looked on theſe prophetic rhapſodies as a myſterious book containing the decrees of fate. They were the uſual reſource of people in times of calamity, and in important affairs, whereof the ſucceſs was doubtful. St. *Jerom* was of opinion, that God gave them this wonderful gift as a reward for their chaſtity; others pretend, that the devil diſcovered future things to them; and ſome aſcribe the enthuſiaſm, with which they were ſeized, to a melancholy diſpoſition. They were in all likelihood fanatical women, who gave themſelves the air of propheteſſes, in order to impoſe on the credulity of the ſimple. The pagan authors themſelves own the terms, in which their prophecies were couched, to have been very obſcure and ambiguous; ſo that they were capable of the different interpretations which each perſon thought fit to give them. *Cicero* does not diſſemble, that the different rhapſodies of the *Sibylline* books were wrote and diſpoſed in ſuch a manner, as to be eaſily accommodated to all ſorts of events. *Callide enim, qui illa compoſuit*, ſays that writer (13), *perfecit, ut, quodcunque accidiſſet, prædictum videretur*. The ſame judgment ought to be made of the collection, which, by *Sylla*'s orders, was ſubſtituted in the room of the old books after the burning of the capitol. The different fragments, out of which the quindecemvirs compoſed this volume, contained the dregs of ſuperſtition, and were, we may ſay, a jumble of all the dreams of paganiſm. Afterwards, ſome men, who pretended to inſpiration, inlarged this volume as they thought fit, which obliged the emperor *Tiberius* to put a ſtop to this enormous abuſe by a very ſevere decree. As to the eight books, which now bear the name of the *Sibyls*, critics agree that they are the work, at leaſt in part, of ſome chriſtian of the ſecond century. Some of the fathers, not aware of the impoſition, often quoted the books of the *Sybils* in favour of the chriſtian religion; and hence *Celſus* ſtiles the chriſtians *Sibyliſts*. But *Origen* and St. *Auſtin* did not ſuffer themſelves to be impoſed on, and therefore ſpeak of thoſe books with contempt. In the reign of the emperor *Honorius*, the famous *Stilico*, of whom we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak in the ſequel of this hiſtory, cauſed thoſe fragments of the *Sibylline* books, which had been collected by *Sylla*'s orders, to be all burnt, the greateſt part of the *Roman* ſenate having then embraced the chriſtian religion. However, *Stilico* was on this account ſeverely cenſured by the noble poet *Rutilius* in his itinerary (14). Dr. *Hyde*, ſhocked at the contradictions and fabulous adventures with which the pagans filled the hiſtory of the *Sibyls*, found out a new way of accounting for them. He obſerves in the conſtellation called the virgin a bright ſtar, which the *Perſians* called *Sambula*; and remarks, that the *Perſians*, who were fond of judiciary aſtrology, looked on the ſign of the *Virgin*, as having a greater power, than all the other celeſtial bodies, to diſcover future things. The *Greeks*, having learnt the ſciences of the eaſtern nations, ſoon adopted theſe trifling opinions, and, agreeable to their genius, embelliſhed them with their fictions. Their poets ſoon invented a *Sibyl virgin* in alluſion to the term *Sambula*; carried her into ſeveral countries; and made her act the part of a propheteſs (15). So that, according to this eminent writer, whatever has been ſaid both by the ancients and moderns of the *Sibyls*, and their prophecies, is intirely fabulous.

(13) *Cic. de divinat. l.* ii.
(14) *Vide Dempſter. ad Roſin. l.* iii. *c.* 24. *& Polyb. hiſtor. c.* 8.
(15) *Vide Hyde de relig. perſarum.*

and the right of *Roman* citizenſhip to ten thouſand ſlaves, whom from his own name he called *Cornelians*. Theſe were bound in gratitude to fight and vote for him on all occaſions. In the next place he rewarded his old legionaries, who had ſerved under him in the *Levant* and in *Italy*, beſtowing upon them the lands of the municipia and colonies, which had declared againſt him. Thus, ſurrounded by a guard of freedmen in *Rome*, and ſupported by his old legionaries in the country, he had nothing to fear, either from revolts in the city, or inſurrections among the allies. As all was quiet in the capital, *Sylla* thought this a proper time to decree himſelf a triumph for his conqueſts in *Aſia*, *Greece*, and *Pontus*. *Rome* had not for a long time ſeen one ſo magnificent. It laſted two days, on the firſt of which were carried before the triumphant victor fifteen thouſand pounds weight of gold and a hundred and fifteen thouſand pounds weight of ſilver, which he had brought from *Greece* and *Aſia*; and on the ſecond thirteen thouſand pounds weight of gold and ſeven thouſand pounds weight of ſilver, which young *Marius* had ſaved out of the fire of the capitol, and *Sylla* had recovered at *Præneſte* after his death. As ſoon as the proceſſion was over, the conqueror, mounting the roſtra, according to cuſtom, gave the people a pompous detail of his exploits. As he aſcribed all his ſucceſſes to fortune, he ordered, that no other title ſhould be given him than that of the *fortunate*, a title in which he gloried, as much as other heroes had done in appellations taken from the countries which they had ſubdued [m] (W). His triumph was ſucceeded by the moſt pompous games that had ever been ſeen in *Rome*. We are told, that in the *Olympic* games, which were celebrated this year, only the races could be performed, the moſt ſkilful actors of *Greece* having left their own country, to diſplay their art in the capital of the world [n].

Sylla's *triumph.*

In the mean time, the *Marian* faction began to revive in *Africa*. *Cneius Domitius Ahenobarbus*, nephew to the great *Marius*, had raiſed there twenty thouſand men, and prevailed on *Hiarbas*, one of the kings of *Numidia*, to join him. Hereupon *Sylla* ordered *Pompey* to leave *Sicily*, which he had ſettled in tranquillity, and paſs over with all poſſible expedition into *Africa*. *Pompey*, purſuant to his orders, immediately imbarqued five legions, and, landing in the *African* province, marched without loſs of time againſt the enemy. When the two armies were in ſight of each other and drawn up in battalia, a dreadful ſtorm aroſe; upon which *Domitius*, believing that *Pompey* would not attack him that day, ſounded a retreat. But, while his troops were retiring in ſome diſorder to their camp, the young general, laying hold of that opportunity, fell upon them, and after an obſtinate diſpute, which laſted the greater part of the day, gained a complete victory. Of twenty thouſand men *Domitius* left ſeventeen dead upon the ſpot, and not without much difficulty regained his camp with the poor remains of his ſhattered army. Thither *Pompey* purſued him, forced his camp, killed *Domitius*, and took *Hiarbas* priſoner. In conſequence of this ſucceſs, he recovered all the cities of *Africa*, which had been drawn off from *Sylla*'s party, entered *Numidia*, and having reduced that part of it, which belonged to *Hiarbas* his priſoner, gave it to *Hiempſal*, who had always oppoſed the *Marian* faction. As this glorious expedition was completed in forty days, ſo rapid a progreſs by a general of twenty-four years of age alarmed the dictator himſelf, who ordered the young hero to diſband his troops and return to *Rome*. Both *Pompey* and his troops were ſenſibly affected with this order, which would have produced another civil war, had not *Pompey* conducted himſelf with great temper. For when his legionaries began to mutiny, he reſolutely proteſted, that he would rather die by his own hand, than involve *Rome* in new troubles. Having thus appeaſed his troops and diſbanded three of his legions, he returned to *Rome*, where he was received with uncommon marks of friendſhip by the dictator, who went out to meet him, embraced him with great tenderneſs, and honoured him with the ſurname of *The Great*, ordering all, who were preſent, to give him that glorious title [o].

Pompey's *ſucceſsful expedition in* Africa.

Sylla *jealous of* Pompey.

[m] Appian. ibid. [n] Plut. & Appian. ibid.. [o] Plut. in Pomp.

When

(W) *Plutarch* tells us, that his wife having brought him twins, he named the male *Fauſtus*, and the female *Fauſta*, which words ſignify *fortunate* or *lucky*. However, in his letters to the *Greeks*, he ſtyled himſelf *Epaphroditus*, that is, *The Beloved of* Venus; and his trophies, which were ſtill extant in *Plutarch*'s time, bore this inſcription, *Lucius Cornelius Sylla Epaphroditus* (16).

(16) *Plut. in Sylla.*

a When the time came for electing new conſuls, *Sylla*, though dictator, ſtood for that office, and accordingly was elected with Q. *Cæcilius Metellus*, ſurnamed *Pius*, who had joined him upon his firſt landing in *Italy*. Never was any conſular year more peaceable. All men trembled at the very name of *Sylla*, and the *Romans*, once ſo fond of liberty, were at length brought to ſubmit tamely to the yoke of an imperious maſter. However, the dictator, to gain the affections of the multitude, gave them ſuch entertainments as now ſeem to ſurpaſs all credit. He conſecrated the tenths of his whole ſubſtance to *Hercules*, and on that occaſion made a general feaſt for all the people of *Rome*; wherein there was ſuch an abundance, or rather profuſion, of all the delicacies the ſea, rivers, foreſts, or fields could afford, that immenſe quantities of pro- *Feaſts the whole* Roman *people.*
b viſions were every day (for the feaſt laſted ſeveral days) thrown into the *Tiber*. *Plutarch* tells us, that the wine, with which he regaled the people, was forty years old and upwards. But the joy of this magnificent entertainment was ſomewhat abated by the death of his wife *Metella*, whom he had always reſpected, notwithſtanding her irregularities. However, the dictator's grief did not laſt long. A few months after, he entertained the people with a ſhow of gladiators; and, as in thoſe days men and women ſat promiſcuouſly together, a young lady, of extraordinary beauty and of the firſt quality, placed herſelf near *Sylla*. She was the daughter of *Meſſala*, and ſiſter to the famous orator *Hortenſius*; her name was *Valeria*, and ſhe had been a few days before divorced from her huſband. As ſhe was gay and lively, though virtu-
c ous and of an unblemiſhed reputation, ſhe came behind *Sylla*, and reſting her hand gently upon his ſhoulder, took a little of the nap from off his robe, and then returned to her ſeat. The dictator turned ſuddenly about, and ſeemed to be much ſurpriſed with the familiarity, when *Valeria* addreſſed him thus: *It is not out of any want of* F*alls in love with* Valeria. *reſpect that I have done this; but becauſe I was deſirous to partake of your good fortune* (X). *Sylla*, greatly pleaſed with this anſwer and taken with the charms of *Valeria*, ſent privately to enquire who ſhe was, and to learn her name, family, circumſtances, and character. From that time they did nothing but ogle each other in all public places, receive and return amorous glances and wanton ſmiles. In ſhort, the old warrior, captivated with a few affected glances and coquetiſh airs, like an amorous youth, *And marries her.*
d without experience or diſcretion, was continually dangling after the beautiful *Valeria*, till at length he gave way to his paſſion, and married her [P].

In the mean time, *Pompey* was ſoliciting the ſenate and people for a triumph, which his late victories ſeemed indeed well to deſerve, and the ſenate was willing to grant. But *Sylla*, probably jealous of the glory of the young hero, oppoſed his pretenſions, alledging a law, which enacted that none but prætors and conſuls ſhould triumph, and that for battles gained under their own auſpices; whereas *Pompey* was but a private *Roman* knight, and had gained his victories under the auſpices of the dictator. But this did not diſcourage the young conqueror, who continued to make intereſt with the ſenate and people for the gaining of his point. *Sylla* told him plainly,
e that he would employ all his credit with the people againſt him; not doubting, but that declaration, as he was maſter of the ſuffrages of the people, would make him deſpair of obtaining the honour he ſo ardently deſired. But *Pompey*, not in the leaſt diſcou- Pompey's *bold anſwer to* Sylla. raged, anſwered the dictator frankly, that his oppoſition mattered not, ſince more people adored the riſing than the ſetting ſun. Theſe words the dictator did not well underſtand; but obſerving no ſmall ſurprize in the countenances of thoſe who ſtood by, he aſked what the young man had ſaid. When it was told him, he wondered at his boldneſs, and then cried out twice, *Let him then triumph in the name of the gods. Pom-*
pey, taking advantage of this anſwer, immediately ordered every thing to be got ready for his triumph; and to give more uneaſineſs to thoſe who envied him, he ordered his
f triumphal chariot to be drawn by four elephants; for he had taken ſeveral of thoſe Pompey *triumphs.* warlike animals from the princes he had ſubdued in *Africa*. But the gate of the city being too narrow for four elephants to paſs abreaſt under it, he was forced to be ſatisfied with horſes as uſual. Thus a *Roman* knight was diſtinguiſhed with the higheſt military honours, before he had attained to the age requiſite for having a ſeat in the ſenate. But the evil fate of *Rome* was raiſing up againſt him a formidable rival in the perſon of *Julius*

[P] Plut. ibid.

(X) This paſſage is very remarkable; for it ſhews us, that the ſuperſtition is of a very ancient date, by which men were perſuaded, that commerce with, or touch of, a lucky perſon, was a means of making them partakers of his good fortune.

Julius Cæsar, who in this very year made his first campaign in the east. He had married, as we have observed above, the daughter of *Cornelius Cinna*, and obtained at the age of seventeen, if we may believe *Suetonius*[q], the office of high-priest of *Jupiter*, being supported by the *Marian* faction, which then prevailed. *Plutarch* indeed contradicts *Suetonius*, and tells us, that when *Sylla* gave law in *Rome*, *Cæsar* stood for the priesthood of *Jupiter*, but was excluded from that dignity by the dictator. Not long after *Sylla* endeavoured to prevail upon him to divorce his wife *Cornelia*, who had already brought him his first daughter *Julia*. But the bold youth had courage enough to resist this formidable master of *Rome* to his face, though he had just before forced *Piso* to put away his wife *Annia*, whom he tenderly loved, and obliged *Pompey* to part with his wife *Antistia*, and marry *Æmilia*, daughter-in-law to *Sylla* by his wife *Metella*, who had been married to *Æmilius Scaurus*. The dictator, highly provoked against *Cæsar* for daring to contradict his sovereign will, resolved to proscribe him; and it was not without infinite difficulties that the friends of the *Julian* family got the decree of proscription suspended. When they intreated him to excuse the sallies of a warm and presumptuous youth, from whom he could have nothing to fear, *Sylla* answered, that he *discovered in him, young as he was, several* Mariuses. When *Cæsar* heard this, he stole out of *Rome*, and wandered some time in the country of the *Sabines*, where he had the misfortune to be one day surprized by a party of *Sylla*'s soldiers. But *Cornelius*, who commanded them, consented to let him escape upon his paying two talents. And now, thinking himself no longer safe in *Italy*, he withdrew to the court of *Nicomedes* king of *Bithynia*, where his residence is said to have proved fatal to his modesty, the private hours he spent with that prince raising suspicions no-ways to his honour[r]. In this account we have followed *Plutarch*; for *Suetonius* says nothing of *Cæsar*'s flight; but on the contrary affirms, that *Sylla* granted him his pardon at the request of the vestals, of *M. Æmilius*, and *Aurelius Cotta*[s]. After he had resided some time at the court of the *Bithynian* king, he went to serve under *Marcus Minucius Thermus*, at that time prætor of *Asia*. *Suetonius* says, that this general sent him into *Bithynia*, and gave him the command of the fleet, which *Nicomedes* fitted out to assist at the siege of *Mitylene*, the only city in *Asia*, which refused to submit to the *Romans*, after the treaty of peace concluded between *Mithridates* and *Sylla*. *Cæsar* distinguished himself at the taking of this city, and merited several civic crowns, which were given to those who had saved the life of a *Roman* citizen[t].

Julius Cæsar *resists* Sylla.

He leaves Rome, *and retires into* Bithynia.

His first campaign.

But to return to *Sylla*; he reduced this year *Nola* in *Campania* and *Volaterræ* in *Hetruria*, the only two cities that held out against him. And now all *Italy* being in perfect tranquillity, he declined the consulate for the next year, and recommended to the tribes *P. Servilius Vatia*, a man of merit and his old friend, and *Appius Claudius Pulcher*, who were accordingly chosen in the field of *Mars*. This year *Cicero* first pleaded in public in favour of *Roscius*, whose father had been proscribed and killed by *Sylla*'s orders. As he was not very cautious in his reflections on a government which made *Rome* tremble, he thought it advisable to leave his country, after he had given a public proof of his great genius. He retired to *Athens*, where he perfected his talents for oratory, and improved his taste for philosophy.

Cicero *pleads in public.*

And now *Sylla*, after having destroyed above a hundred thousand *Roman* citizens, taken away the lives of ninety senators, proscribed or caused to be murdered near two thousand six hundred knights, and buried numberless multitudes of the allies in the ruins of their cities, resolved to lay down the power he had usurped, and put himself upon a level with the rest of the people. Had he consulted ambition or policy, he would never have taken such a resolution. The *Roman* people had set no limits to his power in point of time. There were no domestic troubles to create him any uneasiness, *Rome* being now accustomed to bear the yoke. His friends, who were as much interested as himself in his preservation, were a sufficient security to him against the attempts of his enemies. On the other hand, so many dangers surrounded him in a private life, that he could not reasonably expect to be safe. But none of these considerations had weight with him; he resolved to lay down his power, and restore the republic to her ancient liberty, which must have proceeded from a greatness of mind, to which none of the antient historians have done justice. When he had taken this final resolution, he assembled the people, mounted the rostra, and surprised *Rome* with so unexpected a determination. He represented in a short speech the miserable condition

[q] Suet. in Julio. [r] Plut. in Cæsar. [s] Suet. ibid. [t] Suet. in Julio.

a tion in which he had found the city at his return from *Asia*; and added, that, the republic being in great danger, he had been forced to use violent remedies; that the loss of a little blood only would have increased the distemper instead of curing it; that he had therefore thought it necessary to take a great deal of blood from a body so robust and diseased, in order to restore it to perfect health, *&c.* He concluded his speech with these words, which filled the heart of every true *Roman* with joy: And now, *Romans*, I leave you to yourselves, I resign my office, divest myself of the unlimited power you have conferred upon me, and am ready to give an account of my whole administration, and answer, in a private capacity, all the accusations that shall be brought against me. This said, he dismissed his lictors, came down from the rostra, and
b walked a great while in the forum, discoursing familiarly with some of his friends before the multitude, who, struck with admiration, looked on so unexpected a change as a prodigy. Though the city was then full of the children and friends of proscribed persons, yet none offered to insult him, except one young man, who followed him to his house, abusing him in a most scurrilous manner. *Sylla* did not daign to give him any answer; but turning to the few friends he had about him, *This usage*, said he, *will for the future deter any man from laying down the sovereign power, as I have done, if he once gets it into his hands.* A few days after he retired to his fine country house near *Cumæ*, spent there some days in more tranquillity than he could have done at *Rome*, and then returned to the city, lest his enemies should think that fear had
c confined him to the country. In *Rome* he maintained the rank of a man of the first distinction, but intermeddled no farther in public affairs, than became a private person, whose great employments and powerful friends gave him more weight than a common citizen. At the very first election after his resignation, he had the mortification to see *Pompey*, his pupil, or rather his creature, assume an ascendant over him in the assembly of the people. *Pompey* used all his interest to get his friend *M. Æmilius Lepidus* first nominated consul; *Sylla* on the other hand solicited for *Q. Lutatius Catulus*. The former was a man of a violent temper, and a declared enemy to *Sylla*; whereas the latter was his intimate friend, and generally looked upon as a person of great probity, wisdom, and experience. The emulation was greater between the chiefs of
d the two parties, than between the candidates themselves: but *Pompey*, who was extremely favoured by the people, prevailed. His friend *Lepidus* was first nominated consul, not by any merit or interest of his own, but by the power and solicitation of *Pompey* (Y). When *Pompey* was coming out of the assembly, overjoyed with his success, *Sylla* took him aside, and told him, that he had got the worst of men named consul before the most virtuous man in *Rome*; but that he had no reason to triumph in his victory, because he would find, when it was too late, that he had been nourishing a snake in his bosom. What *Sylla* foretold proved too true, as we shall see in a more proper place. In the mean time, the two consuls entered upon their office, and the misunderstanding, which arose between them, threatening the city with a new storm, *Sylla* withdrew again to his country-house, and there gave himself up to
e the most infamous debaucheries, though full sixty years of age. The charms of his wife *Valeria* could not keep him from a scandalous commerce with actors and actresses. His chief favourites were *Roscius* the comedian, *Sorex* the chief mimic, and *Metrobius*, who acted womens parts on the stage. With these he spent whole days and nights in drinking and revelling, which brought a distemper upon him, that soon put an end to his life. His blood was corrupted, and bred an imposthume in his bowels. This he was not aware of till the corruption infected his flesh, and his whole body swarmed with vermin. Many slaves were employed night and day in destroying them; but they multiplied so fast, that his cloaths, baths, rooms, and his very
f food, was covered with them. He went often every day into the waters to cleanse his body; but being at last sensible, that his distemper was past curing, he applied himself to the finishing of his memoirs; in the twenty-second book of which he declared, that the *Chaldeans* had foretold him, that, after he had acquired great power and glory, he should conclude the last act of his life in full prosperity. Ten days before his death he interposed

Sylla *abdicates the dictatorship.*

Pompey *resists* Sylla *at the election of consuls.*

Sylla's *debauched life in the country.*

(Y) There was no primacy or distinction between the two consuls. They were both equal in dignity and authority. But it was an honour to be named first; for the people gave stronger evidences of their zeal and affection for him, than they did for the other, who was named in the second place. The advantage of the consul first named was so inconsiderable, that he could not so much as assume the fasces first, unless he was elder than his collegue, or had a greater number of children, or was entering upon his second consulate.

interpoſed in ſome diſputes, which the inhabitants of *Puteoli* had among themſelves, a reconciled the contending parties, and preſcribed them a form of government, which they adopted. The day before he died he was informed, that *Granius*, the chief magiſtrate of *Putcoli*, delayed paying the immenſe ſums due from him to the public, in hopes of being freed from that obligation by *Sylla*'s death. Hereupon *Sylla* ſent for him into his bed-chamber, and there ordered his ſlaves to ſtrangle him in his preſence; but ſtraining his voice in the heat of his paſſion, he broke the impoſthume, and voided a great deal of blood. This diſcharge weakened him to ſuch a degree, that he paſſed the night in great agony, and died the day following, leaving behind him two children very young by his wife *Metella*. *Valeria* was afterwards delivered of a daughter named *Poſthuma*, for ſo the *Romans* called thoſe who were born after the b death of their fathers[s]. He was, without all doubt, one of the greateſt commanders *Rome* ever bred, and as able a ſtateſman. But moſt of the antients ſeem to have drawn a veil over all his good qualities, and to have diſplayed only his cruelties and proſcriptions, which, we own, betrayed a moſt cruel and inhuman temper. But after all, we ought not to forget that greatneſs of mind truly heroic, which appeared in his unexpected and ſurpriſing abdication. What could a man of the moſt refined virtue have done more, than reſtore his country to its antient liberty, reform the republic with excellent laws, revive and inforce the old inſtitutions, and lay down his power as ſoon as it was no longer neceſſary for the public good? Could the warmeſt patriot have ſhewn a more generous regard for his country? His funeral occaſioned c a miſunderſtanding between the conſuls. *Lepidus* was for having him carried to the burial-place of his anceſtors, without any mark of diſtinction. But *Catulus* made uſe of all the authority his office gave him, and *Pompey* of his intereſt with the people, to have the funeral honours paid to the deceaſed, which were due to his merit. And indeed never was a more magnificent funeral ſeen in *Rome*. His corpſe, being placed on a rich bier, was carried on the ſhoulders of four ſenators, and attended by the pontifices, the veſtals, the ſenate in a body, all the curule magiſtrates, the whole body of *Roman* knights, and a numerous train of officers, who had ſerved under him in *Africa*, *Greece*, *Aſia*, and *Italy*. The veſtals and pontifices ſung hymns in praiſe of the deceaſed, which were repeated by the ſenate, the knights, and the whole multitude. d The body was burnt with great ſolemnity in the field of *Mars*, where no funeral pile had been raiſed ever ſince the time of the firſt kings. Many ſtatues were erected to his memory, and a moſt magnificent monument in the field of *Mars*, with an epitaph of his own compoſing, the ſubſtance of which was, that no *friend had ever done him ſo much good*, *nor enemy ſo much hurt*, *but he had returned both with uſury*[t]. Of all his friends, who were almoſt numberleſs, *Pompey* alone, whoſe ingratitude gave him no ſmall offence, was left out of his will.

Sylla *dies.* *Year after the flood* 2926. *Before Chriſt* 73. *Of* Rome 675

His funeral.

And epitaph.

Sylla was no ſooner dead, than new diſturbances ſprung up in the republic. *M. Æmilius Lepidus* the conſul did all that lay in his power to revive the old quarrels between c the nobility and the people, hoping by that means to make himſelf as abſolute maſter of the government as *Sylla* had been. He began with attempting to annul *Sylla*'s acts, which would have deprived the republic of the many wiſe laws the dictator had made. But he was therein reſolutely oppoſed by his collegue *Catulus*; and the miſunderſtanding between the two chief magiſtrates was carried ſo far, that the ſenate, dreading the conſequences of their quarrel, forced them to ſwear, that they would not take up arms againſt each other. Care was alſo taken to ſeparate the two rivals, and to make the turbulent *Lepidus* ſet out without delay for *Tranſalpine Gaul*, which had fallen to him by lot. The incendiary indeed left *Rome*, at the head of a conſular army; but, inſtead of paſſing the *Alps*, continued in *Hetruria*, till his conſulate was f near expiring. He then drew near *Rome* with his army, which he had taken care to ſtrengthen with new levies in *Hetruria*, and openly declared, that his deſign was to procure himſelf a ſecond conſulate by force, if he could not obtain it otherwiſe. He expected to have entered *Rome* without oppoſition; but to his great ſurpriſe he found both his collegue and *Pompey* under arms, the one poſted at the entrance of the bridge *Milvius*, the other at the foot of the *Janiculus*. As he was too far advanced to go back, he attempted to force his way into the city; but was repulſed by *Catulus* and *Pompey*, and obliged to ſave himſelf by a ſhameful flight into *Hetruria*. The capital being delivered from all danger by the defeat of the ſeditious conſul, *Pompey* was ordered to

New diſturbances raiſed by Lepidus.

Lepidus *defeated by* Catulus *and* Pompey.

[s] Plut. in Sylla. Liv. epit. l. clx. c. 4. Appian. bell. civil. l. 1. [t] Plut. & Appian. ibid.

a to march againſt *M. Junius Brutus*, the father of the famous *Brutus*, who had declared for *Lepidus*, and commanded a great detachment in *Ciſalpine Gaul*. *Brutus*, at the approach of *Pompey*, ſhut himſelf up in *Mutina*, where he was cloſely beſieged, and at length forced to ſurrender up himſelf and his whole army at diſcretion. *Pompey* treated his troops with great humanity, but ordered *Brutus* himſelf to be beheaded, without regarding the hatred which ſo odious an execution might bring upon him [u].

In the mean time, *Lepidus*, having aſſembled his diſperſed forces, and made new levies in *Hetruria* and in the countries of the allies, appeared once more before *Rome*. But, finding *Catulus* ready to receive him, and being at the ſame time informed of the defeat of *Brutus* and reduction of *Mutina*, he retired a ſecond time into *Hetruria*.

b Upon his retreat, the great elections were made with the uſual tranquillity, when *D. Junius Brutus*, ſurnamed *Lepidus*, and *Mamercus Æmilius Livianus* were choſen conſuls. And now *Lepidus*, having loſt all hopes of obtaining the conſulate, left *Italy* and went over to *Sardinia*, where he raiſed a new army with a deſign to carry the war into *Sicily*. But he was prevented by death from purſuing the wicked meaſures he had taken. He is ſaid to have died of grief upon the receipt of a letter, aſſuring him, that his wife, in his abſence, had proved unfaithful to him. His party fell with him; and *Catulus* and *Pompey* ſhared between them the glory of having ſaved *Rome* from the new misfortunes that threatened her [w].

Lepidus *dies in* Sardinia.

During theſe tranſactions at home, *Muræna*, whom *Sylla* had left in *Aſia*, unjuſtly attacked the king of *Pontus*, and forced him into the ſecond *Mithridatic* war, of

c which we have given a very particular account in our hiſtory of *Pontus*.

Italy now enjoyed a profound tranquillity; but the party of *Marius* and *Cinna* was ſtill kept up in *Spain* by the brave *Sertorius*, whoſe noble exploits, ſince his proſcription and flight, we have, to avoid confuſion, reſerved for this place. Upon the firſt advantages gained by *Sylla* in *Italy*, *Sertorius*, who had been appointed by the *Marian* faction prætor of *Spain*, retired thither, to ſecure that country, which would be a refuge to his friends, and a ſupport to his declining party. Notwithſtanding the oppoſition he met with from the *Barbarians*, through whoſe countries he paſſed, he got ſafe to his government; and there, by his affable and obliging behaviour, ſo gained

d the affections both of the nobility and people, that all *Spain* declared for the new prætor. Thus that flouriſhing country was unfortunately brought to take part in the diviſions of the republic, and by that means became the ſeat of the civil war, which ambition had begun at *Rome*. *Sylla* no ſooner heard of the arrival of *Sertorius* in *Spain*, than he ſent *Caius Annius* at the head of a powerful army to drive him from thence. *Sertorius*, having timely notice of the dictator's deſign, immediately detached *Julius Salinator* with a body of ſix thouſand men to guard the narrow paſſes of the *Pyrenees*; which he did ſo effectually, that *Annius*, upon his arrival finding it impoſſible to open himſelf a way into *Spain*, incamped at the foot of the mountains, in great perplexity, not knowing what courſe to take. But, in the mean time, one *Calpurnius Lanarius*, being gained over by *Annius*, treacherouſly murdered *Julius Salinator*, which ſo ter-

e rified the troops under his command, that they abandoned the paſſes, and gave *Annius* an opportunity of penetrating into the heart of *Spain*. *Sertorius* not being ſtrong enough to keep the field, retired with threee thouſand men to *New Carthage*, and there imbarquing on board a fleet, haſtily got together, paſſed over into *Africa*, and landed on the coaſt of *Mauritania*. His men went aſhore to ſupply themſelves with freſh water; but, while they were ſtraggling about with too much ſecurity, the *Barbarians* fell upon them, and put many of them to the ſword. This new misfortune forced *Sertorius* to ſail back to *Spain*; but finding the whole coaſt lined with *Annius*'s men, he put out to ſea again, not knowing what courſe to ſteer. At ſome diſtance

f from the coaſt he fell in with a ſmall fleet of *Cilician* pirates, who were cruiſing between *Africa* and *Spain*, and having prevailed on them to join him in hopes of booty, he ſailed for the iſland of *Pityuſa*, now *Yvica*, on the coaſt of *Africa*, where he made a deſcent, overpowered the gariſon placed there by *Annius*, and got a conſiderable booty. This ſlight advantage brought *Annius* in perſon upon him with a great fleet, having five thouſand ſoldiers on board. Though *Sertorius*'s fleet conſiſted of veſſels not built for ſtrength, but for lightneſs, he made ready to engage the enemy. But a violent ſtorm ariſing, moſt of his ſhips were driven againſt the rocky ſhore, and daſhed to pieces. *Sertorius* himſelf, with the ſmall remains of his ſhattered fleet, being prevented

Sertorius *retires to* Spain.

Is driven from thence by Annius.

Is joined by a fleet of Cilician *pirates.*

[u] Plut. in Pomp. Appian. bell. civil. ibid.

[w] Plut. & Appian. ibid.

prevented by the fury of the weather from putting out to ſea, and by the enemy from landing, was toſſed about for ten days together, being all that time, as the ſea ran very high, in great danger of periſhing with all his men. As ſoon as the ſtorm was over, he paſſed the ſtreights of *Gades*, and landed near the mouth of the *Bætis*. There he met with ſome ſea-men newly arrived from the *Atlantic* or *Fortunate* iſlands (Z), and was ſo taken with the account they gave him of thoſe happy regions, that, being quite tired out with ſo many fatigues and dangers both by ſea and land, he reſolved to retire thither, and ſpend his life in peace and quietneſs, far from the noiſe of wars, and free from the troubles of government. He no ſooner communicated his deſign to the *Cilician* pirates, than they abandoned him; and, chuſing rather to rove about the ſeas in queſt of ſpoils and riches, than to live in peace and quiet, ſet ſail for *Africa*, to aſſiſt *Aſcalis* king of *Mauritania* againſt his rebellious ſubjects. *Sertorius*, who only entertained a faint deſire of a quiet and retired life, no ſooner heard of this new war in *Africa*, than he likewiſe reſolved to ſail thither and join the enemies of *Aſcalis*. He loſt no time, but immediately put to ſea, and landing on the coaſt of *Mauritania*, marched directly againſt *Aſcalis*, defeated him in a pitched battle, and obliged him to take refuge in the city of *Tingis*, now *Tangier*, which he cloſely beſieged. In the mean time, *Pacianus*, whom *Sylla* had ſent to aſſiſt the king, advanced againſt *Sertorius* at the head of a conſiderable army. Hereupon the brave general, leaving part of his forces before the place, marched with the reſt to meet *Pacianus*, whoſe forces, though far ſuperior to his own in number, he entirely defeated, ſlew the general himſelf, and took the whole army priſoners. After this victory he not only reduced the city of *Tingis*, but made himſelf abſolute maſter of the whole country. Having thus delivered the oppreſſed *Mauritanians* from the tyrannical yoke of *Aſcalis*, he reſtored to them their eſtates, their cities, their laws, and their privileges, accepting only of ſuch acknowledgements as the people freely offered him[x].

a

b

Paſſes over into Africa.

c

Defeats Pacianus, *and takes the city of* Tingis.

However, his reputation flew croſs the ſea. The *Luſitanians*, being threatened with a new war from *Annius*, ſent an embaſſy to him, inviting him to come and take upon him the command of their armies. This was raiſing him to the height of his deſires; he therefore immediately imbarqued with two thouſand five hundred *Romans*, who had followed him in his flight, and ſeven hundred *Africans*, who were willing to ſhare his fortune with him; and putting to ſea ſteered his courſe towards *Luſitania*. In his paſſage he happened to fall in with the *Roman* fleet, commanded by *Cotta*; but having forced his way through it, he arrived ſafe on the *Luſitanian* coaſt, landed his men, and marched ſtrait to mount *Ballera*, the place of the general rendezvous. There he put himſelf at the head of that warlike nation, and became, in a manner, king of *Luſitania*, the natives, who were well acquainted with his virtues, experience in war, and great abilities, inveſting him with an abſolute and uncontrouled authority, and committing to his care themſelves and their fortunes. And indeed no man was more worthy to govern a ſtate, or command an army. He was, according to *Plutarch*,

d

Is made general of the Luſitanians.

x Plut. in Sertor.

(Z) Theſe iſlands, according to *Plutarch*, were only two in number, divided from each other by a narrow channel, and diſtant about ten thouſand furlongs from the coaſt of *Africa*. The deſcription he gives us of them agrees exactly with that which we read in the fourth book of the *Odyſſey*. But after all, we are ſtill at a loſs to know what country the ancients meant by the *Atlantic* or *Fortunate* iſlands. *Plato* deſcribes them in a very pompous manner in his *Timæus* and *Critias*; and the great extent he allows them, has inclined ſome, namely *Ortelius* and *Sanſon*, to believe, that he meant *America*. But no one, before Mr. *Ruſbeck*, ever dreamt, that *Plato* in deſcribing his *Atlantis* had *Scandinavia* in view, which comprehends the kingdoms of *Norway* and *Sweden*. That learned writer, in love with the colds and froſts of his native country, finds all the charms of this renowned iſland in thoſe northern and frozen countries. To convince others of this, he urges no fewer than a hundred and two arguments in his work intitled *Atlantica*, and finds in certain ruins not far from *Upſal* the ſame ſituation and dimenſions which *Plato* gives to the capital of *Atlantis*. *Norway* and *Sweden* are, we allow, moſt pleaſant and delightful countries; but we can hardly perſuade ourſelves, that *Homer* had either of them in view, when he deſcribed the *Elyſian fields*, which he places in the iſland of *Atlantis*. His deſcription of that happy region is as follows:

Elyſium ſhall be thine; the bliſsful plains
Of utmoſt earth, where *Rhadamanthus* reigns.
Joys ever young, unmix'd with pain or fear,
Fill the wide circle of th' eternal year.
Stern winter ſmiles on that auſpicious clime,
The fields are florid with unfading prime.
From the bleak pole no winds inclement blow,
Mould the round hail, or flake the fleecy ſnow;
But from the breezy deep the bleſt inhale
The flagrant murmurs of the weſtern gale.

We can hardly believe, that *ſtern winter ſmiles* either upon *Norway* or *Sweden*, that the fields there are *florid with unfading prime*, that *no inclement winds blow from the bleak pole*, &c. and therefore are inclined to think, that father *Kircher* gueſſed better than Mr. *Ruſbeck*, when he took the *Canaries* and *Aſores* for the *Fortunate* or *Atlantic* iſlands.

a *tarch*, free from all vices, and an enemy to all ſorts of pleaſures; in adverſity and dangers undaunted, and no ways puffed up with proſperity, but of an even mind, ever courteous and ever obliging. He was ſparing and backward in puniſhing, but in rewarding liberal and magnificent, even to prodigality. As to war, none of the moſt famous and renowned generals of antiquity underſtood that art better than *Sertorius*. He did not confine himſelf to one uniform method in ranging his cohorts and diſpoſing his ſquadrons, but varied it according to the character of his enemy. Though he approved of the order of battle eſtabliſhed among the *Romans*, yet he would not ſervilely adhere to it on all occaſions, but changed it when he thought proper, and by that means often broke the meaſures of the generals who oppoſed him. His maſterpiece was the art of haraſſing the enemy, laying ambuſcades, ſurpriſing them in b narrow paſſes, tiring them with long marches, and avoiding a general engagement unleſs he was ſure of victory. With theſe qualifications, *Sertorius*, at the head of eight thouſand men, made war with four *Roman* generals, who had under their command a hundred and twenty thouſand foot, ſix thouſand horſe, and two thouſand archers and ſlingers. *Titus Didius*, governor of *Bætica*, was the firſt champion who entered the liſts with him, and gave him battle among the mountains. But that weak general was defeated with the loſs of two thouſand men, and driven out of the field. Hereupon *Sylla* diſpatched *Metellus*, one of the beſt generals then in *Rome*, to ſtop the progreſs of this new enemy. But the reputation of that great commander ſuffered much by this expedition. For he did not know which way to turn himſelf, having c to do with a man of undaunted boldneſs and uncommon ſagacity, who was continually moleſting him, and yet could not be brought to a pitched battle; but, by the ſwiftneſs and dexterity of his *Spaniſh* ſoldiery, was continually changing his ſtation, caſting his army into all forms, and every day contriving new ſtratagems. *Metellus* on his firſt arrival ſent for *L. Domitius*, then prætor of *Hither Spain* to his aſſiſtance. But *Sertorius*, informed of the march of *Domitius*, detached *Hirtuleius* or *Herculeius*, his quæſtor, againſt him, who gave the *Roman* prætor a total overthrow. Hereupon *Metellus* ordered *Lucius Lollius*, prætor of *Narbonne Gaul*, to leave his province and join him. But *Hirtuleius*, meeting him in the neighbourhood of *Ilerda*, now *Le-* d *rida*, gained a complete victory over him, diſperſed his troops, and killed his lieutenant-general. Upon the fame of theſe victories, all thoſe, who were diſſatisfied with the government of *Sylla*, eſpecially ſuch of the proſcribed perſons as could eſcape his fury, flocked to *Sertorius* from all parts. Inſomuch, that he ſoon ſaw in his camp ſuch a number of illuſtrious *Roman* citizens, that he formed a ſenate of them, whoſe authority he ſet up in competition with that of the ſenate of *Rome*. Out of them he likewiſe choſe his quæſtors, his military tribunes, and other officers of his army. Thus he erected *Luſitania* into a new republic, which, as it conſiſted chiefly of *Romans*, rivalled that of *Rome*. *Sylla*, highly provoked to ſee a proſcribed perſon thus reigning in *Spain*, and the republic robbed of one of the fineſt parts of her dominions, e was continually ſending freſh ſupplies to *Metellus*; but *Sertorius*, at the head of a handful of men, who were accuſtomed to range about the mountains, to indure hunger and thirſt, and to live expoſed to the wind and weather without fire or covering, ſo haraſſed the *Roman* army, that *Metellus* himſelf began to be quite diſheartened. If he ſent out his men in parties to forage, *Sertorius*, who was well acquainted with the country, ſcarce ever failed of cutting off their retreat; if the whole army marched in a body, he was continually haraſſing and alarming them, falling on their rear, blocking up the narrow paſſes, intercepting their convoys, cutting off their ſtragglers, *&c.* if they laid ſiege to any town, he preſently appeared, beſieged them, and reduced them to great ſtreights for want of proviſions. By this means *Metellus* ſuffered the ſame f inconveniencies as if he had been conquered, while *Sertorius* reaped all the advantages of a conqueror. The latter being informed, that his rival had ſpoke of him with contempt, as if he declined fighting out of cowardice, immediately ſent him a challenge, inviting him to put an end to the war by a ſingle combat. But *Metellus*, who was advanced in years, wiſely refuſed to enter the liſts with a ſtrong active man, then in the flower of his age, thinking that it became a general, as *Theophraſtus* obſerves, to die like a general, and not like a gladiator. However, his declining the challenge brought him into diſcredit with the undiſcerning multitude; and he, to recover his reputation by ſome ſignal action, turned his arms againſt *Lacobriga* (A), a conſiderable

His character.

Defeats T. Didius.

Gains great advantages over the Romans.

Forms Luſitania *into a republic.*

Haraſſes Metellus's *troops.*

(A) The ancient *Lacobriga* is thought to have ſtood where *Lagos*, a little city of *Spain* near the bay of *Cadiz*, now ſtands.

able city of the *Turduli*, which he hoped to take in two days time, there being but one well within the city. But *Sertorius* found means to convey into the city, before *Metellus* inveſted it, ſix thouſand ſkins full of water, and to remove all thoſe who could be of no ſervice during the ſiege; ſo that *Metellus* continued a long time before the place, without gaining the leaſt advantage over the enemy. When he had ſpent moſt part of his proviſions, he ſent out *Aquinus*, at the head of ſix thouſand men, to bring in freſh ſupplies from the neighbouring country. But the brave *Sertorius* falling unexpectedly on *Aquinus*, cut in pieces part of his detachment, and took the reſt priſoners, the commander himſelf being the only man, who had the good luck to make his eſcape. And now *Metellus*, being reduced to great ſtreights for want of proviſions, ſhamefully raiſed the ſiege, and withdrew from before the place amidſt the hiſſes of the *Spaniards*, who inſulted him from their ramparts [y].

Defeats Aquinus, *and obliges* Metellus *to raiſe the ſiege of* Lacobriga.

Sertorius having gained the eſteem, love, and admiration of the *Luſitanians* by theſe repeated advantages, and much more by his obliging and inſinuating behaviour, changed their ſavage and furious manner of fighting, brought them to make uſe of the *Roman* arms, taught them to keep their ranks and follow their enſigns, and, in ſhort, out of a confuſed multitude of thieves and robbers, formed a regular well-diſciplined army. He likewiſe beſtowed liberally upon them gold and ſilver to adorn their arms, cauſed their ſhields to be wrought and ingraved with various figures, and, by converſing familiarly with them, prevailed upon them to lay aſide their own dreſs, and aſſume the *Roman toga* or gown. But what delighted them moſt was, the care he took of their children. For he ſent for all the children of the noblemen in thoſe parts, placed them in the great city of *Oſca* (B), and there appointed maſters to inſtruct them in the *Greek* and *Roman* learning, that they might in due time, as he gave out, be capable of ſharing with him the government of the republic. Under this pretence he really made them hoſtages for the fidelity of their parents (C), who nevertheleſs were wonderfully pleaſed to ſee their children going daily to ſchool in good order, and handſomely dreſſed in fine long garments edged with purple. *Sertorius* paid large ſalaries for their learning, often inquired what progreſs they had made, examined them himſelf, and rewarded the moſt deſerving with thoſe *Bullæ Aureæ*, which were at *Rome* the chief diſtinction of children of high birth. At this time a cuſtom prevailed among the *Spaniards* and *Luſitanians*, that when a great commander was ſlain in battle, all thoſe who attended him died with him, either by the enemy's ſwords, or their own. This the inhabitants called an offering, or devoting of themſelves (D). Of theſe *Sertorius* had many thouſands, all reſolved to ſacrifice their lives for his ſafety, and ſtand by him to the laſt. *Plutarch* tells us, that his army being once defeated near a city in *Spain*, and the enemy preſſing hard upon his broken troops, they, forgetful of their own danger, and concerned only for their general, took him upon their ſhoulders, and paſſing him from one to another, conveyed him into the city, and then ſhifted, in the beſt manner they could, for themſelves. Nay, his ſoldiers not only revered him as an invincible general, but as a man inſpired and a favourite of heaven. This opinion he gained among the ſuperſtitious *Luſitanians* by ſeveral artifices, and deluding impoſtures, among which that of the hind was none of the

Gains the affections of the Luſitanians.

[y] Plut. ibid.

(B) The city of *Oſca*, now *Hueſca*, ſtood in the country of the *Hergetes*, a people of *Tarraconian Spain*. It now belongs to the kingdom of *Arragon*.

(C) This was a true fetch in politics. *Sertorius* knew how to ingratiate himſelf with the people by the ſame means that aſſured him of their fidelity. *Alexander the Great* had done the ſame thing before him.

(D) The ſame cuſtom obtained in *Gaul*, where a number of reſolute men, called *Soldurii*, devoted themſelves to a prince, or ſome great commander, to ſhare with him both his good and bad fortune, and either to fall with him in battle, or kill themſelves in caſe he was defeated. This was a point of honour, wherein none of them were ever known to fail (17). *Dion* tells us, that one *Sextus Pacuvius* or *Apudius* devoted himſelf in full ſenate to *Auguſtus*, after the manner of the *Spaniards*, and would have forced all the reſt to follow his example. But this was the action of a vile mercenary flatterer, who meant nothing of what he ſaid, and did it only to ingratiate himſelf with his prince; wherein indeed he ſucceeded, for in courts hypocriſy often prevails over truth. This cuſtom did not only prevail in *Gaul* and *Spain*, but in many other parts of the world, and in our days in the iſland of *Ceylan* and in the kingdom of *Tunquin*. Thoſe who thus devote themſelves are in ſome places called *The king's vaſſals in this world and in the next*. We wiſh *Plutarch* had told us by what name thoſe heroic perſons were diſtinguiſhed in *Spain*, as *Cæſar* has acquainted us what thoſe of the ſame order were called in *Gaul*.

(17) *Cæſar de bell. Gall.* iii.

a the leaſt. A *Luſitanian*, by name *Spanus*, meeting one day a doe, which in flying from the hunters had juſt dropped a hind-calf, took up the fawn, and brought it to *Sertorius*, who uſed to reward very liberally thoſe who preſented him with fruit, fowls, or veniſon. As the young hind was milk-white, the general was wonderfully taken with it, reared it up with great care, and made it ſo tame, that it followed him wherever he went, without being in the leaſt frightened at the noiſe and hurry of the camp. As he was well acquainted with the ſuperſtition and credulity of the *Luſitanians*, he gave out by degrees, that the hind was inſpired, that it was given him by *Diana*, and that it diſcovered hidden myſteries. When he received any private intelligence of the enemy's deſigns or motions, he pretended, that the hind had informed him of b them in his ſleep, and charged him to keep his forces in readineſs. Upon the firſt notice of any advantage gained by the officers, who commanded under him, he uſed to bring forth the hind crowned with flowers, and encourage his ſoldiers to return thanks to the gods for the account they ſhould ſoon receive of ſome proſperous ſucceſs (E). By theſe and ſuch-like devices he brought the *Luſitanians* to look upon him as a man ſent them from heaven, or rather as a god under the appearance of a man. Hence *Metellus*, though an old and experienced general, could not, during *Sylla*'s life-time, gain the leaſt advantage over him, or prevail upon one city to declare againſt him. When *Sylla* was dead, the republic, alarmed at the extraordinary progreſs *Sertorius* made in *Luſitania*, reſolved to ſend another general againſt him with ſuch a force as c might cruſh him at once. All the officers of any note in *Rome* earneſtly ſolicited ſo honourable a commiſſion, and among the reſt *Pompey*, who had juſt ſuppreſſed the troubles raiſed by *Lepidus*. We are told, that though all was quiet in *Rome*, *Pompey* ſtill kept his army on foot in the neighbourhood of the city, and under various pretences refuſed to diſband it, till the ſenate at laſt thought fit to decree him the government of *Luſitania*. *L. Philippus* was the firſt who made this motion in the ſenate, which was oppoſed by ſeveral ſenators, who were againſt beſtowing ſo honourable an employment on a young man, before he had paſſed through the inferior offices. One of them, ſurpriſed at the motion, asked *Philippus*, whether his meaning was, that *Pompey* ſhould be ſent into *Spain proconſul*, that is, *inſtead of a conſul*. No, replied *Philippus*, but d *pro conſulibus*, that is, *inſtead of both conſuls*, intimating thereby, that the conſuls for the year were men of no merit, and incapable of managing the war in that province. After a long and warm debate a decree paſſed, appointing *Pompey* commander in chief of the army, that was to march into *Luſitania* to the aſſiſtance of *Metellus*. It was no ſooner paſſed, than *Pompey* ſet out from *Rome*, at the head of the troops he had kept together after the defeat of *Lepidus* [z].

He makes uſe of a hind to impoſe upon the ſuperſtitious Luſitanians.

Pompey appointed to command againſt Sertorius.

In the mean time, the republic choſe for her new conſuls *Cn. Octavius Nepos* and *Caius Curio*, who made it their whole buſineſs to ſupport the regulations *Sylla* had made againſt the attempts of the tribunes of the people. The dictator had reduced their power almoſt to nothing, but upon his death their ambition revived. At the head of the col- e lege was at this time one *Cneius Sicinius*, whoſe chief talent was buffoonry, the art of mimicking, and turning into ridicule the moſt proper geſtures and moſt ſerious diſcourſes of the greateſt orators. Though he was a man of no principles or probity, yet he had found means to pleaſe the multitude; and, depending upon their favour, he had the confidence to ſummon the conſuls to appear in the comitium, and there give an account why they deprived the tribunes of their ancient prerogatives. The conſuls obeyed the ſummons, and on the day appointed appeared before the people, when *Curio* ſpoke with all the dignity of a conſul and all the force of a great orator, ſhewing, that the late diſturbances owed their riſe to the abuſe of the too great power which the tribunes had uſurped. While he was ſpeaking, *Sicinius* mimicked all his f geſtures and motions, making wry faces to divert the attention of the people. But all in vain; truth prevailed over the fondneſs of the populace for buffoonries; the tribunes continued in the ſame low condition, to which *Sylla* had reduced them, and the patricians triumphed. The whole glory of this victory was owing to *Curio*; for his collegue *Octavius*, who was troubled with the rheumatiſm, kept the whole time a profound

The tribunes attempt the recovery of their former power.

[z] Plut. in Pomp. & Sertor.

(E) We meet in ancient hiſtory with many examples of ſuch devices, made uſe of by the greateſt generals, and wiſeſt law-givers, the better to impoſe upon the ſuperſtition and credulity of the people. A few years before, *Marius*, as we have related above, impoſed upon his ſoldiers by a *Syrian* woman, who paſſed for a great propheteſs, and by tame vultures, which he had accuſtomed to follow him, and come to him, when called. Theſe juggling tricks were not only practiſed in the times of ignorance and darkneſs, but are renewed in our days, in the days of the greateſt light and knowledge.

profound ſilence, ſitting on the roſtra wrapped up in linen, and covered over with plaiſters, which gave the facetious tribune an opportunity to rally him, as he came down from the roſtra, and tell him with a ſneer, That he was obliged to his collegue, who, by throwing himſelf about as uſual, had ſaved him from being devoured by the flies. In ſhort, *Sicinius* was ſo very witty, that he was aſſaſſinated before his office expired, and the republic delivered from a dangerous citizen [a]. a

Julius Cæſar begins to ſhine at the bar.

This year *Julius Cæſar*, tho' but twenty-two years of age, began to ſhine at the bar. After he had ſignalized his valour at the ſiege of *Mitylene*, as we have related above, he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of eloquence, and this year accuſed *Cn. Cornelius Dolabella*, formerly prætor of *Macedon*, and honoured with the conſulate and a triumph. He charged him with male-adminiſtration; but *Quintus Hortenſius* and b
Caius Aurelius Cotta, the two greateſt orators in *Rome*, pleaded with ſo much eloquence in favour of the accuſed, that he was acquitted. However, *Cæſar* gained the reputation of being one of the beſt orators of his age, and would have challenged the firſt place among men of that character, had he not proved, to the great misfortune of the republic, one of her greateſt warriors (F). Not long after he had accuſed *Dolabella*, he imbarqued for *Rhodes*, with a deſign to improve himſelf in the art of oratory under *Apollonius*, one of the greateſt rhetoricians of his time; but he was taken in his paſſage by ſome pirates, who, with a few large ſhips and a vaſt number of ſmall veſſels,

His behaviour when taken by pirates.

infeſted thoſe ſeas. When they demanded twenty talents for his ranſom, he ſmiled at them, as not underſtanding the value of their priſoner, and voluntarily engaged c
to pay them fifty, that is nine thouſand ſix hundred and eighty-ſeven pounds ten ſhillings. Accordingly he diſpatched ſome of his domeſtics to raiſe the ſum he had promiſed in the neighbouring cities, and in the mean time remained in the hands of thoſe robbers, with only one friend and two attendants. During the thirty-eight days he ſpent among them, he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of eloquence and poetry, wrote verſes, and compoſed ſpeeches, which he repeated to them, reproaching thoſe who did not admire them with barbarity and ignorance. He converſed familiarly with them; but always treated them with a high hand, and often in raillery threatened to have them crucified, if they diſturbed him when he had a mind to ſleep. The pirates, aſcribing this free way of talking to ſimplicity and a juvenile vivacity, were mightily d
taken with it. When his ranſom came, which the *Mileſians* raiſed by a tax upon themſelves, he immediately paid it; and being diſcharged, he went directly to *Miletus*, manned ſome ſhips there, and with them ſurpriſed the pirates, took moſt of them priſoners, and carried them to *Pergamus*. As it belonged to *Junius*, at that time prætor of *Aſia*, to determine their puniſhment, *Cæſar* applied to him, while he was taking a progreſs through the *Aſiatic* province. *Junius*, who was a very covetous man, and hoped to extort great ſums from the pirates, anſwered, That he would think at his leiſure what to do with the priſoners. Upon which *Cæſar*, taking his leave of him, returned to *Pergamus*, where he ordered the pirates to be brought forth and crucified; a puniſhment which he had often threatened them with while he

Cauſes the pirates to be crucified.

was in their hands, and which they never dreamt he would be ever able to inflict upon e
them [b] (G). He then went to *Rhodes*, where he improved his talent for oratory, under the famous rhetorician *Apollonius Molon* (H), who at that time had *Cicero* for his auditor.

In

[a] Cic. in Bruto. Quintil. l. xi. & Plut. in Craſſo. [b] Plut. in Cæſare.

(F) In his pleadings, ſays *Plutarch* (18), he appeared with all the graces of an excellent orator, and gained much upon the affections of the people by the eaſineſs of his addreſs and converſation, in which he was accompliſhed beyond what could be expected from his age. He was by nature excellently framed, ſays the ſame writer, for a perfect ſtateſman and orator, and took great pains to improve his genius that way in his youth; but he never roſe up to that pitch of eloquence, to which nature would have carried him, being diverted by thoſe expeditions and deſigns, which at length gained him the empire: whence he himſelf, in his anſwer to *Cicero's* panegyric on *Cato*, deſires his reader not to compare the plain diſcourſe of a Soldier with the ſtudied harangues of an orator, who was not only endued with fine parts, but had employed his whole life in this one ſtudy (19).

(G) *Plutarch*, in this place, contradicts *Suetonius*, whom we have followed, The former writer tells us, that *Cæſar* was taken by the pirates near the iſland of *Pharmacuſa*, on his return from *Bithynia*, where he had reſided ſome time, at the court of king *Nicomedes*, as we have related above.

(H) *Plutarch* calls *Apollonius Molon*'s ſon, and of one man makes two; for *Apollonius* himſelf, and not his father, was called *Molon*, as is evident from *Suetonius*, *Quintilian*, and *Cicero*, who often call him *Molon* ſimply, without the addition of the other appellative, which would have been very improper; if

(18) *Plut. in Cæſare.* (19) *Idem ibid.*

a In the mean time *Pompey*, having ſpent the winter in *Narbonne Gaul*, and in the beginning of the ſpring paſſed the *Pyrenees*, after having ſurmounted the obſtacles which ſome *Gauliſh* nations threw in his way, appeared on the frontiers of *Hither Spain*. There he was informed, that the *Roman* troops, under the command of *Perperna*, or *Perpenna*, had, in ſpite of their general, joined *Sertorius*, and taken the military oath to him. *Perperna*, after the death of *Lepidus*, whoſe lieutenant he was, had got together the remains of his army, amounting to fifty-three cohorts, that is, about thirty-two thouſand men, and had marched with them into *Spain*, intending to ſettle there, as *Sertorius* had done, and to make war with *Metellus* by himſelf, thinking it below a man of his birth and rank to act in ſubordination to one, who was b not even a *Roman*; but when his ſoldiers underſtood, that *Pompey* had paſſed the *Pyrenees* at the head of a mighty army, they took up their arms and enſigns, and threatened to abandon *Perperna*, if he did not inſtantly lead them to *Sertorius*, and reſign the command to a general, who was able to defend himſelf and thoſe who ſerved under him. *Perperna* complied, tho' much againſt his will, with their deſire, joined *Sertorius*, and ſerved under him as a ſubaltern. *Sertorius*, now at the head of a very conſiderable army, took the field, in order to ſtop the progreſs of *Pompey*, whoſe high character, founded on many glorious exploits, was a ſtrong prejudice in his favour. He was in the flower of his age, at moſt about thirty, had been honoured ſome years before with a triumph and the ſurname of *Great*, and was now empow- c ered to act ſeparately and independently of *Metellus*, with the title of proconſul. Upon his arrival, ſeveral cities, which had hitherto continued faithful to *Sertorius*, began to waver, and ſeemed inclined to open their gates to a general, whoſe great fame had already reached the moſt remote corners of *Spain*. *Sertorius* therefore, to prevent their defection by ſome ſignal action, and to make them ſenſible that *Pompey*'s protection could avail them little againſt his power and reſentment, entered the province of *Hither Spain*, which was moſt devoted to the republic, and there, tho' *Pompey* was advancing full march againſt him, laid ſiege to *Lauron*, now *Liria*, a ſtrong city on the banks of the *Turia*. *Pompey*, not doubting but he ſhould be able to raiſe the ſiege, marched quite up to the enemy's lines, and thinking he had incloſed d them between his own army and the city, found means to convey a meſſenger into the place, to acquaint the gariſon, that thoſe who beſieged them were themſelves beſieged, and would be ſoon obliged to retire with ſhame and diſgrace. *Sertorius*, when informed of this meſſage, ſmiled, and turning to the officers about him, *I will teach* Sylla's *diſciple*, ſaid he, *that it is the duty of a general to look as well behind him as before him*. Having thus ſpoke, he ſent orders to a detachment of ſix thouſand men, who lay concealed among the mountains, to draw near to *Pompey*, and fall upon his rear, if he ſhould offer to force the lines. *Pompey*, ſurprized at their ſudden appearance, durſt not ſtir out of his camp; but was forced to ſit ſtill, and ſee his friends and

Perperna *retires to* Spain.

His troops join Sertorius.

Sertorius *beſieges* Lauron.

if he had been only the ſon of *Molon*. *Plutarch* falls into the ſame miſtake in the life of *Cicero*, as the learned *Rualdus* obſerves. Thus far M. *Dacier*, in her notes upon *Plutarch*. But that learned critic is certainly miſtaken, it being evident from *Strabo*, that *Molon* and *Apollonius* were two different men; for he tells us in expreſs terms, that *Molon* and *Apollonius* were both natives of *Alabanda*, a city of *Caria*; that they were both ſcholars of *Menecles* the *Alabandian*; and that they both profeſſed the ſame art at *Rhodes*, tho' *Molon* went thither later than *Apollonius*, who, on that account, applied to him that of *Homer* Ὁ ϕ Μόλων; for he was likewiſe called by ſome *Molon*, by others Μαλακὸς, or *the Soft* (20). *Cicero* likewiſe diſtinguiſhes them, calling the one *Molon*, and the other *Apollonius* the *Alabandian*, eſpecially in his firſt book *de oratore*, where he introduces *M. Antonius* ſpeaking of him thus: *For this one thing I always liked* Apollonius *the* Alabandian; *tho' he taught for money, he did not ſuffer any, whom he thought incapable of becoming orators, to loſe their time and labour with him; but ſent them home, exhorting them to apply their minds to that art, for which they were, in his opinion, beſt qualified.* It were much to be wiſhed, that thoſe who, in our days, ſet up for teachers and ſchoolmaſters, were as honeſt and diſintereſted as *Apollonius*. Of this *Apollonius Plutarch* relates, that as he was not well verſed in the *Latin* tongue, he deſired *Cicero* to declaim in *Greek*. The *Roman* was mightily pleaſed with this motion, ſuppoſing, that *Apollonius* could better correct him, in caſe he ſhould ſay any thing amiſs; but while thoſe who were preſent, amazed at his eloquence and the purity of his diction, ſtrove to outdo one another in commending him, *Apollonius* neither expreſſed any ſatisfaction in his countenance while his diſciple was ſpeaking, nor applauded him after he had done; but, without uttering a word, continued in his place muſing and penſive. When he obſerved *Cicero* to be uneaſy at this behaviour, he addreſſed him thus: *Take courage*, Cicero; *I both praiſe and admire you; but I am ſorry for poor* Greece, *when I ſee the two only ornaments that were left us, learning and eloquence, transferred by you from us to the* Romans. This *Apollonius* ſupplied *Apion* the grammarian, if *Joſephus* is to be credited (21), with the many falſhoods he publiſhed againſt the *Jews* and their temple.

(20) *Strabo, l.* xiv. *p.* 655, 660, 661.

(21) *Joſeph. contra. Apion. l.* ii.

and confederates ruined before is face: for the beſieged, deſpairing of relief, delivered themſelves up to *Sertorius*, who ſpared their lives and granted them their liberty; but burnt their city, not out of anger or cruelty, to which *Sertorius* was an utter ſtranger, but that it might be ſaid, for the greater confuſion of the admirers of *Pompey*, that tho' he was ſo near the fire, which burnt down a confederate city, as to be well warmed by it, yet it was not able to raiſe heat enough in him to make him attempt the relief of it [b]. *Frontinus* tells us, that *Pompey*, without coming to a general action, loſt, during the ſiege of *Lauron*, ten thouſand men, cut off in ſmall parties by *Sertorius*'s horſe, who were continually ſcouring the plains and intercepting all the enemy's convoys [c]. However that be, it is certain, that *Pompey*, after the ſurrender of the place, retired with *Metellus* to the foot of the *Pyrenees*, and there, without putting their troops into winter-quarters as uſual, ſuffered all the rigour of the ſeaſon in tents, being afraid of a ſurprize from a general, whom they both dreaded and admired.

And takes it before Pompey's *face.*

a

b

The next year *L. Octavius* and *Aurelius Cotta* were choſen conſuls, and upon a complaint made, that the famine occaſioned in *Rome* by the *Cilician* pirates, who infeſted the ſeas, was owing to *Sylla*'s having leſſened the power of the tribunes of the people, *Cotta* was weak enough to give up one point in their favour, to the great prejudice of the republic. He conſented, that, for the future, the tribunes might be promoted to ſuperior offices, contrary to a law enacted by *Sylla*. Thus they began to recover by degrees their former power, which, in the end, proved the ruin of the republican government [d].

The tribunes of the people begin to recover their former power.

c

But to return to *Spain*. As ſoon as the ſeaſon was proper for action, *Metellus* took the field, and marched againſt *Hirtuleius*, one of *Sertorius*'s lieutenants, engaged him, and, after a moſt obſtinate diſpute which laſted the whole day, put him to flight. *Hertuleius* loſt in the action twenty thouſand men, was himſelf dangerouſly wounded, and very narrowly eſcaped falling into the enemy's hands [e]. *Sertorius*, upon the news of this overthrow, advanced with all poſſible expedition to the banks of the *Sucro* in *Tarraconian Spain*, intending to attack *Pompey*, who was incamped there, before he could be joined by *Metellus*, and by that means repair the loſs which his lieutenant had ſuſtained. On the other hand, *Pompey*, fearing *Metellus* ſhould ſhare with him the glory of the victory, made what haſte he could to engage *Sertorius* before his arrival. However, *Sertorius*, conſidering that the darkneſs of the night would be a great diſadvantage to the enemy, whether they were conquerors or conquered, none of them being acquainted with the country, delayed engaging till the cloſe of the day, and then advanced in order of battle againſt his rival, whoſe troops were drawn up in a large plain on the banks of the *Sucro*. *Pompey*, tho' well appriſed of the enemy's deſign in putting off the engagement till the evening, would not decline it, for fear *Metellus* ſhould in the mean time join him with his victorious troops, and rob him in great meaſure of the glory, which he promiſed himſelf from conquering a commander of ſo great reputation. The attack was begun with equal valour on both ſides. *Pompey*, who commanded his own right wing, ſoon obliged *Perperna*, who commanded the enemy's left wing, to give way. Hereupon *Sertorius*, committing the care of his right wing to his lieutenants, flew to the aſſiſtance of the left; and having, what by promiſes what by menaces, brought his flying troops back to the charge, fell upon *Pompey* with ſuch fury, that, in ſpight of his utmoſt efforts, he was forced to give way, and betake himſelf to flight. As he was flying, an *African* of a gigantic ſize, who purſued him cloſe, had already lifted up his arm to diſcharge a blow at him with his broad ſword; but *Pompey*, more active and nimble than the unwieldy *African*, prevented him by cutting off his hand at the firſt blow. He then continued his flight; but being wounded and thrown from his horſe, he would have been made priſoner, had not the *Africans*, who purſued him, quarrelled about his horſe's golden trappings and rich capariſon. While they were dividing the ſpoil, *Pompey* made his eſcape, and, with much-ado, being wounded in the thigh with an arrow, reached his camp. On the other hand, *Afranius*, who commanded the left wing of the *Roman* army, had all the advantage over the wing *Sertorius* had left; he put them into diſorder, forced them to retire in confuſion, and purſued them ſo cloſe, that he entered the enemy's camp with the fugitives; but while his troops were buſy in rifling the tents, *Sertorius* came upon them unexpectedly, made

Hertuleius *intirely defeated by* Metellus.

d

A battle between Pompey *and* Sertorius.

e

Pompey *defeated.*

f

[b] Plut. in Pomp. & Sertor. [c] Front. ſtrat. l. i. c. 5. [d] Appian. bell. civil. l. i. Sallust. in fragment. Plut. in Cic. [e] Front. ibid.

a made a dreadful ſlaughter of them at the head of his victorious forces, and retook his camp. Early next morning, *Sertorius* drew up his army in the ſame plain, being reſolved to venture a ſecond engagement, which he had taken proper meaſures to make deciſive; but in the mean time *Metellus* coming up, he drew off, and returned to his camp, ſaying, *Had it not been for the old woman*, meaning *Metellus*, *I would have whipt the boy ſoundly, and ſent him back to* Rome[f].

At this time *Sertorius* was greatly concerned for the loſs of his hind, which had gone aſtray, being frightened with the noiſe and hurry of the late battle. He was thereby deſtitute of an admirable contrivance to encourage the ſuperſtitious people, and inſpire them with an awful reſpect for his perſon; but, by good fortune, ſome b of his men, who were wandering about in the night, meeting her and knowing her by her colour, retook her. The general was overjoyed with the news, and promiſed an ample reward to thoſe who had found her, provided they kept it ſecret and locked her up carefully. A few days after he appeared in public with a chearful countenance, and declared to the chief nobility, that the gods had foretold him in a dream, that ſome extraordinary good fortune would ſoon attend him. He then aſcended his tribunal, and while he was there adminiſtering juſtice and giving audience to his officers and ſoldiers, the favourite hind being let looſe, purſuant to his directions, no ſooner diſcovered her maſter, than ſhe ran bounding to him with great joy, leaped on the tribunal, laid her head in his lap, and licked his hand. *Sertorius* in return ſtroaked c and careſſed her with all the tokens of a real tenderneſs and affection, inſomuch, that tears ran down his cheeks. All thoſe who were preſent, filled with wonder and aſtoniſhment, proclaimed him above the rank of common men, looked upon him as a perſon highly favoured by the gods, and with reſpectful congratulations and loud ſhouts of joy, attended him to his tent, proteſting, that they were ready to ſhed the laſt drop of their blood in his defence[g].

Sertorius, not thinking it adviſeable to engage *Pompey* and *Metellus* at the ſame time, retired in the night from his camp; and, upon his retreat, *Pompey* went out to receive and welcome *Metellus*. As he drew near, *Pompey*, out of reſpect to him as his ſuperior officer, ordered his lictors to lower their faſces; but *Metellus* would d not aſſume any diſtinction, except that of giving the watch-word to the whole army while they incamped together. As a perfect harmony reigned both between the generals and the two armies, they agreed to march after *Sertorius*, and attack him in his new poſt. They found his army divided into two bodies, one commanded by *Perperna*, the other by himſelf. After they had continued ſome days in ſight of each other, *Metellus* fell upon *Perperna*, and *Pompey* led his forces againſt *Sertorius*, in hopes of recovering the reputation he had loſt in the late battle. The engagement was ſo furious and obſtinate, that it laſted the whole day; but in the end *Pompey* was defeated anew and put to flight, after having loſt ſix thouſand men, among whom was *Memmius*, his lieutenant, and one of the greateſt officers of his time. On the other hand, e *Metellus* put *Perperna* to flight, and killed five thouſand of his men; but *Sertorius*, having rallied the fugitives and renewed the fight, repulſed *Metellus* in his turn, and, cutting his way through the battalions that ſurrounded him, wounded him with his lance, and would have ſoon diſpatched him, had not his troops, aſhamed to leave their general in diſtreſs, returned to the charge. After they had reſcued *Metellus* they fell upon the *Luſitanians*, who attended *Sertorius*, with ſuch fury, that they obliged them to retire in great confuſion. The brave general, having attempted ſeveral times in vain to rally his troops and lead them back to the charge, was forced at length to quit the field. He withdrew to a city among the mountains, not that he deſigned to ſtand a ſiege there, but only to deceive *Pompey* and *Metellus*. f Accordingly the two generals, giving over the purſuit of the *Luſitanians*, haſtened to lay ſiege to the place whither *Sertorius* had retreated; but while they were forming their camp, he made a ſally, and eſcaped with his troops croſs the mountains into *Luſitania*, where he raiſed a ſufficient number of forces to enable him to keep the field. All the cities in his intereſt ſent him ſupplies of men, money, and proviſions, with ſuch expedition, that in a very ſhort time he appeared again at the head of a formidable army, and offered the two generals battle, which they wiſely declined; but they could not avoid the continual attacks of *Sertorius*, who fell upon them from all quarters, drove them from poſt to poſt, and, by intercepting all their convoys,

Pompey *defeated anew.*

Sertorius *obliged by* Metellus *to quit the field.*

[f] Plut. in Pomp. & Sertor. [g] Idem ibid.

Pompey *and* Metellus *reduced to great ſtraits.*

reduced them to ſuch ſtraits, that they were obliged to ſeparate and retire, *Metellus* into *Gaul*, and *Pompey* into the country of the *Vaccæi*, whom *Iſidorus* places at the foot of the *Pyrenees*. From thence he wrote a doleful letter to the ſenate, demanding a ſpeedy ſupply of men and money, acquainting them with the wretched condition his troops were in, and adding, that if they delayed ſending him powerful reinforcements, he ſhould be forced to return into *Italy* with his army. To ſuch extremities *Sertorius* brought the two greateſt commanders and moſt experienced warriors of his age [r]. a

Sertorius *offers to lay down his arms.*

He was now in the height of his proſperity; but nevertheleſs, as he was a ſincere lover of his country and had a great deſire to return home, he ſent word to *Metellus* and *Pompey*, that he was ready to lay down his arms and lead a private life, provided the decree of his proſcription were repealed. This great deſire of ſeeing again his native country, was chiefly owing, as *Plutarch* informs us, to the tender affection and extraordinary reſpect he always had for his mother, under whom he had been brought up with great care, having loſt his father when he was very young. When he afterwards received the melancholy news of her death, he was ſo much affected with it, that he had almoſt died himſelf of grief; he wept bitterly, and lay ſeven days together on the ground, without giving the word or being ſeen by his moſt intimate friends. The chief commanders of the army and perſons of the greateſt diſtinction, crouding round his tent, with much-ado prevailed upon him to appear again in public, and take upon him the management of affairs, which were then in a very proſperous condition. All this plainly ſhews, that he was of a mild and compaſſionate temper, naturally inclined to lead a quiet life, and that he was driven by his enemies to have recourſe to arms, contrary to his own inclination. What anſwer *Pompey* and *Metellus* returned him, hiſtorians have not told us. All we know is, that the decree of his proſcription was never repealed, nor he ſuffered to return to his native country. b c

Mithridates *ſends embaſſadors to* Sertorius.

In the mean time the fame of his noble exploits, and of the great advantages he gained every day over the two moſt renowned generals of the republic, flew as far as *Aſia*. *Mithridates the Great* had been obliged by *Sylla*, as we have related in our hiſtory of *Pontus*, to ſubmit to ſuch conditions of peace, as that general had been pleaſed to impoſe upon him; but, after the deceaſe of *Sylla*, he raiſed a powerful army, with a deſign to renew the war, and improve the diſturbances of the republic to his advantage. As his court was at that time filled with proſcribed perſons, who had fled from *Rome*, theſe, eſpecially *L. Magius* and *L. Fannius*, adviſed him to enter into an alliance with *Sertorius*; and the king, purſuant to their advice, ſent embaſſadors into *Spain*, offering the *Luſitanian* general three thouſand talents and forty gallies completely fitted out, on condition that he would ſuffer him to re-conquer thoſe provinces of *Aſia*, which he had been forced to give in virtue of his treaty with *Sylla*. Upon the arrival of the embaſſadors, *Sertorius* called a council, when all to a man approved of the king's propoſals, and were very preſſing with *Sertorius* to comply with his requeſt, ſince he demanded nothing but an empty conſent to an undertaking, which they could no-ways prevent. And here we cannot ſufficiently admire the conſtancy and magnanimity of that brave commander, who, we may ſay, appeared greater in this glorious negotiation, than at the head of his army. Tho' it would have coſt him nothing to have granted *Mithridates* whatever he deſired, and ſuch a grant would have procured him great ſums and a conſiderable armament; yet he would not by any means hearken to the propoſal, ſaying, That it was his duty to inlarge the *Roman* dominions by his victories, and not to increaſe his own power by the diminution of the *Roman* territories. Having therefore ſent for the embaſſadors, he declared to them, that he was willing their maſter ſhould re-conquer *Bithynia* and *Cappadocia*, kingdoms to which the *Romans* had no right; but that he would not conſent he ſhould ſet foot in the province of *Aſia*, that is, the kingdom of *Pergamus*, which undoubtedly belonged to the common-wealth, and which he had given up by a ſolemn treaty. With this anſwer he diſmiſſed the embaſſadors; and when the king heard it, he could not help admiring the magnanimity of *Sertorius*: *What would not this* Roman *preſcribe to us*, ſaid he, *if he were at* Rome, *ſince from the ſhores of the* Atlantic *ocean, he takes upon him to ſet bounds to our kingdom, and threatens us with war, in caſe we ſhould make any attempts upon* Aſia? However, the king of *Pontus*, d e f

[r] Plut. ibid.

knowing

a knowing how advantagious it would prove to his deſigns to foment the civil war, concluded the treaty upon *Sertorius*'s own terms. The king ſupplied him with three thouſand talents and a fleet of forty gallies; and *Sertorius* ſent to the king a body of troops, under the command of *Marcus Marius*, or, as others call him, *Marcus Varius*, one of the ſenators, who had been proſcribed by *Sylla*[r].

Sertorius *enters into an alliance with* Mithridates.

WHILE *Mithridates* was making prodigious preparations for war in *Aſia*, and *Sertorius* in *Spain*, *P. Servilius*, with the title of proconſul, cleared the coaſts and ſeas of the pirates who infeſted them, took *Iſaure* their capital (I), and was honoured with the ſurname of *Iſauricus*, and with a triumph for his ſucceſs. The next year *Licinius Lucullus* and *Aurelius Cotta* were choſen conſuls. The former, by paying his
b court to a miſtreſs of *Cethegus*, one of the tribunes of the people, got the command of the troops that were to be ſent into *Cilicia*. His collegue was appointed to command the fleet that was to guard *Bithynia* againſt the invaſion threatened by *Mithridates*; but, before he ſet ſail, he procured an unlimited commiſſion for *M. Antonius*, the father of the triumvir, which was that of guarding all the ſea-coaſts ſubject to the republic. He ſet out with great confidence in queſt of the pirates, and engaged them off the iſland of *Crete*; but he had the mortification to ſee moſt of his ſhips taken, and his men hanged to the maſts, with the chains which he had prepared for the enemy. This ſight ſo grieved him, that he died a few days after[t]. In the mean time *Cotta* arriving in *Bithynia*, found *Mithridates* in motion at the head of a mighty
c army. All the cities of *Paphlagonia* opened their gates to him, imagining, that, in ſubmitting to him, they ſubmitted to the authority of *Rome*, becauſe *Marius*, whom *Sertorius* had ſent into *Aſia* in quality of proconſul, always marched before the king's troops, attended by his lictors with their faſces. The *Bithynians* likewiſe would readily have revolted, had not *Julius Cæſar*, who had retired to *Rhodes*, as we have related above, upon the news of their motions, croſſed over to the continent, raiſed troops without any commiſſion, and, driving the king's emiſſaries out of the country, kept the cities, which were ready to revolt, ſteady to their duty. This was, as it were, the firſt eſſay of this young commander, who, tho' only twenty-four years of age, already equalled the oldeſt generals in prudence and bravery[u]. On the other
d hand, the conſul *Cotta*, being defeated in a ſea engagement by the fleet of *Mithridates*, was forced to take refuge in *Chalcedon*, where he was cloſely beſieged; but his collegue *Lucullus*, marching to his relief, obliged *Mithridates* to retire. The king went from thence to beſiege *Cyzicus*; but was obliged by *Lucullus* to drop that enterprize, after having loſt the greateſt part of his army, which, when he ſat down before the place, was thirty thouſand ſtrong. The *Roman*, encouraged with this ſucceſs, took ſeveral places from the enemy, and put an end to the campaign by a complete victory over the king's fleet, as we have related in our hiſtory of *Pontus*, to which we refer our readers for a full account of what we have only hinted at in this place.

M. Antonius *defeated by the pirates.*

The ſucceſs of Lucullus *againſt* Mithridates.

THE republic was no leſs ſucceſsful in *Spain* than in *Aſia*. The ſenators and other
e patricians who ſerved under *Sertorius*, thinking they could now make head againſt the enemy without him, began to be jealous of his glory. They were headed by *Perperna*, who was continually inveighing, both in private and in public, againſt *Sertorius* and his ſenate. That ambitious patrician could not brook the authority which he had aſſumed over his army, and flattering himſelf that he ſhould ſucceed him in the command of all the troops in *Luſitania*, he plotted his ruin, and drew into the conſpiracy ſeveral officers, pretending, that *Sertorius* ſlighted the *Romans*, and confided only in the *Luſitanians*. The conſpirators, not daring at firſt to make any attempt upon his life, by reaſon of the great affection the *Luſitanians* bore him, did all

A conſpiracy againſt Sertorius.

[r] PLUT. in Sert. CIC. pro lege Manilia, & pro Murena. LIV. l. xciii. APPIAN. in Mithridatic. OROS. l vi. c. 2. [t] CIC. act. 2. in Verr. FLOR. l. iii. c. 7. LIV. l. xciv. [u] SUET. in Julio, c. 4. VELL. PATERC. l. ii. c. 42.

(I) *Iſaure*, called afterwards *Iſauropolis*, and now *Saura*, was the capital of *Iſauria*, a country of *Aſia Minor*, comprehending part of mount *Taurus* and the mountains between *Cilicia*, *Lycaonia*, and *Pamphylia*. This city, in *Pliny*'s time, had loſt much of its ancient ſplendor. *Servilius*, beſides *Iſaure*, reduced ſeveral other cities, *viz. Phaſelis*, *Olympus*, and *Coricus*, which were retreats for pirates. The firſt ſtood on the confines of *Lycia* and *Pamphylia*. Its inhabitants, who were for the moſt part pirates, made uſe of a ſort of brigantine, which from them was called *phaſelus*. They were ſo poor, according to the ancients, that they ſacrificed nothing but ſalt-fiſh to their gods; and hence the proverb, *ſacrificium Phaſelitarum*, to ſignify *a mean preſent* or *offering*. The city of *Olympus* ſtood on the ſea-coaſt of *Cilicia*; and that of *Coricus* was a famous port in the ſame country, and is now know by the name of *Curco*.

all that lay in their power to alienate their minds from him, and ſecretly deſtroy his intereſt among them. With this view the governors of the cities abuſed the inhabitants, puniſhed them with the utmoſt ſeverity, and loaded them with taxes, giving out, that all this was done by the *expreſs order* of *Sertorius*. Hereupon ſeveral cities revolted, and great diſturbances were raiſed all over *Luſitania*. *Sertorius* ſent perſons, in whom he thought he could confide, to appeaſe the mutineers; but thoſe, in whom he repoſed moſt confidence, being gained over by his enemies, proved traitors to him, and inſtead of mitigating the people by gentle methods, exaſperated them with an unſeaſonable ſeverity, and left them at their departure more obſtinate and more inclined to revolt, than they had found them. This incenſed *Sertorius* to ſuch a degree, that he cauſed ſome of the children of the *Luſitanians*, who were educated at *Oſca*, to be put to death, and ſold others for ſlaves. This is the only piece of cruelty and injuſtice, which the author of *Sertorius*'s life can lay to his charge (K); on all other occaſions he ſhewed a mildneſs of temper hardly to be matched [w].

His ſeverity to the Spaniſh hoſtages.

In the mean time the baſe *Perperna* increaſed the number of the conſpirators, and, amongſt others, drew in *Manlius*, one of the chief officers of the army. This *Manlius*, having conceived a ſhameful paſſion for a young *Roman*, diſcloſed to him the whole conſpiracy, telling him, that he ſhould ſoon ſee him at the head of the army. The youth diſcovered to one *Aufidus* what he had learnt of *Manlius*; but as *Aufidus* himſelf was one of the conſpirators, and knew not that *Manlius* was any-ways engaged in the plot, he made ſlight of what the youth ſaid; but when the young *Roman* named *Perperna*, *Gracinus*, *Q. Fabius*, *Tarquitius*, *Sertorius*'s two ſecretaries, and ſeveral others, who, *Aufidus* well knew, were all in the plot, he went immediately to *Perperna*, gave him notice of the danger they were in, and ſolicited him immediately to put their deſign in execution. Accordingly *Perperna*, with the conſent of the other conſpirators, pitched on that very day; and they all agreed to aſſaſſinate him at an entertainment, to which no-body but he and the conſpirators ſhould be invited. As it was no eaſy matter to engage him in a party of pleaſure, they had recourſe to artifice, and provided a meſſenger, who brought to him feigned letters, giving him notice of a ſignal victory obtained by one of his lieutenants over *Pompey* and *Metellus*. He was ſo well pleaſed with this news, that he readily came into the propoſal of the perfidious *Perperna*, and promiſed to paſs the evening with him and his friends in mirth and jollity. Accordingly, after he had returned ſolemn thanks to the gods for the pretended ſucceſs, he went to *Perperna*'s quarters, to rejoice with him upon the new victory. At all entertainments, where *Sertorius* was preſent, great order and decency was obſerved; for they all knew, that he could not bear any looſe and indecent diſcourſes: but in the midſt of this entertainment, the conſpirators, pretending to be warmed with wine, began to talk very looſely, on purpoſe to provoke their general and pick a quarrel with him. *Sertorius*, offended at their indecent and diſreſpectful behaviour, changed his poſture, and leaning backward, pretended not to hear nor regard them. Then *Perperna*, taking a cup full of wine, let it fall, as he was drinking, out of his hand, which was the ſignal agreed on. Upon this *Antonius*, who was next to *Sertorius*, drew his poniard and wounded him. The brave general ſtrove to raiſe himſelf; but *Antonius*, throwing himſelf upon his breaſt, held both his hands, ſo that, without being in the leaſt able to defend himſelf, he lay expoſed to the fury of the reſt of the conſpirators, who fell upon him and diſpatched him. *Sertorius* was, without contradiction, one of the greateſt ſoldiers the republick had ever bred.

Sertorius *aſſaſſinated.*

[w] Plut. ibid.

(K) However, he endeavours to excuſe it, and reaſons thus: "The cruelty which *Sertorius* practiſed upon the *Spaniſh* hoſtages ſeems to argue, "that his clemency was not natural, but only acted "as his affairs required. As to my own opinion, I "am perſuaded that true virtue, eſtabliſhed by rea"ſon and mature judgment, can never be totally "perverted and extirpated by any misfortune what"ever; not that I think it impoſſible, but that "great indignities offered without cauſe, and fre"quent abuſes put upon thoſe of the beſt nature "and moſt virtuous inclinations, may make ſome "impreſſion and alteration in their temper; and "thus, I ſuppoſe, it happened to *Sertorius*, who, "being exaſperated by repeated injuries of ungrate"ful perſons, was at laſt ſevere to thoſe who had "wrongfully injured him." Thus far *Plutarch* (22). What that writer did not think impoſſible, is not only poſſible, but very common; for nothing can be truer, than what *Electra* ſays in *Sophocles*; *It is very difficult, my friends, for any one in my condition to keep within due bounds, and not repine at providence. Such woful calamities change our very nature, and force us, in ſpite of ourſelves, to become wicked.* This is the only reaſon that can be offered as an excuſe for *Sertorius*.

(22) *Plut. in Sert.*

a bred. *Rome* was ſo fully convinced of it, that ſhe ſent againſt him two of the greateſt generals ſhe had, *Metellus* and *Pompey*; but the glory, which theſe two renowned warriors had acquired elſewhere, was eclipſed in *Spain*: they could never gain any conſiderable advantage over the *Luſitanian* general, and were at laſt by him driven quite out of the field, and forced to ſhelter themſelves either in *Gaul*, or among the moſt inacceſſible mountains. *Pompey*, who had been honoured in his youth with a triumph and the ſurname of *Great*, and had filled all *Italy*, *Sicily*, and *Africa* with the fame of his exploits, gained nothing in *Spain*, ſo long as *Sertorius* lived, but ſhame and diſgrace. Upon his death, the treacherous *Perperna* took upon him the command of the army; but ſoon made it appear, that he underſtood no more how to command,
b than how to obey; for *Pompey*, who had continued for ſome time inactive in a corner of *Hither Spain*, no ſooner heard of *Sertorius*'s death, than he left the place of his retreat, marched againſt *Perperna*, gained an eaſy and complete victory over him, and took the traitor himſelf priſoner. As *Perperna* had, on *Sertorius*'s death, ſeized on all his papers, he offered to ſhew *Pompey* letters from the greateſt men in *Rome*, inviting him into *Italy*; but *Pompey*, not vouchſafing to ſee the perfidious wretch, ordered him to ſend to him all *Sertorius*'s papers and writings ſealed up. He no ſooner received them, than he cauſed them to be burnt unopened, in the preſence of all the officers of his army; and immediately after ordered *Perperna* to be put to death, leſt he ſhould name any of *Sertorius*'s correſpondents, and by that means give occaſion to
c new diſturbances. As to the reſt of the conſpirators, ſome of them were taken and put to death by *Pompey*'s order; others fled into *Africa*, where they were murdered by the *Mauritanians*. In a ſhort time not one of them was left alive, except *Auſidus*, who, not being much inquired after, died many years after in an obſcure village of *Spain*, in extreme poverty and abhorred by all [x]. The death of *Perperna* put an end to the war, which had employed the greateſt generals and the beſt forces of the republic almoſt ten years. *Pompey*, tho' he gained little reputation by this expedition, yet he had the glory of ending it ſucceſsfully. He continued ſome time in *Spain*, to reduce the rebellious cities, and then returned with his army into *Italy*.

Perperna *defeated and taken.*

Perperna *put to death.*

The war in Spain *ended.*

Year of the world 2930. *Before Chriſt* 69. *Of* Rome 679.

Scarce was the rebellion in *Spain* at an end, when a new ſtorm aroſe in the heart
d of *Italy*. In the next conſulate of *Terentius Varro* and *Caſſius Varus*, ſome ſlaves of *Capua*, having broke their chains, took up arms, and, under the conduct of *Spartacus*, a *Thracian* gladiator of uncommon abilities, firſt defeated the *Capuan* militia, and afterwards *Claudius Pulcher*, a *Roman* prætor at the head of three thouſand men. Theſe ſucceſsful beginnings ſo raiſed the reputation of *Spartacus*, that he ſoon ſaw himſelf at the head of ten thouſand men whom he led againſt the prætor *Vatinius*, and gave him a total overthrow. He then marched into *Ciſalpine Gaul*, with a deſign to give his troops, who were moſtly *Gauls*, an opportunity of returning into their own country; for he found them ungovernable, and therefore incapable of carrying on a war. But the next year, when *Gellius Poplicola* and *Cornelius Lentulus* were conſuls,
e *Cnixus*, one of the chiefs of the *Gauliſh* ſlaves, ſeparated from him, and marched back into *Apulia*, where he was attacked and cut in pieces with his whole army, by the conſul *Gellius* and the proconſul *Anius*. Upon the news of this defeat, *Spartacus*, who was in *Ciſalpine Gaul*, and had nothing elſe in view but to paſs the *Alps* and take ſhelter among the *Tranſalpine Gauls*, turned back, and falling upon the conſul *Lentulus*, who purſued him, gave him a total overthrow. Then, without delay, he marched in queſt of the conſul *Gellius*, defeated his victorious army, and obliged both him and his troops to ſhelter themſelves behind the walls of their cities. Never was the proud republic more humbled. Her two conſuls and her invincible legions were forced to fly, in a ſhameful manner, before a *Thracian*, a gladiator, and a ſlave.
f *Spartacus* would not give quarter to any of the *Roman* priſoners, but in honour of *Cnixus* ſacrificed them all round his funeral pile. As his army now conſiſted of a hundred and and twenty thouſand men, all fugitive ſlaves, he ravaged moſt of the provinces of *Italy*, without the leaſt oppoſition, and then returned into *Lucania*, poſted himſelf on the mountains near *Thurii*, and erected magazines in that city for the ſupport of his numerous army.

The war of the ſlaves under Spartacus.

Cnixus *defeated.*

Spartacus *defeats both the conſuls.*

The next year, when *Auſidius Oreſtes* and *Lentulus Sura* were conſuls, the ſenate gave the conduct of the war againſt the rebellious gladiators to *Licinius Craſſus*, one of

Craſſus *ſent againſt* Spartacus.

[x] Plut. in Sert. & Pomp.

of the chief commanders of *Sylla*'s party, and who had a great ſhare in moſt of his victories. *Craſſus*, having raiſed in a few days ſix legions, detached *Mummius*, one of his lieutenants, with two of them, to watch the enemy's motions, while he came up with the reſt of the army. The raſh lieutenant no ſooner diſcovered the enemy, than he drew up his troops in battalia, and challenged *Spartacus*, contrary to the expreſs orders of his general, The *Thracian* accepted the challenge, and put the *Romans* to flight at the firſt onſet. *Craſſus* ſoon after arrived, and having reprimanded *Mummius* in the ſevereſt terms, he cauſed five hundred legionaries, who had retired at the approach of the enemy, to be decimated; which ſeaſonable piece of ſeverity made him as much reſpected by his troops, as he had been formerly beloved. He ſoon after marched in queſt of the enemy, and falling in with a body of ten thouſand rebels, who were laying waſte the country, he fell upon them, and, cutting off their retreat, put them all to the ſword. Hereupon *Spartacus*, after a fruitleſs attempt to get over to *Sicily*, poſted himſelf in a peninſula near *Rhegium*. There *Craſſus* ſhut him in with a ditch from one ſea to the other, three hundred furlongs long, fifteen foot broad, and as much in depth. But the brave *Spartacus*, taking the opportunity of a ſnowy ſtormy night, filled up part of the ditch, forced his way through the enemy's army, and incamped again in the open country. *Craſſus* was afraid leſt he ſhould march directly to *Rome*. But he was freed from this apprehenſion, when he ſaw a great body of the rebellious ſlaves upon ſome diſcontent revolt from *Spartacus*, and incamp by themſelves. Theſe *Craſſus* attacked without loſs of time, and defeated them after a long and obſtinate diſpute. Twelve thouſand three hundred of the enemy were killed upon the ſpot, of which number only two were found wounded in the back, all the reſt died fighting in their ranks with incredible bravery. After this defeat, *Spartacus* retired towards the mountains of *Petilia*. But his men, encouraged by a flight advantage gained over two of *Craſſus*'s officers, obliged him to march them back, and lead them againſt the *Romans*. This was what *Craſſus* impatiently deſired, being informed by his friends at *Rome*, that the people deſigned to recal him, and give the command of the army to their favourite idol *Pompey*. He therefore incamped near the enemy and offered them battle. As *Spartacus* could not retreat, being inveſted in his camp by *Craſſus*, he drew up his army with all the ſkill of a great commander. When his horſe was brought him before the onſet, he drew his ſword and killed him, ſaying, *If I gain the victory, I ſhall have a great many better horſes; if I loſe it, I ſhall have no need of this*. He than began the attack at the head of his infantry. His men, animated by his example, fought with unparallelled bravery. Victory was long doubtful, but at length declared for the *Romans*. *Spartacus*, after all his men were fled, ſtood his ground alone for a great while with invincible courage. Being wounded in the leg with a javelin, he fought on his knees, holding his buckler in one hand and his ſword in the other. At laſt, being pierced with many wounds, he fell upon a heap of *Romans*, whom he had ſacrificed to his fury. In this battle forty thouſand of the rebels were killed upon the ſpot, whereas the *Romans* loſt but a thouſand men. However, the fugitives rallied again to the number of five thouſand, and retired under the conduct of one *Publipot* into *Lucania*. Againſt theſe *Pompey* marched, and having defeated them without difficulty, wrote a bragging letter to the ſenate, wherein he vainly aſſumed to himſelf the glory of having finiſhed the war. *Craſſus*, ſaid he, *has overcome the gladiators in a pitched battle; but I have plucked up the war by the roots*. This is the true ſpirit of ambition, which wreſts every thing, even the actions of others, to its own advantage. *Craſſus* was highly provoked at *Pompey*'s vanity, which robbed him of the glory he deſerved; but nevertheleſs, as he aſpired at the conſulſhip, and was well appriſed that it was in *Pompey*'s power to get him excluded, he diſſembled his reſentment, and even begged his rival's intereſt. *Pompey*, who ſtood himſelf for the ſame dignity, and had long deſired to lay ſome obligation upon *Craſſus*, readily embraced this opportunity, declaring in open aſſembly, that he ſhould be as much obliged to his friends for the advancement of *Craſſus* as for his own. Upon this declaration the tribes unanimouſly concurred in raiſing *Pompey* to the conſulate, and giving him *Craſſus* for his collegue. But this good underſtanding between the two rivals did not continue long. *Pompey* refuſed to diſband the troops he had brought from *Spain*, till a triumph was decreed him. On the other hand *Craſſus*, would not part with the command of the army he had led againſt *Spartacus*, ſo long as *Pompey* continued in arms. The latter gave out, that *Pompey* aſpired at an abſolute power, and intended

Cuts off ten thouſand of the rebels.

Bravery of the ſlaves.

Spartacus *defeated and ſlain*

Pompey *and* Craſſus *conſuls.*

a intended to follow the example of *Sylla* (L), and to govern by a ſtanding army. *They fall out.*
Theſe diſcourſes greatly exaſperated *Pompey*; and the breach between the two col-
legues growing daily wider, the ſenate and people, to prevent the evil effects of their
mutual jealouſies, earneſtly intreated them to diſband their armies, and ſacrifice their
private reſentments to the public peace. But they both continued obſtinate; *Craſſus*
pretending, that *Pompey* ought firſt to diſband his army, ſince he had firſt finiſhed the
Spaniſh war; and *Pompey* proteſting, that he would not diſmiſs his troops, till the arri-
val of *Metellus*, who was to triumph with him. The people, dreading to ſee *Rome*
involved again in a civil war: even went ſo far as to beg of them on their knees in the
comitium to be reconciled. But neither of them hearkening to the intreaties of the
b people, a *Roman* knight, by name *Ovatius Aurelius*, who had ſpent ſome years of
his life in the country, and was then accidentally in *Rome*, mounting the roſtra, gave
them an account of a viſion he pretended to have ſeen in his ſleep. *Jupiter*, ſaid he,
appeared to me laſt night, and admoniſhes you, O Romans, *by my mouth, not to ſuffer the*
miſunderſtanding between the two conſuls to continue any longer. When *Ovatius* had done
ſpeaking, the people renewed their intreaties, and then *Craſſus*, moved with ſenti- *Are in ap-*
ments of piety, made the firſt advances, drew near to *Pompey*, and offered him his *pearance re-*
hand. *Pompey* returned the civility; they embraced each other; and ſoon after they *conciled.*
diſbanded their troops by conſent [y].

HOWEVER, as their reconciliation was not ſincere, each of them ſtrove, by different
c methods, to gain the favour of the people and ſtrengthen his party. *Pompey* baſely
made his court to the multitude by reinſtating the tribunes in their antient power, which
greatly contributed to the deſtruction of the commonwealth. He likewiſe engaged
M. Aurelius Cotta the prætor, to move, that ſome *Roman* knights might be appointed Pompey *and*
to be his aſſeſſors, and to judge with him in civil cauſes. Thus the right of judge- Craſſus *affect*
ing private cauſes, which had been taken from the knights by *Sylla*, was by means of *popularity.*
Pompey reſtored to them; which engaged that powerful order to ſupport him in all
his pretenſions with their whole intereſt. On the other hand, *Craſſus*, to get the better
of his rival in the eſteem of the people, entertained them, though naturally covetous,
with ſurprizing profuſion and magnificence at ten thouſand tables, and at the ſame time
d diſtributed corn enough to all the populace to maintain their families three whole
months. Such prodigious largeſſes will ſeem leſs ſurpriſing, if we conſider that
Craſſus was the richeſt man in *Rome*, and that his eſtate amounted to ſeven thouſand
talents and upwards, that is, to 1356250 *l.* ſterling. But notwithſtanding this
mighty bounty, *Pompey* ſtill maintained the firſt place in the affections and eſteem
of the multitude [z]. This year the cenſorſhip, which had been ſuppreſſed during the
civil wars, was revived, *L. Gellius Poplicola* and *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus* being promoted
to that dignity. Theſe appointed *Q. Catulus* prince of the ſenate, ſtruck the names
of ſixty-four antient ſenators out of the liſt, and made a cenſus, in which they found,
that the number of *Roman* citizens fit to bear arms amounted to four hundred and
e fifty thouſand.

AND now the conſulate of *Pompey* and *Craſſus* being expired, the republic raiſed to
the faſces the famous orator *Q. Hortenſius* and *Q. Metellus*, the ſon of *Metellus Dal-*
maticus. As all was calm at *Rome* during their adminiſtration, *Pompey* no longer
intermeddled in public affairs, neither frequenting the bar, as he had done formerly,
nor the aſſemblies of the people. He ſeldom appeared in public; and when he did,
he was always attended by a great number of clients, deſigning thereby to keep up
the reſpect due to him, as a man of ſuperior rank and uncommon merit. He even
thought it beneath him to converſe with the generality of the nobility, and therefore
kept company only with a few ſelect friends [a]. The following year the tribes
raiſed

[y] PLUT. in Craſſ. & Pomp. CIC. pro lege Manilia. APPIAN. bell. civil. l. i. [z] PLUT. in Craſſo. CIC. de legib. l. iii. SALLUST. in bell. Catilin. [a] PLUT. ibid.

(L) No-body doubted but this was his deſign; whence *Cicero* wrote to *Atticus* in the following words; *Mirandum enim in modum Cneius noſter Syllani regni ſimilitudinem concupivit:* εἰδως σοι λεγω, *nihil ille unquam minus obſcure tulit*; that is, *Our friend* Pompey *is wonderfully deſirous of obtaining a power like that of* Sylla: *I tell you no more than what I know for certain; for he makes no ſecret of it (23).* And elſewhere; *Hoc turpe Cneius noſter biennio ante cogitavit; ita Syllaturit animus ejus & proſcripturit*, that is. *Pompey has been forming this ſhameful deſign for theſe two years laſt paſt; ſo ſtrongly is his mind bent upon imitating Sylla, and proſcribing like him (24).*

(23) *Cic. ad Attic. l.* vii. *epiſt.* 9. (24) *Idem ibid. epiſt.* 10.

raiſed *L. Cæcilius Metellus* and *Q. Marcius*, ſurnamed *Rex*, to the conſulate The former a
died before he entered upon his office, and another, whoſe name has not been tranſ-
mitted to us, was choſen in his room. But he alſo dying ſoon after his election, the
people ſuperſtitiouſly took it for granted, that it was the pleaſure of the gods that the
republic ſhould be governed one whole year by *Marcius* alone. During his admini-
ſtration, the ſenate, pretending that the *Cretans* had ſided with *Mithridates* and given
The iſland of Crete reduced. a retreat to the pirates, ſent *Q. Cæcilius Metellus* with a fleet to reduce that iſland. But
of this expedition we have given a diſtinct account in our hiſtory of *Crete* [b].

In the following conſulate of *C. Calpurnius Piſo* and *M. Acilius Glabrio*, *Gabinius*,
tribune of the people, at the inſtigation of *Pompey*, who began to be weary of a retired
life, propoſed a law for clearing the ſeas of the pirates, whoſe numbers and power b
daily increaſed. Theſe robbers fitted out at firſt but a ſmall number of light veſſels;
but upon their being protected by *Mithridates*, who, during his war with *Rome*, took
them into his ſervice, they equipped a thouſand galleys, and exerciſed a kind of ſove-
reignty over all the coaſts of the *Mediterranean*. They ſpared not one temple that was
The ſeas infeſted by pirates. famous for its riches on the coaſts of *Italy*, *Greece*, and *Aſia*. All the country-ſeats
on the ſea-ſhore were a prey to them. They took ſlaves without number; blocked
up all the ports of the republic; pillaged the city of *Caieta*; ſunk part of a conſular
fleet at *Oſtia*, and having made a deſcent near *Miſene*, carried away the daughter of the
old conſul *Antonius* with ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction. They even ſurpriſed and
carried off two *Roman* prætors, *Sextilius* and *Bellinus*, in their purple robes with their c
lictors and attendants. If any of the captives declared himſelf to be a *Roman*, the
barbarians in deriſion threw themſelves at his feet, begging his pardon, and implore-
ing his protection. But after they had inſolently ſported with their priſoner, they
often dreſſed him in a toga, and then, caſting out a ſhip's ladder, deſired him to return
home and wiſhed him a good journey. If he refuſed to leap into the ſea, they threw
him over-board, ſaying, that they would not by any means keep a free-born *Roman*
in captivity. But the greateſt calamity the world ſuffered by theſe tyrants of the
ſea was, the ſcarcity of proviſions which they occaſioned, not in *Europe* only, but like-
wiſe in *Aſia* and *Africa*, no veſſel venturing out without being taken. *Gabinius*
therefore, who propoſed a law for clearing the ſeas of theſe pirates, was much ap- d
plauded for his zeal, though in reality he had nothing in view, but the procuring of
new honours for *Pompey*, who had reſtored the college of tribunes to their former
The Gabinian *law.* authority. In virtue of the law which *Gabinius* propoſed, the perſon, to whom the
Roman people and ſenate ſhould commit the management of this war, for the crafty
tribune did not name *Pompey*, was to have a power without controul or reſtriction.
His authority was to extend all over the ſeas within the *Straits*, or *the pillars of Her-*
cules, and over all the countries for the ſpace of four hundred furlongs from the ſea.
By the ſame law he was empowered to raiſe as many mariners and ſoldiers as he thought
fit, to take what ſums he pleaſed out of the public treaſury, without being account-
able for them, and to chooſe out of the ſenate fifteen ſenators to be his lieutenants, and e
to execute his orders, where he could not be preſent in perſon. As this arbitrary and
unbounded authority was to be for three years, it gave a great deal of uneaſineſs and
jealouſy to the ſenate. They ſaw through the tribune's deſign, and ſeveral of them
reproached *Pompey* with aiming at the ſovereignty of *Rome*; nay, the conſul *Calpur-*
nius told him ſmartly, that if he followed the footſteps of *Romulus* he would ſcarce
avoid his end. But he was in danger of being tore in pieces by the people, for
treating with ſuch freedom their favourite. The conſcript fathers, finding the people
determined to paſs the law, had recourſe to their old method of diſconcerting the
meaſures of the tribunes, and gained over two of them, *Trebellius* and *Roſcius* [c].

As no body doubted but this extenſive commiſſion, which the tribune *Gabinius* f
called *the proconſulate of the ſeas*, was deſigned for *Pompey*, when the day appointed for
holding the comitia came, in which the *Gabinian* law was to be received or rejected, the
concourſe was prodigious. The tribune *Trebellius* attempted to oppoſe it; but the
tribes threatening to depoſe him, he was forced to give way and be ſilent. Then
Catulus, prince of the ſenate, riſing up, made a long ſpeech, which was nothing but
a panegyric upon *Pompey*. In the cloſe of his harangue, he adviſed the people not
to expoſe a man of his value, the greateſt general of the republic, to ſo many dan-
gers. *For if you ſhould loſe him*, ſaid he, *where could you find another* Pompey? *or*
whom

[b] Vide Hiſt. Univerſ. Vol. III. p. 170, 171.

[c] Plut. in Pomp. Dio Cass, l. lvi.

a *whom would you put in his place?* At theſe words the people, who had hearkened to the venerable ſenator with great attention, cried out with one voice, *You*, Catulus, *we will put you in his place*. *Catulus*, no longer able to reſiſt the firm reſolution of the whole people, and at the ſame time pleaſed with the eſteem they ſhewed for him, waved his oppoſition and withdrew. Then the tribune *Roſcius* attempted to ſpeak, but being prevented by the clamours of the people, he held up two of his fingers, to ſignify, that he was for dividing that extenſive commiſſion between two perſons, and not intruſting *Pompey* alone with ſuch an ample and unlimited authority. Upon this the aſſembly made ſuch a terrible outcry, that a crow flying accidentally over the comitium at that inſtant, was ſtunned and dropt down among the rabble [c]. *Hor-*
b *tenſius* and ſeveral other ſenators ſpoke with great eloquence, and were heard with attention; but their harangues made no impreſſion on the multitude. *Cicero* never opened his mouth, though ſo fine an opportunity offered of diſplaying his talents. He did not care to make either *Pompey*, the ſenate, or the people, his enemies. The whole day being ſpent in ſpeeches and debates, the determination was poſtponed to the next, when *Gabinius*'s motion was agreed to by a great majority, and *Pompey* appointed to make war on the pirates with the title of proconſul. The people even granted him more than the tribune had deſired; for they allowed him to equip five hundred ſhips, to raiſe a hundred and twenty thouſand foot and five thouſand horſe, and to chooſe out of the ſenate twenty, or, as *Appian* has it, twenty-five ſenators for his
c lieutenants. He had alſo two quæſtors allowed him, and ſix thouſand *Attic* talents paid down to him before he left *Rome*. Thus the people, ſeduced by their tribunes, were running blindly into ſlavery; for it was now in *Pompey*'s power to follow the example of *Sylla*, and make himſelf abſolute maſter of the republic [d].

The Gabinian *law paſſes.*

Pompey's power.

HOWEVER, on this occaſion he behaved with great integrity, and gained more glory than he had done by all his former exploits. He conducted the expedition with ſuch prudence, and took ſuch wiſe meaſures, that, inſtead of the three years allowed him, he quite cleared the ſeas in four months, after having taken or ſunk, according to ſome, one thouſand three hundred, according to others, eight hundred and forty-ſix of their veſſels, cut ten thouſand of them in pieces, and made himſelf maſter
d of a hundred and twenty towns or caſtles on the coaſts, which they had ſeized. In this glorious expedition the proconſul ſet at liberty an incredible number of captives, and took above twenty thouſand of the pirates priſoners, whom he ſent to people the deſerted cities of *Cilicia*, namely *Mallus*, *Adana*, *Epiphania*, and *Soli*, which latter he called from his own name *Pompeiopolis* [e].

He extirpates the pirates.

No ſooner did the news of *Pompey*'s victories reach *Rome*, than *Manilius*, tribune of the people, at the inſtigation of the proconſul's friends and agents, propoſed a new law in his favour, importing, that *Lucullus* ſhould be recalled from *Aſia*, where he was waging war with *Mithridates* and *Tigranes*; that the conduct of the armies employed againſt thoſe two princes ſhould be committed to *Pompey*; that *Cilicia*, where *Marcius*
e *Rex* commanded, and *Bithynia*, which had been allotted to *Acilius Glabrio*, ſhould be reſigned to him; and that finally he ſhould, at the ſame time, retain the ſame naval forces and ſovereignty of the ſeas as before. This was appointing him abſolute monarch of all the *Roman* dominions; for the provinces, which were exempted from his authority by the former decree, ſuch as *Phrygia*, *Lycaonia*, *Galatia*, *Cappadocia*, *Cilicia*, *Colchis*, *Armenia*, &c. would by this new law be within the precincts of his province. This was the famous law, which from its author was ſtyled the *Manilian* Law. When the tribune propoſed it in the comitia, it raiſed ſuch diſturbances among the nobility and the zealous republicans, as are not eaſily deſcribed. They looked upon the new law as calculated for the eſtabliſhing of tyranny; *We have then got at laſt*, ſaid they,
f *a ſovereign*; *the republic is changed into a monarchy*; *the ſervices of* Lucullus, *the honour of* Glabrio *and* Marcius, *two zealous and worthy ſenators, are to be ſacrificed to the promotion of* Pompey; Sylla *never carried his tyranny ſo far*, &c. They encouraged one another to uſe their utmoſt efforts in oppoſition to ſo ſcandalous a decree, and not to part with their liberty at ſo tame a rate. But notwithſtanding the reſolution they ſhewed in private, when the day came for the accepting or rejecting of the *Manilian* law, their hearts failed them; inſomuch, that of all the conſcript fathers, only *Hortenſius* and *Catulus* had courage enough to ſpeak againſt it. The latter eſpecially made ſurpriſing efforts to diſſuade the people from inveſting one man with ſuch an

The Manilian *law.*

The cowardice of the ſenate.

[c] PLUT. ibid. [d] PLUT. & APPIAN. ibid. [e] APPIAN. & PLUT. ibid. c. 31. CIC. pro lege Manilia. VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii.

an abſolute power; he reproached them with the injuſtice they were going to do *Lucullus*, deſcribed to them in pompous terms his glorious exploits both by ſea and land, enumerated the many evils which they had reaſon to apprehend from ſuch an unbounded authority, *&c.* But finding the people heard with great indifference, and grew uneaſy at his diſcourſe; he directed his ſpeech to the ſenate, and raiſing his voice, *Let us fly*, ſaid he, *conſcript fathers, let us fly to ſome mountain, as our fore-fathers have done; let us fly to ſome rocks, where we may ſhelter ourſelves from the ſlavery with which we are threatened.* Two great men ſpoke in favour of the law, viz. *Cicero* and *Cæſar*; the former aimed at the conſulate, which *Pompey*'s party could more eaſily procure him, than that of *Catulus* and the ſenate. On this occaſion he made that ſpeech, which is ſtill preſerved, and will be the admiration of all ages. As for *Cæſar*, he was delighted to ſee the people inſenſibly loſe that republican ſpirit and love of liberty, which might one day obſtruct the vaſt deſigns he had already formed. Thus was the public intereſt, as it too commonly happens, ſacrificed to private views. The decree paſſed by the ſuffrages of all the tribes; and the people of their own accord conferred on *Pompey* as extenſive an authority as *Sylla* had uſurped by an armed force [f]. He was ſtill on the coaſts of *Aſia*, when news was brought him of the extraordinary power with which the people had veſted him. He received it with an affected modeſty and reluctance; *What!* ſaid he, *will* Rome *then burden me with a new war? Muſt I never have any reſt? Muſt I ſacrifice to the deſires of my country the pleaſures of a retired life, and the enjoyment of a beloved wife? Happy, thrice happy are thoſe who live in the inglorious croud, unknown and unregarded!* *Plutarch* tells us, that even his moſt zealous friends were highly diſpleaſed with ſuch groſs hypocriſy, well knowing what ſteps he had taken in order to procure this new commiſſion. *Lucullus*, ſeeing himſelf thus degraded, returned to *Rome*, where he was received by the nobility with all poſſible marks of eſteem, and honoured with a moſt pompous and magnificent triumph. As for *Pompey*, he purſued the war againſt *Mithridates* and *Tigranes* with great ſucceſs, and performed thoſe glorious exploits in *Pontus*, *Albania*, *Iberia*, &c. which we have deſcribed at length in our hiſtory of *Pontus* [g].

Cicero *and* Cæſar *favour* Pompey.

Pompey's *diſſimulation and hypocriſy.*

Catiline's *character.*

WHILE *Pompey* was extending the dominions of the republic in *Aſia*, ſome wicked citizens were plotting her ruin at home. At the head of theſe was *Lucius Sergius Catiline*, who was deſcended of an illuſtrious patrician family, but had rendered himſelf infamous by a continued ſeries of debaucheries, inceſts, murders, and the moſt horrible crimes. He is ſaid to have debauched, when he was very young, a woman of diſtinction, and to have afterwards married the daughter he had by her. He was likewiſe accuſed of keeping an unlawful correſpondence with *Fabia Terentia*, the veſtal, ſiſter to *Terentia*, *Cicero*'s wife. He had committed murders without number, and had been, in the time of *Sylla*'s proſcriptions, the moſt mercileſs miniſter of that tyrant's fury. The favour of the dictator, his birth and courage, had raiſed him to the principal dignities of the republic. He had been quæſtor, lieutenant in ſeveral armies, and had governed *Africa* in quality of prætor. But in all theſe different employments he had equally diſhonoured himſelf by his debaucheries and enormous oppreſſions. As he had ſquandered away his patrimony, and was overloaded with debts, he had no proſpect of retrieving his affairs, but by the ſubverſion of the ſtate. He therefore watched all opportunities of raiſing diſturbances; and one offered ſoon after his return from *Africa*, where he had been prætor. *P. Autronius Pætus* and *P. Cornelius Sylla*, the ſon of the dictator's brother, being choſen conſuls, and afterwards diſqualified for that office upon their being convicted of having openly bought the ſuffrages of the people, *Catiline* prevailed upon them to enter into a plot againſt the conſuls who were choſen in their room, viz. *Aurelius Cotta* and *Manlius Torquatus*.

Conſpires againſt the conſuls and ſenate.

His ſcheme was to aſſaſſinate them both, murder the greateſt part of the ſenators, and ſeize the goverment. Beſides *Autronius* and *Sylla*, he engaged a great many young men, who were undone by their exceſſes, and among the reſt *Cn. Calpurnius Piſo*, a youth of a noble family, but raſh, factious, and by his exceſſes reduced almoſt to beggary. This wicked attempt was to be put in execution on the calends of *January*, when the new conſuls took poſſeſſion of their office. But the conſpirators not having found a convenient opportunity that day, they put off the affair to the nones of *February*, the day appointed for the uſual meeting of the conſcript fathers. But this ſecond attempt proved as unſucceſsful as the firſt. *Catiline* gave the ſignal at an improper time

[f] PLUT. in Pomp. Dio. l. xxxvi. Liv. l. c. VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 33. Cic. pro lege Manilia.
[g] Vide Vol. III. p. 750,

a time, before the conſpirators were got together; ſo that no-body offered to ſtir; by which means the lives of the conſuls and ſenators were ſaved, and the moſt bloody and execrable conſpiracy, which had been formed ſince the foundation of *Rome*, came to nothing. However, *Catiline* did not drop his wicked deſign; as he had ſpent his patrimony in debauchery, and was plunged in debt, he had no reſource but in the ſubverſion of the republic [h]. But we ſhall leave him for a while to obſerve the conduct of another young *Roman*, who had the ſame view with *Catiline* of ſubverting the whole conſtitution, but took more prudent and better concerted meaſures for the execute-

His conſpiracy defeated.

ing of his deſign. This was *Julius Cæſar*, who, having paſſed through the offices of legionary tribune and quæſtor, was this year raiſed to the ædileſhip, in which em-

Julius Cæſar captivates the hearts of the people.

b ployment he made it his whole buſineſs to gain the affections of the people. Nothing could be more polite and engaging than his behaviour. His liberality knew no bounds, and the magnificence of his furniture and entertainments ſurpaſſed any thing that had ever before been ſeen in *Rome*. As he was naturally of a generous diſpoſition, he is ſaid to have owed above one thouſand three hundred talents, that is, 251875*l.* ſterling, before he entred upon any of the public offices. The immenſe ſums he beſtowed upon the populace gave no umbrage even to his enemies, who uſed to ſay, that this was a ſhort-lived ſhew, which would ſoon end with his eſtate, and then he would be reduced to the ſtate of a common citizen. *Cicero* only ſaw farther than the vulgar into the intentions of the ambitious youth. He was the firſt who had any ſuſpicion of

c his aſpiring at a ſovereign power, and often uſed to ſay, that in all his other actions and intrigues he plainly diſcovered the air of a tyrant; but when he ſaw his hair lie in ſo exact order, and obſerved him ſo often adjuſting it with his finger, he could not imagine it ſhould enter into ſuch a man's thoughts to ſubvert the *Roman* ſtate. *Cicero* did not diſcover that manly courage and intrepidity, which lay concealed under the appearance of luxury and effeminacy. As the office of ædile confined him to *Rome*, he undertook the repairing of the *Appian* way, and finiſhed that great work almoſt wholly at his own expence. He entertained the people with a ſhew of three hundred and twenty couple of gladiators, and built porticos of timber with ſeats all round the forum, that the populace might ſee, without any inconvenience, the *Megaleſian* games, which

d were exhibited at *Rome*, during his ædileſhip. By theſe means he ſo captivated the people, that they were now as much, if not more, devoted to him, than to *Pompey*. Depending upon the favour of the people, he made a funeral oration in praiſe of his aunt *Julia*, though ſhe was the widow of *Marius*, whoſe name was odious to the ſenate and nobility; and was even ſo bold as to bring forth on that occaſion the images of *Marius*, which no-body had preſumed to produce ſince the government firſt came into *Sylla*'s hands. The nobility exclaimed againſt him for reviving the memory of one who had been declared an enemy to his country; but the people applauded the action; and this encouraged him to ſet up in the night-time the ſtatues and trophies

He revives the memory and honours of Marius.

e of *Marius*, which *Sylla* had ordered to be taken down. Next morning the people crouded to ſee them, and many of *Marius*'s party even wept for joy at the ſight of his ſtatues and trophies. But the nobility inveighed bitterly againſt *Cæſar*, as if he had deſigns upon the government, and *Catulus* even accuſed him before the ſenate of aiming at the ſame tyrannical power which *Marius* had uſurped. He cloſed his ſpeech with this remarkable ſaying; Cæſar *no longer undermines the government, but openly plants his batteries againſt it*. But the accuſed anſwered the invectives of *Catulus* with ſo much art and temper, that he was not only acquitted, but highly applauded by the people as a relation worthy of the great *Marius*. *Julius Cæſar* being thus become the idol of the people, he prevailed upon them to confer the conſular dignity on *L. Julius Cæſar*, one of his own family, though of another branch. The collegue the republic gave him

f was *C. Marcius Figulus*, a man of a mild diſpoſition, and an enemy to all factions and parties. During their adminiſtration, *Cæſar* got many of *Sylla*'s partiſans condemned, ſome to perpetual baniſhment, others to death, for the murders they had committed during the dictator's tyrannical reign. Among the latter was *L. Bellienus*, uncle to *Catiline*; but *Catiline* himſelf was ſpared, though he had been the chief inſtrument of *Sylla*'s fury [i]. He was a friend to *Cæſar*, and had communicated to him, as was ſuppoſed, his wicked deſign of ſubverting the government. Of this horrible conſpiracy the ancients give us the following account:

Catiline, though he had failed in his two former plots, as we have related above, yet did not drop his wicked deſign of ſubverting the government, but having ſtrengthened his

[h] Sallust. bell. Catilin. Plut. in Cic.

[i] Plut. in Cæſar. Sallust. bell. Catilin.

Catiline's *conſpiracy.* *Year after the flood* 2940. *Before Chriſt* 59. *of* Rome 689.

his party with a great number of ſenators and knights, waited only for an opportunity of putting it in execution. Among his accomplices in the ſenate were *P. Lentulus Sura*, *P. Antronius*, *L. Caſſius Longinus*, *C. Cethegus*, *Publius*, and *Servius Sylla*, *L. Vargunteius*, *Q. Annius*, *M. Porcius Læca*, *L. Beſtia*, and *Q. Curius*; and among the knights *M. Fulvius Nobilior*, *L. Statilius*, *P. Gabinius Capito*, and *C. Cornelius*. We are told, that *M. Licinius Craſſus* was alſo privy to the plot, and that *Cæſar* favoured it underhand: theſe two cunning and equally ambitious men waited for the event before they would declare themſelves. Beſides the above mentioned ſenators and knights, *Catiline* drew into the plot all the debauched youth of *Rome*, who had ſquandered away their eſtates, and could no longer follow their extravagant courſes; and likewiſe ſome of the old ſoldiers and officers of *Sylla*'s army, who, after having conſumed all the rewards of their former ſervices in debaucheries, were longing for a new civil war, as the only remedy againſt want and poverty. As it was very difficult that the deſigns of ſuch men as were continually rioting ſhould long remain ſecret, *Cicero* was informed of them by *Fulvia*, a woman of diſtinction, but who diſhonoured her family by a criminal correſpondence with *Quintus Curius*, one of the conſpirators. The young debauchee, finding himſelf ſcornfully treated by *Fulvia*, after he had ſpent his eſtate upon her, in order to recover her favour, boaſted, that *he ſhould be ſoon rich enough to pleaſe her*; adding, *that the method he was taking to become ſo, was a ſecret which he would never diſcloſe to her*. This awaked her curioſity; and as ſhe was more artful than her lover, ſhe ſoon prevailed upon him by her careſſes to unravel the whole plot. Whether *Fulvia* was really ſtruck with the danger of the republic, or thought the undertaking would not ſucceed, as being managed in great part by young people, ſhe made a full diſcovery of all ſhe had heard to *Cicero*, but concealed the name of the perſon, who had given her that intelligence. This diſcovery *Cicero*, who then ſtood for the conſulate, and had *Catiline* for his competitor, made uſe of to get himſelf choſen, and *Catiline* excluded. The collegue given him by the tribes was *C. Antonius*, a man naturally lazy, a lover of eaſe and pleaſure, and who hitherto no further concerned himſelf in public affairs, than was neceſſary to ſhew that he was not abſolutely unfit for them. As he was a man of little weight and eaſily manageable, *Cicero* flattered himſelf that he ſhould be able, with a little art, to get the aſcendant over him, and govern him as he pleaſed. They no ſooner entered upon their office, than *P. Servilius Rullus*, tribune of the people, endeavoured to revive the old troubles about the diſtribution of the conquered lands. But he was vigorouſly oppoſed by *Cicero*, who by the force of his eloquence prevailed upon the people to ſacrifice their private intereſt to the public tranquillity. The cauſe of the public diſturbances being removed, the new conſul applied himſelf next to draw off his collegue from the faction of the tribunes, which he favoured; and ſucceeded by changing provinces with him, and reſigning to him the government of *Macedon*, which by lot was fallen to himſelf, and taking that of *Gaul*, which was leſs profitable, and had fallen to *Antonius*. This done, he made it his chief buſineſs to prevent any popular diſturbance. One had like to have been raiſed in the theatre, on account of the new diſtinction which the tribune *Otho* had given to the *Roman* knights, allotting to them, in all public ſhews, the fourteen firſt ranks after thoſe of the ſenators. But *Cicero* interpoſed, and harangued the people with ſuch ſtrength and ſucceſs, that they willingly complied with *Otho*'s regulation. By this means he ſtifled a ſedition in its birth, of which *Catiline* might have made a very ill uſe [k].

The conſpiracy diſcovered to Cicero.

Cicero's *conſulſhip.*

Preparations made by Catiline *for an open revolt.*

In the mean time, *Catiline*, grown outrageous at *Cicero*'s ſucceſs, reſolved to ſtand once more for the conſulate, and prepared for an open rebellion, in caſe he ſhould not ſucceed. He borrowed what money he could; and engaged his partiſans to raiſe as much as poſſible upon their credit, and on ſecurities. Theſe ſums were lodged in the hands of one *Manlius*, a ſoldier of fortune, who had ſerved with great reputation of bravery under *Sylla*, and at that time reſided at *Fæſulæ* in *Hetruria*. As that city was a colony of *Sylla*'s ſoldiers, *Manlius*, who had great intereſt among them, engaged them in the plot, and made conſiderable levies throughout all *Hetruria*. *Lucullus* the famous general, whom *Pompey* had ſucceeded in the eaſt, being informed of theſe preparations, made a report of what he had heard to the ſenate, and aſſiſted the conſul with all his intereſt in the proſecution of the traitor. *Cicero* at the ſame time kept up a ſtrict correſpondence with *Fulvia*, and even gained over ſome of the conſpirators, who

[k] Plut. in Cic. in Rull. & Piſon.

a who, purſuant to his directions, pretended to be the warmeſt promoters of the plot. It was by their means that he diſcovered the deſigns of *Catiline*, the various ſentiments of his accomplices, their number and quality, and the general, as well as the private, views of each of the conſpirators. By them he was informed, that on a day appointed the conſpirators were to ſet fire to ſeveral parts of the city; that during the confuſion and uproar, which ſo general a conflagration would occaſion, ſome were to murder the chief men of the ſenate in their houſes, others to aſſemble the mutinous populace, ſeize the capitol, and fortify themſelves there, till *Manlius* arrived from *Hetruria* with his veterans. Two *Roman* knights were appointed to murder *Cicero* in his own houſe; but the conſul, immediately informed of all that paſſed in their aſſembly, ſummoned

b the ſenate, and boldly informed the fathers, in *Catiline*'s preſence, of the danger they were in. He communicated to them the whole plot, and though he did not think proper to name thoſe, by whom he had been informed, yet the ſenate by a public decree ordered the conſuls to *take care that the republic ſuffered no detriment*; an ancient form, by which the magiſtrates for the time being had almoſt an unbounded authority conferred on them. *Cicero*, inveſted with ſuch an ample power, diſpatched without delay, ſome of the worthieſt ſenators to the principal cities in *Italy* to keep them in awe. At the ſame time he placed guards in different parts of *Rome* to prevent the incendiaries. By his adviſe the ſenate promiſed not only a pardon, but ample rewards, to any of the conſpirators, who ſhould make farther diſcoveries of this black attempt.

c But not one ſingle man, which is very ſurpriſing, out of ſo great a number of profligates, appeared as an evidence againſt his accomplices. The conſul might indeed, upon his own perſonal knowledge, have made uſe of the new power the ſenate had given him, and condemned *Catiline* and his adherents to death without appeal. But as this was a dangerous ſtep, he thought it more adviſeable to induce *Catiline* to leave *Rome*, and take refuge in *Manlius*'s camp near *Fæſulæ*. With this view he aſſembled the conſcript fathers, and *Catiline* appearing among the reſt, as if he had been no ways concerned in the affair, thoſe ſenators, near whom he came to ſeat himſelf, quitting their places, left him quite by himſelf. Then *Cicero*, no longer able to conceal his indignation, firſt read certain letters, which had been put into his hand by *Licinius*

d *Craſſus* (M); and then directing his ſpeech to *Catiline*, made that famous oration, which is ſtill extant, and will ever be admired by all men of taſte and judgment. *Catiline* heard his ſpeech with the moſt artful diſſimulation, and even had the aſſurance to intreat the conſcript fathers not to ſuffer themſelves to be prejudiced againſt him by the calumnies of his moſt bitter enemy, *a new man*, who had not in *Rome* ſo much as a houſe of his own, and who had forged a conſpiracy in order to raiſe himſelf, and acquire the title of *defender of his country*. He added, that *Cicero* laughed in private at their credulity, and the falſe alarms he had given them. But when he began to proceed to invectives againſt the conſul, he was interrupted by the cries of the whole aſſembly, the ſenate-houſe ringing with the names of incendiary, parricide, e-

e nemy to his country, *&c.* *Catiline*, highly provoked at theſe reproaches, and foaming with rage, cried out, *Since you have provoked me to the utmoſt, I will not periſh alone, but will have the ſatisfaction of involving thoſe who have ſworn my ruin, in the ſame deſtruction with myſelf.* Having ſpoke thus, he inſtantly left the ſenate, and ſending for *Cethegus*, *Lentulus*, and the other chief conſpirators, he gave them an account of what had juſt happened in the ſenate; made them ſenſible, that he could no longer ſtay in *Rome* with ſafety; encouraged them to lay hold of the firſt opportunity of ſetting fire to the city, of aſſaſſinating the ſenators, and above all of deſtroying the conſul, the only man who could render their deſigns abortive. He told them, that he was going to put himſelf at the head of the forces, which *Manlius*

f had raiſed for him in *Hetruria*, and that they ſhould ſoon ſee him again with ſuch a force as would ſtrike the boldeſt of his enemies with dread and terror. After this conference he ſet out in great haſte for *Hetruria*, attended by three hundred of his party. His ſudden flight gave *Cicero* great pleaſure; but as he was ſenſible how tender the people were of their privileges, and feared the tribunes might exaſperate the populace againſt him, by ſuggeſting, that he had baniſhed a *Roman* citizen without conſulting them, the next day he mounted the roſtra, and in his ſecond

The conſuls are veſted with an extraordinary power.

Cicero *harangues the people againſt* Catiline.

Catiline *leaves* Rome.

(M) After *Craſſus* had ſupped, one of his ſervants brought him a packet, which, he ſaid, had been delivered to him by an unknown perſon. In the packet were ſeveral letters directed to different perſons, and one to *Craſſus* himſelf, which he read; and found therein the whole ſcheme of the conſpiracy. The anonimous writer likewiſe adviſed him to leave *Rome* without delay, if he tendered his life. Upon this *Craſſus* went directly to the conſul, and delivered to him the packet, in order to clear himſelf of the ſuſpicion, which his ſtrict friendſhip with *Catiline* had raiſed.

ſecond oration againſt *Catiline*, which is ſtill preſerved in his works, informed the a
aſſembly of the true ſtate of affairs, aſſuring them with great firmneſs that no care
or vigilance ſhould be wanting on his part to guard them againſt the impending
dangers [1].

In the mean time *Catiline* arriving at *Manlius*'s camp in the neighbourhood of *Fæſculæ*, took upon him the command of the troops, and at the ſame time aſſumed all the marks of a ſupreme magiſtrate, being preceded by lictors carrying their axes and faſces. The ſenate informed of ſo open a rebellion, declared *Catiline* and *Manlius* enemies to their country, and at the ſame time ordered the conſul *Antonius* to take the field with a proconſular army, and *Cicero* to continue in *Rome* and there watch the motions of the conſpirators. At the motion of *Cicero* a decree was alſo paſſed, pro- b
miſing impunity to all thoſe who ſhould abandon *Catiline*, and return to *Rome* within a limited time, and declaring thoſe guilty of high treaſon againſt the ſtate, who ſhould join him. Notwithſtanding this decree, great numbers of profligates flocked to him both from *Rome*, and the other cities of *Italy*. Among others the ſon of *Aulus Fulvius*, a venerable ſenator, ſet out for the army of the rebels; but his father diſpatched meſſengers after him, who brought him back to *Rome*; where his father, in virtue of his paternal authority, condemned him to death, and cauſed his ſevere ſentence to be immediately put in execution. In the mean time *Lentulus* and the other chiefs of the conſpiracy endeavoured to draw into the plot the embaſſadors of the *Allobroges* then at *Rome*, in order to get aſſiſtance from *Tranſalpine Gaul*. But the c
embaſſadors imparted the whole affair to *Q. Fabius Sanga*, who was the protector of their nation, according to the cuſtom of thoſe times, when the different ſtates ſubject to the republic had in the ſenate one who took care of their intereſts. *Sanga*, after having made them ſenſible of the danger of ſuch an undertaking, brought them to the conſul, who prevailed upon them to continue their negotiations with the conſpirators, in order to procure by their means undeniable proofs of the conſpiracy. Accordingly, the embaſſadors made no difficulty to cloſe with the propoſals of the conſpirators, but inſiſted on a written treaty as their credentials to their countrymen. This treaty was granted them, ſigned by all the chiefs of the plot; and it was agreed, that they ſhould ſet out on the third of the nones of *December*, and take their way through *Hetruria* to get the treaty ratified by *Catiline*. *Cicero*, being informed by the embaſſa- d
dors when they were to leave *Rome*, ſent privately two prætors with a ſufficient number of troops to lie in wait for them, ſeize them with the conſpirators, who attended them, and bring them all back to *Rome*. The prætors faithfully executed their commiſſion; the embaſſadors together with *Vulturcius*, who had taken upon him to conduct them to *Catiline*, were ſtopped at the bridge *Milvius*, and brought back to *Rome* with all the papers, which either the *Allobroges* or *Vulturcius* had in their cuſtody. This news *Cicero* received by break of day, and having now in his power undeniable proofs of the conſpiracy, he ſent, without loſs of time, proper Officers to ſeize *Lentulus*, *Gabinius*, *Cethegus*, *Statilius*, and other chiefs of the conſpiracy, in their houſes. c
Theſe were not ſent to the public priſons, but, agreeable to the tenderneſs the *Roman* laws ſhewed to citizens, though ſuſpected of the greateſt crimes, were only committed to the care of ſome of the moſt illuſtrious ſenators. Then the conſul, upon the depoſition of the *Allobroges*, ordered the houſe of *Cethegus* to be ſearched; and having found there a great quantity of ſulphur and tow, with arms of all ſorts, he aſſembled the ſenate in the temple of *Concord*. There he produced his evidence, confronted the witneſſes with the criminals, and prevailed on *Vulturcius* to diſcover the ſecrets of the plot. *Cicero*, having thus got the proofs he expected both from the witneſſes and criminals, he aſſembled the ſenate again, when the conſcript fathers returned him the thanks he deſerved, and acknowledged, that by his wiſdom, vigilance, and courage, he had f
diſcovered a deteſtable plot, ſaved *Rome* from the flames, and preſerved the republic from utter ruin. *Catulus* and *Cato* went ſo far as to ſtyle him *the father of his country*, an appellation, which had never been given to any *Roman* before him. *L. Gellius* moved, that a civic crown ſhould be given the conſul, a mark of honour which had never been granted but in camps. After theſe applauſes the conſcript fathers entered into a debate concerning the puniſhment of the criminals; but before they came to any reſolution, *L. Tarquinius*, one of the conſpirators, appeared before the fathers, confeſſed his guilt, and accuſed *M. Licinius Craſſus*, the richeſt man in *Rome*, of being concerned

Catiline *declared an enemy to his country.*

Is betrayed by the embaſſadors of the Allobroges.

The chiefs of the conſpiracy ſeized.

Cicero *ſtyled* Father of his country.

[1] Plut, in Cic. Sallust. ibid.

a concerned in the conſpiracy. But the very name of *Craſſus* raiſed a great clamour in the aſſembly; his friends cried out, that *Tarquinius* had been ſuborned; and thoſe very ſenators, who ſuſpected *Craſſus*, joined the majority in acquitting him. It was dangerous to provoke a man of his great intereſt; ſo that *Tarquinius* was the only ſufferer by his accuſation. He was condemned to impriſonment, and injoined never to mention this affair again, unleſs it were to diſcover the perſon who had ſuborned him. The ſenate, after long and warm debates, came to no other reſolution, than that the four chief criminals, *Lentulus*, *Cethegus*, *Statilius*, and *Gabinius* ſhould be carried to the public priſon, and there kept under cloſe confinement, till the fathers agreed about the puniſhment that ſhould be inflicted upon them. During theſe delays, *Cethegus* b found means to convey letters to his friends and clients, encouraging them to raiſe the whole party, and try their utmoſt to reſcue them out of priſon. But *Cicero*, informed of this, poſted troops on the ramparts, at the gates, and in the croſs-ways, and having aſſembled the ſenate anew on the nones of *December*, he exhorted the fathers to come to an ultimate reſolution concerning the priſoners. *Syllanus*, conſul elect for the enſuing year, was, according to cuſtom, asked his advice firſt; and he, without heſitation, declared, that, in his opinion, they all deſerved to die. All who voted after him were of the ſame opinion, except *T. Nero* and *Julius Cæſar*. The latter made a famous ſpeech in praiſe of clemency, which is ſtill extant, and by all admired as a moſt artful piece of oratory. He concluded, ſaying, that in an affair, which c concerned the lives of citizens and of the principal patricians in *Rome*, it was adviſeable not to be too haſty in giving judgment; but that they ſhould be well guarded, and kept in ſome towns of *Italy*, till *Catiline* was vanquiſhed. As *Cæſar* was an excellent orator, his ſpeech made a great impreſſion on the aſſembly. Moſt of the ſenators, and among the reſt *Syllanus*, retracting what he had ſaid, declared for *Cæſar*'s opinion. But *Cato*, when it came to his turn to vote, repreſented in ſuch lively colours the horrible deſigns of the conſpirators, and ſhewed with ſo many unanſwerable arguments, that *Cæſar*'s clemency was incompatible with the ſafety of the ſtate, that the whole ſenate returned to their former opinion, and ſentence of death was pronounced againſt the conſpirators without any oppoſition but from *Cæſar* only, who, d obſtinately perſiſting in his opinion, made ſuch a noiſe, that the guards at the door came into the ſenate, and, thinking him a conſpirator, would have killed him, had they not been prevented by *Cicero* and *Curio* (N). *Cæſar*'s unſeaſonable mildneſs, and management in this whole affair, made moſt of the ſenators ſuſpect he had a hand in the plot; nay, *Curius* undertook to prove from ſome writings of *Catiline*, that he had entered into engagements with the author of the conſpiracy. But *Cicero*, who was ſenſible how great his intereſt was in *Rome*, avoided impeaching him with the reſt, leſt by the aſſiſtance of his friends and relations he ſhould not only eſcape the rigour of the law himſelf, but ſhould likewiſe ſave the reſt of the criminals. As *Cæſar* was going out of the ſenate, the knights, who were upon duty, turned the points of their e naked ſwords towards him, watching the conſul's looks to receive his orders. But *Cicero* made them a ſign to let him eſcape, either for fear of the people, or becauſe he thought the murder illegal [m].

Craſſus accuſed and acquitted.

The ſenate conſults about puniſhing the conſpirators.

Cæſar *ſuſpected.*

But ſaved by Cicero.

As ſoon as the decree for the execution of the criminals was paſſed, *Cicero*, though it was late in the day, went directly from the aſſembly to the priſon, and to prevent a reſcue in the night, had them executed in his ſight. As he was returning home after the execution, he turned to the populace, who crouded about him, and cried out, *Vixerunt*, *They have lived*, an expreſſion then in uſe among the *Romans* to avoid ſaying, *Mortui ſunt*, *They are dead*, *death* and *dead* being words of an ill augury, which conveyed melancholy thoughts to the mind. The friends and relations of the conſpirators, f who

The conſpirators executed.

[m] Salluſt. ibid. Plut. in Cic. & Cæſare.

(N) There happened a ridiculous adventure during the heat of the conteſt between *Cato* and *Cæſar*. *Servilia*, *Cato*'s ſiſter, being in love with *Cæſar*, ſent a ſlave to him with a letter, in which ſhe expreſſed her affection in the moſt paſſionate terms. The ſlave, who was ordered to deliver the letter into *Cæſar*'s own hands, not finding him at home, brought it to him in the ſenate. *Cato* no ſooner ſaw the letter delivered, then he cried out, that it came from one of the conſpirators, and inſiſted upon its being read to the aſſembly. *Cæſar* ſmiling, gave him the letter, and *Cato*, after he had peruſed it, threw it back to him, ſaying with his uſual ſourneſs, *Take it, drunkard* (25). This reproach *Cæſar* well deſerved; for in his youth he was greatly given to drinking.

(25) *Plut. in Cat.*

who had reſolved to break open the priſons in the night and reſcue them, were a
thunderſtruck, when they heard they were executed, loſt all hopes, and immediately diſperſed. It is impoſſible to expreſs the joy which the people ſhewed, when they heard that the plot was ſuppreſſed, and the conſpirators puniſhed. They conducted the conſul to his houſe with extraordinary ſhouts and acclamations: as it was night, fires were made in the ſtreets, through which he paſſed; and the whole city was illuminated, men, women, and even children calling him, as he paſſed by, *the deliverer of* Rome, *the ſecond founder of the city*, *the father of his country*, &c. This night was more glorious to him, than a day of triumph had ever been to the greateſt general. No conſul ever ſince the birth of the republic had done her more important ſervices. Others had inlarged her territories by their victories, but *Cicero* ſaved the b
lives of his fellow-citizens, and the ſtate itſelf from utter ruin [n].

Cicero and *Antonius* had no ſooner yielded the faſces to *D. Junius Syllanus* and *L. Licinius Murena*, than *Q. Metellus*, and *L. Beſtia*, two tribunes of the people, to rob *Cicero* of the honour of putting an end to the rebellion, made a motion for recalling *Pompey* from *Aſia* to march againſt *Catiline*. *Cæſar*, jealous of *Cicero*'s glory and growing intereſt, ſupported the tribunes; but *Cato*, with great intrepidity, oppoſed the motion; whereupon the two tribunes and *Cæſar* raiſed ſuch a tumult, that he was driven from the roſtra by violence, and narrowly eſcaped with his life. However, the tumult was no ſooner appeaſed, than the people returned in crouds to the comitium, ſupported *Cato*, and prevented *Metellus* from publiſhing the edict. When the c
ſenate were informed of theſe violences, they deprived both the tribunes and *Cæſar*, who was then prætor, of their offices. *Metellus* left *Rome*, and ſet out for *Aſia* to complain to *Pompey* of the ſmall concern the *Roman* people ſhewed for his glory; but *Pompey* paid little regard to his complaints. As for *Cæſar*, he at firſt refuſed to comply with the decree of the ſenate; but at length, fearing the reſentment of the fathers, he laid down his office, and ſhut himſelf up in his houſe. The multitude, who adored him, offered to reſtore him to his poſt; but he wiſely refuſed it without the conſent of the ſenate. This conduct charmed the fathers to ſuch a degree, that, after many encomiums, they reinſtated him in his prætorſhip. Thus, by the departure of *Metellus*, and the political moderation of *Cæſar*, tranquillity was reſtored to the city. d

Diſturbances raiſed by Cæſar *and the tribunes.*

During theſe tranſactions at *Rome*, *Catiline* made it his whole buſineſs to lead his army into *Tranſalpine Gaul*, where the whole nation ſeemed ready to declare for him. To prevent this, *Q. Metellus Celer*, leaving *Picenum*, which he had guarded the laſt year, poſted himſelf with three legions at the foot of the *Alps*. On the other hand, *Antonius*, *Cicero*'s late collegue, kept following *Catiline* in the rear; ſo that the rebels were in a manner hemmed in by two bodies of troops. In this ſituation *Catiline* reſolved to attack *Antonius*, who, as he had been formerly of his faction, ſeemed to act but faintly againſt him. With this view he marched back, and meeting the proconſul near the city of *Piſtoria*, now *Piſtoia*, he drew up his men in order of battle. In the firſt line he poſted eight cohorts, which were the beſt armed; in the ſecond the vete- e
rans, who had ſerved under *Sylla*, and in the third his new levies, armed only with knotty clubs, long poles, or the implements of husbandry. Having drawn up his troops he led them to a great diſtance from his camp to ſhew that he was fully reſolved to give battle. *Antonius* obſerved the enemy's motions, but would not ſtir out of his camp, though all the officers of the army preſſed him not to let ſlip the opportunity that offered of putting an end to the rebellion at once. Should *Catiline* eſcape, ſaid they, and get into *Gaul*, what will be the fate of *Italy?* Who knows how much blood muſt be ſpilt before the rebels are cruſhed? But *Antonius* would not by any means conſent to an engagement; which ſome hiſtorians aſcribe to a ſecret inclination he had for the party, which he was ordered to deſtroy. Whatever were his motives, f
when the legionaries abſolutely inſiſted on their being led againſt the enemy, he pretended to be indiſpoſed, and committed the conduct of his army to *Petreius*, who had ſerved above thirty years, and had raiſed himſelf by his merit from a private ſoldier to the poſt of lieutenant-general, in which quality he now ſerved under *Antonius*. The ſoldiers, not doubting of victory under ſo brave and experienced a leader, marched out of their camp in two lines, and fell upon the enemy with a fury hardly to be expreſſed. The rebels ſuſtained the onſet with equal intrepidity and reſolution, and, being encouraged by the example of their leader, obliged *Petreius*'s firſt line to give ground.

Catiline *reſolves to give* Antonius *battle.*

Antonius *commits the command of the army to* Petreius.

[n] Plut. in Cic.

a ground. But that brave commander flying to their relief with a body of freſh men, the rebels were in their turn forced to retire in diſorder. Hereupon *Catiline*, reproaching his men with cowardice, and putting them in mind of the promiſe they had made before the battle, either to conquer or die, brought them back to the charge, and renewed the fight with ſuch vigour, that the victory continued doubtful, till *Manlius* and the officer of *Fæſulæ*, who commanded the wings, were both killed. Then *Catiline*, being no longer able to govern ſo great a body himſelf, his ranks were broken, and moſt of his men, eſpecially in the wings, diſperſed. Hereupon the head of the rebels, reſolving not to outlive the ruin of his party, threw himſelf in a great rage into the midſt of the enemy, and there found the death which he ſought. He no ſooner fell, than his whole army betook themſelves to flight, leaving *Petreius* maſter of the field. That prudent commander would not ſuffer his men to purſue the fugitives, but allowed them all, as they were for the moſt part *Roman* citizens, to eſcape and return to their own houſes. Of the rebels three thouſand were killed on the ſpot. *Catiline* was found on a heap of dead bodies, ſtill breathing, and with thoſe marks of fierceneſs in his countenance, notwithſtanding the agonies of death, which had rendered him formidable to his enemies during his life [o]. And now nothing more ſeemed wanting with regard to the conſpiracy, than to puniſh *Catiline*'s accomplices. *L. Vettius*, a *Roman* knight, became their accuſer, and included *Cæſar*, now prætor, in the number. *Q. Curius* likewiſe accuſed him to the ſenate of being one of the chief conſpi-

Catiline *defeated and killed.*

b rators, and in proof of his depoſition quoted the teſtimony of *Catiline* himſelf, by whom he ſaid he had been told the names of all the conſpirators, and particularly that of *Cæſar*. As for *Vettius*, he offered to produce the accuſed's own hand-writing, which had been found among *Catiline*'s papers. But *Cæſar* called upon *Cicero* to witneſs the diſcoveries he had made to him concerning the plot; and *Cicero*'s teſtimony was his juſtification; not that the orator thought him clear from all guilt, but becauſe he was afraid to rank ſo popular a man among the criminals [p]. After this ſeveral decrees were iſſued out againſt the reſt of the conſpirators, and ſuch effectual care was taken of the public peace, that in all the provinces, where any ſeditions had happened, the rebels were ſuppreſſed, and the guilty puniſhed.

Cæſar *privy to the conſpiracy.*

d In the mean time the pontifex maximus dying, *Cæſar* was by the ſuffrages of the people advanced to that high ſtation, though he had *Servilius Iſauricus* and *Lutatius Catulus*, two of the greateſt men of the republic, for his competitors. But the joy he felt on this occaſion was in great meaſure allayed by his domeſtic misfortunes. His wife *Pompeia*, the daughter of *Pompeius Rufus*, entertained a ſtrong inclination for a young patrician, named *P. Clodius*. As *Clodius*, though yet a youth, was infamous for his lewdneſs and debaucheries, *Pompeia* could not, without expoſing her character, even ſpeak to him in public. At home ſhe was narrowly watched by the virtuous *Aurelia*, *Cæſar*'s mother, and by his ſiſter *Julia*, who entertained ſome ſuſpicions of her. As ſhe could therefore find no other opportunity of meeting *Clodius*, ſhe took advan-

Cæſar *choſen pontifex maximus.*

P. Clodius *carries on an intrigue with Cæſar's wife.*

e tage of a very ſolemn feaſt, which was to be celebrated in her husband's houſe. It had been cuſtomary, ever ſince the birth of the republic, to have certain religious ceremonies performed at the end of every conſular year in the houſe of the conſul or prætor. Thither the veſtals repaired, and offered a ſacrifice to the *Good Goddeſs* (O), whoſe very name

[o] Salluſt. ibid.

[p] Plut. in Cic.

(O) We learn from *Cicero* all that is to be known of the *Good Goddeſs*, and of the ſacrifices offered to her. In his oration concerning *the anſwers of the aruſpices*, he ſpeaks thus; "What ſacrifice is there "ſo ancient as that which has been handed down "to us from our firſt kings, and is coeval with "*Rome* herſelf? What ſacrifice is there ſo private "and ſecret as that which is concealed not only "from the eyes of the curious and inquiſitive, but "from the ſight of all men, and whither neither "the moſt profligate wickedneſs nor impudence "ever yet preſumed to enter? This ſacrifice no man, "except *Clodius*, was ever ſo impious as to violate, "no man, but *Clodius*, ever thought, without the "utmoſt horror, of aſſiſting at it. This ſacrifice, "which is performed by the veſtal virgins, which "is performed for the proſperity of the *Roman* people, which is performed in the houſe of the chief "magiſtrate, celebrated with unknown ceremonies, "and in honour of a goddeſs, whoſe very name to "know is ſacrilege; this ſacrifice *Clodius* profaned, "*&c.*" Since then, at the very time when this adventure happened, the ceremonies obſerved in that ſacrifice were abſolutely unknown to the people, and locked up under ſo religious a ſecrecy, that all were ignorant of the very name of the goddeſs, we are not to wonder, that the ancients have left us in the dark as to the nature of this ſacrifice. One thing indeed ſeems unaccountable: *Cicero* tells us, that the name of the goddeſs was concealed from the men, but revealed to the women: how then could it remain ſuch a ſecret? This is much to the honour of the *Roman* women. *Plutarch* takes the *good goddeſs* to be the ſame with the *Gynæcea* of the *Greeks*, that is,

name was concealed from the men, and known only to the women. At this ſacrifice it a
was unlawful for any man to aſſiſt; nay it was deemed a ſacrilege even for the maſter of the houſe, or his children, to be at home while the ceremony was performing. Some writers tell us, that the women, who aſſiſted at the ceremony, carried their ſuperſtition ſo far as even to cover the pictures of men and male-animals with thick veils. On this ſolemn day, and in the houſe ſet apart for this religious uſe, *Clodius* and *Pompeia* agreed to meet. *Clodius*, in order to get admiſſion, was to come in the habit and diſguiſe of a ſinging woman; for the ſolemnity was attended with dancing and muſic. A female ſlave, who was in the ſecret, had orders to receive him and conduct him to his miſtreſs's apartment. *Clodius*, being yet very young, was by his face and appearance, taken for a woman and readily admitted. The maid, who b
was in the ſecret, no ſooner ſaw him than ſhe ran to inform *Pompeia*; but as ſhe did not return ſo ſoon as *Clodius* expected, he grew uneaſy; and not thinking it ſafe to continue long in the ſame place, he took ſeveral turns in the rooms, avoiding the lights as much as poſſible for fear of being diſcovered. As he was thus walking about ſlowly by himſelf, one of *Aurelia*'s maids, taking him for a female muſician, asked him to ſing; which he refuſing to do, the maid put ſeveral queſtions to him, and obliged him at laſt to ſpeak, which he no ſooner did, than his voice betrayed him. Whereupon the woman ſhrieking ran into the rooms where the ceremonies were performing, crying aloud, that ſhe had diſcovered a man. The women all in a fright threw a veil over the myſteries, ſtopt the ceremonies, and, having ordered the doors c
to be ſhut, ran about with lights in ſearch of the ſacrilegious man, whom they found in the maid's room, who was privy to the appointment. There they ſeized him, and having driven him out of doors, though it was yet night, they went home to acquaint their husbands with what had happened. The next morning *Clodius*'s impious attempt was the ſubject of every converſation, and all agreed, that he ought to be puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity. Accordingly he was accuſed of prophaning the holy rites, but the populace declared in his favour; ſo that the judges, fearing to provoke the multitude, acquitted him. *Cæſar* immediately divorced *Pompeia*; but being ſummoned as a witneſs againſt *Clodius*, he ſaid, that he had nothing to charge him with. As this looked like a paradox, the accuſers asked him, why then he had parted with d
his wife? *Becauſe*, ſaid he, *I cannot bear that my wife ſhould be ſo much as ſuſpected.* He declined appearing againſt *Clodius*, to gratify the populace, who, he ſaw, were very earneſt to ſave him [q].

Cæſar *divorces his wife* Pompeia.

The next year *M. Pupius Piſo*, one of *Pompey*'s lieutenants, was, upon his recommendation, raiſed to the conſulate, and with him *M. Valerius Meſſala*. Soon after their election, news was brought, that *Pompey*, after having reduced ſeveral kingdoms in the eaſt, was preparing to return to *Rome*. Some, fearing he ſhould turn his victorious arms againſt his country, were for raiſing troops, and guarding againſt any attempt of that nature; but he reſolved on a conduct very different from what was dreaded. He was very deſirous of making himſelf abſolute in the republic; but at e
the ſame time ſo weak as to imagine, that he could attain and preſerve a kind of arbitrary power by ſuch gentle methods, as would carry no odium with them. Agreeable to this falſe notion, he diſbanded his troops, as ſoon as he landed at *Brunduſium*, and proceeded to *Rome* with as ſmall a train as if he had been returning from a journey of pleaſure. The whole city went out to meet him, and received him with loud acclamations. He demanded a triumph, which, as he well deſerved it, was readily granted him. The proceſſion laſted two days, and was by far the moſt magnificent that had ever been ſeen in *Rome*. Before his chariot marched three hundred and twenty-four captives of great diſtinction, among whom were *Ariſtobulus* king of *Judæa* f
and his ſon *Antigonus*; *Olthaces* king of *Colchis*; *Tigranes*, the ſon of *Tigranes* king of *Armenia*, with his wife and daughter; five ſons and two daughters of *Mithridates* king of *Pontus*; a queen of *Scythia*, &c. The ſpoils that were carried before him were valued above three millions ſterling; and the gold and ſilver coin, which he delivered to the quæſtors, amounted to thrice that ſum, not reckoning the large donatives which he beſtowed on his ſoldiers; for he ordered one thouſand five hundred drachmas

Pompey's *idle ſcheme of power.*

His triumph.

[q] Plut. in Cæſare.

is with *the goddeſs of the women*; and adds, that the *Phrygians*, who claimed a particular title to her, ſaid ſhe was mother to *Midas*, that the *Romans* pretended, ſhe was one of the dryads and married to *Faunus*, and that the *Greeks* affirmed, ſhe was mother to *Bacchus*.

a drachmas to each ſoldier of his army, that is, near fifty pounds ſterling, and rewarded all the officers in proportion. He did not put any of the captives to death, as other generals uſed to do, neither did he keep them in priſon; but ſent them all, except *Ariſtobulus* and *Tigranes*, back to their reſpective countries, at the expence of the public [r]. The ſolemnity was no ſooner over, than *Pompey* betook himſelf to a private life, declining, from a pretended modeſty, even the uſe of thoſe titles and privileges with which he had been honoured. His aim was to aſſume a ſovereign authority in the ſtate, without appearing to deſire it; but he ſoon found, that it was eaſier to give law to ſubalterns in a camp, than to govern his equals in a free ſtate without force. There were many, who made as great a figure in *Rome* as himſelf,
b and were ready to oppoſe the ſovereignty at which he aſpired. *Lucullus*, who had paved the way for his conqueſts in the eaſt, did not think himſelf at all inferior to this celebrated conqueror. *Craſſus* had been *Pompey*'s rival ever ſince he robbed him of the honour of a triumph, by aſſuming to himſelf the glory of having put an end to the war with the ſlaves, as we have related above. *Pompey* indeed outſhined *Craſſus* in glory; but the immenſe riches of the latter put him at leaſt upon a level with his adverſary; for he is ſaid to have been worth ſeven thouſand talents, that is one million three hundred fifty-ſix thouſand two hundred and fifty pounds ſterling. *Cato* was too zealous for the public good to let *Pompey* give any wound to the liberty of his country. *Cicero* was not ſo diſintereſted in his views as *Cato*; but was at bottom a
c good republican, and his eloquence made him formidable. *Cæſar*, who, we may ſay, was at this time only beginning to ſhew himſelf, was too ambitious to ſubmit to any ſuperior. However, *Pompey* had intereſt enough to get *L. Afranius* and *Q. Metellus*, who had ſerved under him, promoted to the conſulate. They no ſooner entered upon their office, than he made two attempts, which turned both to his confuſion, *viz.* that lands ſhould be given to his veterans, and that all his acts in the eaſt ſhould be approved by one decree. He made the motion himſelf; but it was almoſt unanimouſly rejected by the fathers, and no-body oppoſed it with more warmth than the conſul *Metellus*, who had indeed made his court to *Pompey*, in order to raiſe himſelf, but hated him in his heart, for having divorced his ſiſter *Mucia* (P), which
d he looked upon as an affront offered to the *Cæcilian* family. As for the other conſul, he was a man of no weight, and intirely incapable of buſineſs. *Pompey*, inraged at the refuſal of the ſenate, had recourſe to the tribunes, and prevailed upon *Flavius Nepos*, one of that college, to propoſe his requeſt to the people; but *Lucullus*, *Cato*, and *Metellus* oppoſed the tribune with great ſteadineſs and reſolution. Their oppoſition occaſioned a tumult in the forum, and the furious tribune went ſo far as to ſend the conſul *Metellus* to priſon; but *Pompey*, who was the author of the tumult, not caring to incur the hatred of the ſenate, ordered the conſul to be ſet at liberty, under pretence that the conſul had deſired it. He was now fully convinced, that to pretend to reign in a republic, otherwiſe than by force of arms, was a chimerical project;
e but as he could not conquer his boundleſs ambition, he made it his whole buſineſs to gain over to his intereſt the ſeditious *Clodius*, a man of a moſt abandoned character, but greatly favoured by the populace, and a declared enemy to the ſenate. The illuſtrious conqueror of the eaſt demeaned himſelf ſo far as to join this profligate patrician, and to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to get him raiſed to the tribuneſhip, tho' he knew, that *Clodius*'s only aim in aſpiring at that office was, to revenge himſelf on *Cicero*, who had appeared as a witneſs againſt him, when he was accuſed of having profaned the myſteries of the *Good Goddeſs*. Hence the bitter complaints which *Cicero* made of him in ſeveral of his letters. This conduct greatly leſſened the high opinion, which both the people and the nobility had entertained of him before his return [f].

Is convinced of the folly of his ſcheme.

Sinks in his reputation.

IN

[r] PLUT. in Pomp. APPIAN. in Mithridatic. DIO, l. xxxvii. PLIN. l. vii. c. 26. & l. xxxvii. c. 3.
[f] PLUT. ibid. CIC. in epiſt. 13. l. i. ad. Atticum, & alibi paſſ.

(P) *Mucia* was the third daughter of *Q. Mucius Scævola*. While her huſband was making war in *Aſia*, ſhe took advantage of his abſence, and carried on an intrigue with *Cæſar*, which was the common talk of *Rome*; inſomuch, that *Pompey* did not think proper to wait till he returned to *Rome* to divorce her; but ſent orders to her to leave his houſe before he returned to *Italy*. She was ſiſter to the two *Metelli*, *Celer* and *Nepos*; and he could not but foreſee, that he ſhould incur the diſpleaſure of thoſe two patricians, who made a conſiderable figure in the republic; but her life was ſo ſcandalous, that *Pompey* thought himſelf obliged in honour to part with her, though he had three children by her. He never forgot the injury *Cæſar* had done him; but complained ſeveral times, in the heat of the civil wars, that the debaucher of *Mucia* was his *Ægyſthus*, ſince he was not content with having diſhonoured him, but at the ſame time wanted to take away his life, as *Ægyſthus* was *Clytemneſtra*'s lover, and the murderer of her huſband *Agamemnon*.

Cæſar *ſent into* Spain.

IN the mean time the government of *Farther Spain*, which comprehended *Luſitania* and *Bætica*, that is *Portugal* and *Andaluſia*, falling by lot to *Cæſar*, after his prætorſhip, he was preparing to ſet out for his new province; but being ſtopped by ſome of his creditors, *Craſſus*, to whom he applied, took upon him to ſatisfy thoſe creditors, who would be put off no longer, and became his ſecurity for eight hundred and thirty talents, that is, one hundred ſixty thouſand eight hundred and twelve pounds ſterling. Upon this *Cæſar*, being at liberty to go to his government, ſet out without delay. In his journey, as he was croſſing the *Alps*, he paſſed by a ſmall village, which had but few inhabitants, and thoſe wretchedly poor, which gave occaſion to ſome of his friends to aſk him by way of raillery, Whether there was any canvaſſing there for offices, or any contention among the barbarians who ſhould be uppermoſt? To this queſtion *Cæſar* anſwered very ſeriouſly, *That he had rather be firſt man among thoſe poor* Barbarians, *than the ſecond in* Rome (Q). It is eaſy to imagine, that *Cæſar*, with theſe ſentiments, could not continue idle in his province. To find himſelf work there, he made war on the innocent *Spaniards*, and, advancing as far as the ocean, ſubdued ſeveral nations, which had never before been ſubject to *Rome*. Having ſettled his province in peace, he returned to *Rome*, carrying with him ſufficient ſums to diſcharge his debts, which amounted to one million ſix hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, ſo great was his extravagance and profuſion. His heart was ſet on a triumph and the conſulate; but chiefly on the latter, which he could not obtain, without appearing perſonally in the comitium. On the other hand, thoſe who demanded a triumph were obliged to halt in the ſuburbs, and there wait for the anſwer of the ſenate. Being therefore reduced to the dilemma either of laying aſide the thoughts of a triumph by going into the city, or to give up the conſulſhip by ſtaying in the ſuburbs, he readily renounced the former, and purſued the latter, leaving nothing unattempted in order to ſucceed. His management on this occaſion was a maſter-piece of policy, and the foundation of his future grandeur. The two citizens, who at this time made the greateſt figure in the republic, were, without diſpute, *Pompey* and *Craſſus*; but theſe two powerful citizens were declared enemies, and, all things conſidered, much upon a level. As they had both great intereſt, *Cæſar* plainly ſaw, that he could never obtain the conſulſhip, without gaining one or other of them to his cauſe; but the difficulty was which to chooſe. If he cloſed with *Pompey*, he would meet with a ſtrong oppoſition from *Craſſus*'s friends; and if he joined *Craſſus*, he was ſure to have all *Pompey*'s party againſt him. He therefore undertook to reconcile the two rivals, and, by propoſing to them a triumvirate, in which ſhould be lodged all the authority of the ſenate and people, he prevailed upon them to make up their differences, and to enter into a ſtrict friendſhip with each other. In order to make their confederacy the more indiſſoluble, they ſolemnly bound themſelves by mutual oaths and promiſes to aſſiſt each other, and to ſuffer nothing to be undertaken or executed, without the unanimous conſent of all three. Thus was the firſt great triumvirate formed, by which *Rome* became a prey to three men, who, by the intereſt of their united parties, arbitrarily diſpoſed of all the dignities and employments in the commonwealth. The public were long ſtrangers to the myſteries of this new cabal. Nothing more appeared to the ſenate than the reconciliation of *Pompey* and *Craſſus*, and *Cæſar* was congratulated by all ranks of men for having brought it about. *Cato* alone foreſaw the evil conſequences of this new alliance, and exclaimed againſt it, ſaying, That *Rome* had loſt her liberty; but no-body hearkened to him, till it was too late to follow his prudent counſel [t]. This aſſociation ſubſiſted to the death of *Craſſus*, and was followed by the intire ſubverſion of the republican ſtate.

His ambition.

Aſpires to the conſulate.

The firſt triumvirate.

Year after the flood 2944. *Before Chriſt* 55. *Of* Rome 693.

CHAP.

[t] Plut. in Pomp. Cæſ. & Catone. Dio. Cass. l. xxxvii. Appian. bell. civil. l. ii. Suet. in Julio.

(Q) *Plutarch* adds to this, that while he was one day reading the hiſtory of *Alexander the Great*, he appeared very thoughtful, and at laſt burſt out into tears, anſwering his friends, who aſked him the reaſon of his grief, *Do you think I have not juſt cauſe to weep, when I conſider, that* Alexander, *at my age, had conquered ſo many nations, while I have yet done nothing that is memorable?*

CHAP. XI.

The history of Rome, *from the first triumvirate to the death of* Crassus.

a THE first benefit *Cæsar* reaped from this association was, his promotion to the consulate, *Pompey* and *Crassus* employing all their interest in his favour. He had but two competitors, *L. Luceius Hirrus* and *M. Calpurnius Bibulus*. The former, a man of great learning (R), was but little versed in public affairs; and therefore *Cæsar*, well apprised that if he had him for his collegue, he should reign alone, did his utmost to get him elected. He was not ashamed openly to purchase the suffrages of the people with large sums; but the senators, being resolved to have him excluded and *Bibulus* chosen, agreed among themselves to defeat *Cæsar*'s measures in his own way, and to offer the people greater sums than he had done. *Cato* himself, tho' a rigid stoic, was of opinion, that the laws, forbidding all sort of bribery, ought to be b dispensed with on this occasion; so that it was resolved, that *Bibulus* should buy the suffrages of the people, and that each senator should pay his share towards raising the promised sums. By this means *Luceius* was excluded, and *Bibulus* appointed to be *Cæsar*'s collegue. The first thing *Cæsar* did, after entering upon his office, was, to confirm all *Pompey*'s acts, pursuant to his promise. After this he made it his whole business to gain the affection of the people. With this view he drew up an agrarian law, with such wise restrictions and provisoes, that the senators themselves could not justly find fault with it; for it enacted only, *that certain lands in* Campania, *belonging to the public, should be divided among such of the poor citizens, as had three children, or more.* *Cæsar* declared in the senate, that he would do nothing without the consent of c the conscript fathers, nor propose any of his friends for commissioners, nor any person else, who might be liable to suspicions; but that they should be all men of unblemished characters and known abilities. The fathers had nothing to object against the law itself; but, as they were well apprised of the legislator's ambitious views, they put off from day to day giving their assent to it. *Cæsar* complained of these delays; and then *Cato* told him in plain terms, that he did not disapprove of the distribution of the lands as proposed, but dreaded the consequences of it: *We do not care*, said he, *that you should purchase the favour and affections of the people at the expence of the public treasury.* This open declaration piqued *Cæsar*, who ordered his lictors to carry *Cato* to prison; but he soon after privately ordered the tribunes to d release him. The example of *Cato* was followed by the consul *Bibulus* and most of the senators, who declared, that they had nothing to object against the law; but that they would *suffer no innovations.* Hereupon *Cæsar* had recourse to the people, and having summoned them to assemble, appeared in the comitium, attended by *Pompey* and *Crassus*. He mounted the rostra, and directing his speech to his two associates, asked them, Whether they did not approve of the law? It is easy to imagine, that two men of his own cabal would speak the same language as he. They both answered, That they would support his motion, with all their power, against the enemies of the people, who opposed it. *Pompey* went further, adding, with more warmth than prudence, *If any one opposes this law with the sword, I will resist him with sword and buck-*e *ler.* *Pompey*, by this rash answer, which was no-ways suitable to his dignity and was contrary to his true interest, made himself odious to the senate, and at the same time gained no credit among the people, who thought themselves indebted to *Cæsar* only for so beneficial a law. However, *Bibulus* opposed it with great courage; but the

Cæsar *and* Bibulus *consuls.*

Cæsar *draws up an agrarian law.*

Which is rejected by the senate.

(R) If we may judge of his learning from the account *Cicero* gives of him, he was one of the best historians of *Rome*. Besides the history of the war of the allies, he wrote that of *Cicero*'s consulship, at the request of the consul, who had himself already published one of his own in *Greek* and *Latin*.

But paſſed by the people.

the people, loſing all regard for the conſular dignity, treated him with the utmoſt indignity, drove him out of the aſſembly, broke his faſces, wounded his lictors, &c. The ſenators, dreading the fury of the populace, held their peace; ſo that the law paſſed without any further diſturbance [u]. a

THIS victory over the ſenate and *Bibulus* made *Cæſar* in great meaſure abſolute in *Rome*. His collegue was ſcarce ever mentioned; no deference was paid to his orders; they all looked upon *Cæſar* as the only conſul, and called this year ironically the year of the conſulate of *Julius* and *Cæſar*. And now the ſuſpicions entertained of the confederacy between the triumvirs being confirmed by *Cæſar*'s marrying his daughter *Julia* to *Pompey*, *Cato*, who was a ſincere friend to his country, loudly exclaimed againſt the arbitrary power uſurped by the triumvirs; and when the agrarian law was brought before the ſenate to be confirmed by them, he continued inflexible, oppoſing it with great warmth, tho' threatened with baniſhment; but at length *Cicero* telling him, *That if* Cato *did not want* Rome, Rome *wanted* Cato; upon this conſideration he acquieſced, and the law was eſtabliſhed in full force. And now *Cæſar* reſolved to gain the favour of the knights, as he had done that of the people. With this view he abated a third part of the rents which they paid annually into the public treaſury, and by this means attached them unalterably to his intereſt. Having thus ſecured to himſelf both the people and knights, he governed *Rome* with an abſolute ſway. *Cicero* exclaimed againſt the triumvirate, and, by ſome ſevere jeſts (S), provoked them to ſuch a degree, that they reſolved upon his ruin; and, in order to compaſs it the more effectually, they got his mortal enemy, *P. Clodius*, promoted to the tribuneſhip. We ſhall ſoon ſee the ſeditious *Clodius* vent his rage againſt this great orator, and forward the ruin of the republic, by the baniſhment of one of the chief ſupporters of the public liberty [w]. *Cæſar*, having thus eſtabliſhed the power of the triumvirate, applied himſelf to his own private intereſt. *Pompey* had got two conſuls elected for the next year, who were perſonally devoted to him, *viz. L. Calpurnius Piſo* and *A. Gabinius*. *Cæſar*, fearing *Pompey* might attempt a ſuperiority over him during their adminiſtration, attached *Piſo* to himſelf, by marrying his daughter *Calpurnia*. Having thus ſecured his intereſt at *Rome* during the next conſulſhip, he applied himſelf both to the ſenate and people, and, with the aſſiſtance of *Pompey* and *Craſſus*, procured the government of *Tranſalpine* and *Ciſalpine Gaul*, contrary to all law, for five years together, with the command of four legions. b c d

And at laſt approved by the ſenate.

P. Clodius *promoted to the tribunate.*

UNDER the next conſulſhip of *Calpurnius Piſo* and *A. Gabinius Nepos*, the triumvirate ſtill continued to govern *Rome* by the conſuls themſelves, who were their creatures. As *Cicero* adhered ſteadily to the intereſts of the republic, the conſuls gave *Clodius* full liberty to vent on him all his fury. *Cicero* was looked on as the father and defender of his country, and the ſervice he had done the republic was yet freſh in every one's memory; the tribune therefore was obliged to have recourſe to craft and cunning to compaſs his ruin. His firſt ſtep was to gain the affections of the people, by paſſing ſeveral laws favourable to them; then he obliged both the knights and ſenators, by leſſening the power which the cenſors had of degrading them; and in the laſt place he paid his court to the conſuls, by aſſigning them provinces of a very great extent. The conſuls had hitherto choſen their provinces by lot; but *Clodius* pretended, that the right of aſſigning them was lodged in the people, who accordingly gave to *Piſo*, *Macedon*, *Achaia*, *Theſſaly*, and *Bœotia*; and to *Gabinius*, *Syria* and moſt of the eaſtern kingdoms. *Cicero*, who had too much ſagacity not to ſee through the tribune's deſign, ſecured to himſelf a faithful friend in *L. Ninnius Quadratus*, another of the tribunes, who ſo effectually oppoſed all the attempts of *Clodius*, that he could not proceed. Hereupon *Clodius*, fearing *Ninnius*, or, as others call him, *Mummius*, might e

Clodius *reſolves on the ruin of* Cicero.

by

[u] PLUT. in Cæſ. SUET. in Jul. DIO, l. xxx. [w] PLUT. in Cic. DIO. CASS. l. xxxviii. CIC. ad Attic. l. ii. epiſt. 19.

(S), *Cicero*, who was naturally ſevere and loved raillery, ſeized every opportunity that offered of ſhewing his wit, without regard either to decency or friendſhip. He was one of thoſe, who would rather loſe their friend, than their jeſt. If this ſatirical turn was not one of the chief cauſes of his misfortunes, it contributed at leaſt to ſtir up againſt him ſeveral powerful enemies. Tho' ſome of his jeſts were lively and poignant, yet he often brought himſelf into contempt by the low conceits and ſtale alluſions, which he put off for wit. He has dropt ſeveral things of this nature, even in his moſt eloquent diſcourſes. *Macrobius* tells us, that one of *Cicero*'s freed-men was at the pains of collecting all his maſter's witticiſms, under the title of *Inceptiæ*. It is ſurpriſing, that a man of ſo much ſagacity ſhould not think ſuch puns and ridiculous conceits unbecoming the gravity of a magiſtrate.

a by his oppoſition overturn all his ſchemes, had recourſe to artifice, and aſſured *Cicero*, that he would undertake nothing to his prejudice, provided he would perſuade *Ninnius* not to oppoſe his meaſures. We are told, that both *Cæſar* and *Pompey* baſely demeaned themſelves to aſſure the orator, that the tribune had no deſign to hurt him; and that *Cicero*, deceived by theſe falſe aſſurances, deſired *Ninnius* to wave his oppoſition, and ſlept in ſecurity. In the mean time, *Clodius* got another law paſſed, enacting, That when a tribune of the people ſhould propoſe any law in the comitia, no regard ſhould be had to the denunciations of the augurs. As moſt of that college favoured *Cicero*, the tribune was afraid, leſt they ſhould, under pretence of religion, prevail upon the people to reject the decree, which he had already drawn

b up againſt *Cicero*. And now the tribune, thinking himſelf in a condition to carry his point, mounted the roſtra, and propoſed the following law, at which all theſe preparations aimed, *viz. That whoever had been concerned in the death of a* Roman *citizen, before the people had paſſed ſentence on him, ſhould be deemed guilty of treaſon, and puniſhed as a ſtate criminal.* *Cicero*, well appriſed that he was the perſon aimed at by this law, and ſeeing himſelf in ſo great danger, changed his habit, and, letting his beard grow, went about in deep mourning, ſoliciting the aſſiſtance of his friends. Many of the knights teſtified their regard for him, by changing their habits, and, in a negligent dreſs, ſupplicating in his behalf. Among theſe was the ſon of *Craſſus* the triumvir,

c who had been taught by *Cicero* the rules of eloquence, and had made an extraordinary proficiency under ſo great a maſter. This young patrician, at the head of twenty thouſand young *Romans* of his age, attended *Cicero* where-ever he went. *Clodius*, on the other hand, attended by a numerous body of armed men, inſulted *Cicero*, where-ever he met him, reproached him with want of courage, and, interrupting him in his humble addreſſes to the people, encouraged his enemies, who were the dregs of the populace, to throw ſtones and dirt at the orator and his company, who dared not return the like treatment, for fear of violating the ſacred perſon of a tribune. The ſenate, affected with the unjuſt proſecution of a man, whom they looked upon as the chief ornament of their body, aſſembled, in order to decree, that the people ſhould put on mourning, as in a public calamity; but the conſuls, whom *Clodius* had gained over, oppoſed it,

d while he himſelf with a band of armed ſlaves beſet the place where the ſenate met, and with menaces deterred them from coming to any reſolution. It muſt be owned, that *Cicero* on this occaſion acted a part unworthy of his former conſtancy. He ran from houſe to houſe with ſorrow and conſternation in his face, imploring the protection of his friends, and cringing, with a ſhameful meanneſs of ſpirit, even to his enemies. The advice his friends gave him ſerved only to embarraſs him the more. *Lucullus* was for having recourſe to arms and repelling force by force. The knights declared for him, and with them the better part of the citizens; but *Cato* and *Hortenſius* adviſed him not to tarniſh his paſt glory, by filling *Rome* with ſlaughter, and exerciſing the ſame cruelties on his fellow-citizens, which he had ſo ſeverely condemned

e in *Catiline*. *Cicero*, greatly perplexed and not knowing how to eſcape the fury of the mad tribune, had at length recourſe to *Cæſar*, intreating him, that he would take him with him into *Gaul* as one of his lieutenants. This was, all things conſidered, the ſafeſt method he could have taken; and *Cæſar*, who wanted nothing elſe but to get him out of *Rome*, where he might, by his eloquence, raiſe great diſturbances, readily conſented to his requeſt. *Clodius* was well appriſed, that, by this means, his prey would eſcape him; and therefore, in order to divert him from accepting the new employment, he feigned himſelf diſpoſed to a reconciliation, and ſent him word by ſome common friends, that he had been informed, that his wife *Terentia* had been the chief cauſe of his giving evidence againſt him in the affair of *Pom-*

f *peia*, and that now he was determined to drop the proſecution, and live again in amity with him. *Cicero*, tho' a man in other reſpects of uncommon ſagacity, was ſo far impoſed upon by his enemy's fair words and promiſes, that he changed his mind, and refuſed to attend *Cæſar* into *Gaul*. This ſo provoked *Cæſar*, that he joined *Clodius* againſt him, and engaged *Pompey* not to intermeddle in his behalf. Hereupon *Clodius* reſumed his impeachment, and accuſed *Cicero* before the tribes, of having put *Lentulus*, *Cethegus*, and other *Roman* citizens to death, without a lawful trial. *Cicero*, ſeeing himſelf thus expoſed anew to the rage of the furious tribune, had recourſe to *Pompey*; who was indebted to him for moſt of his employments, and had ever profeſſed a great friendſhip for him; but *Pompey* was retired to one of his coun-

g try-houſes, for fear of being reproached with his unfaithfulneſs, if he did not ſtir in behalf

What ſteps he took to compaſs it.

Propoſes a law aimed at Cicero.

Regard paid by the knights and ſenators to Cicero.

Cæſar *becomes his enemy.*

He is abandoned by Pompey.

behalf of his friend. *Cicero* immediately diſpatched *Piſo* his ſon-in-law to him, and, a upon his delaying to return, went himſelf; but *Pompey*, not able to bear the ſight of his old friend, who had done him ſo many good offices, and whom he had engaged his word with *Cæſar* not to aſſiſt, went out at a back-door, ordering his ſervants to tell *Cicero*, that he was returned to *Rome*. *Cicero*, no longer doubting but he was abandoned by him, having called together his true friends, asked their advice, when *Lucullus*, who was an old experienced commander, was for taking up arms; but the reſt of his friends adviſed him to give way to the ſtorm and retire from *Rome*. As he could not bear the thoughts of ſhedding the blood of his fellow-citizens, he followed their advice, left *Rome* at midnight, and reſolved to retire to *Sicily*, where *He retires into baniſhment.* *Vigilius* was prætor, who owed his fortune to him; but the ungrateful governor b refuſing him admittance into the iſland, he imbarqued at *Brunduſium*, and ſailed to *Dyrrachium*, where he diſcovered ſo much dejection and meanneſs of ſpirit, as were a reproach to his great abilities and the philoſophy he profeſſed. He himſelf acknowledges, that, in the height of his grief, he was going to lay violent hands on himſelf; but was prevented by his friend *Atticus* [x] (S).

Clodius *gets the decree of his baniſhment paſſed.* In the mean time, *Clodius* got the decree of his baniſhment paſſed, confiſcated his effects, which, to the immortal honour of the exile, no-body would buy when expoſed to ſale, burnt to the ground his houſes in the country and his fine palace in *Rome*, and ordered the pontifices to conſecrate the ground, on which his city-houſe ſtood, to the goddeſſes *Peace* and *Liberty*, to make the reſtitution of it in a manner c impoſſible. Thus *Clodius* triumphed at *Rome*; but as *Cato* ſtill thwarted him in his pernicious attempts, he prevailed on the people to paſs the moſt unjuſt decree poſſible, purely to gratify a private reſentment of his own, and then, by another decree, obliged *Cato* to put the firſt in execution. *Clodius* had been taken in his youth by the pirates, while he was ſerving in the eaſt; and *Ptolemy*, king of *Cyprus*, a covetous prince, had refuſed to pay his ranſom. This *Clodius* took greatly amiſs, and now that he was the reigning tribune, he reſolved to be revenged on the king of *Cyprus*; and accordingly got a decree paſſed, depriving him of his dominions, under pretence that he had forfeited them by his ill conduct. *Cato* was charged with the execution of this ſcandalous decree; and that he might be kept the longer from *Rome*, he was d ordered at the ſame time to reſettle ſome citizens of diſtinction in *Byzantium*, who had been driven from thence by the populace. When *Cicero* and *Cato* were gone, the furious tribune, and the triumvirs, whoſe tool he was, reigned without controul; but in the mean time, news being brought to *Rome*, that the *Helvetians*, having abandoned

[x] Plut. in Cic. & Pomp. Cic. pro Seſtio, domo ſua, & alib. paſſ. Dio Cass. l. xxxviii.

(S) *Cicero* came firſt to *Vibo*, called alſo *Hipponium*, which ſtood on the coaſt of *Brutium*, and had choſen *Cicero* for its patron or protector; but one *Vibius*, on whom *Cicero* had conferred many favours, not only refuſed to admit him into his houſe, but would not even ſuffer him to come into the city. However, one *Sica*, who held a farm near *Hipponium*, received and entertained him, till he ſet out for *Brunduſium*. Thither the people of the country guarded him, the neighbouring country being infeſted by a troop of exiles of the *Catiliniarian* faction, under the command of *Autronius*, whoſe reſentment *Cicero* had reaſon to fear. Before he imbarqued at the port of *Brunduſium*, he ſpent ſome days with his friend *M. Lænius Flaccus*, who had a country-houſe near that city. He was then in a moſt deplorable condition, not knowing what place to chuſe for his reſidence during his exile. *Greece* and *Epirus* were beſet by a troop of robbers in the pay of *Autronius*, his ſworn enemy. The government of *Macedon* had been given to the conſul *Piſo*, an avowed friend to *Clodius*. *Aſia* only offered him a ſecure retreat; and therefore he imbarqued at *Brunduſium*, reſolving to ſail to *Cyzicus*, a city of *Myſia*. This he himſelf declares in a letter, which he wrote before he imbarqued to his wife *Terentia*, and to his children *Tullia* and *Cicero*. *I have ſpent thirteen days*, ſays he, *at* Brunduſium, *in the houſe of* M. Lænius Flaccus. *This faithful friend is affected with my misfortunes, and, in ſpite of the furious* Clodius, *entertains me with great civility. I am going to leave him and imbarque for* Macedon, *whence I intend to proceed to* Cyzicus, *and there finiſh my courſe.* Accordingly, on the thirteenth of *April*, he took leave of his friend *Flaccus*, who, with his father and children, attended him to the port, where theſe illuſtrious friends parted, after having given each other reciprocal aſſurances of the moſt ſincere friendſhip. *Cicero* had at firſt a favourable wind; but a few hours after a violent ſtorm obliged the pilot to return to the ſame port. When the ſtorm was appeaſed, he put to ſea again, and landed at *Dyrrachium*, now *Durazzo*. There the inhabitants received him in ſuch a manner, as might have allayed his grief if he had been capable of any comfort; but he diſcovered a weakneſs on this occaſion, which could not have been expected from a man bred up in the ſtudy of philoſophy. He grew melancholy, was ever ſighing, and turning his eyes towards *Italy*. The *Greeks*, who came to viſit him, being quite tired with his complaints, were forced to invent dreams, and draw good preſages of his ſpeedy return from the moſt trifling events, in order to pacify him. So very different are ſometimes the greateſt men from themſelves in times of adverſity! *Cicero*, after a ſhort ſtay at *Dyrrachium*, repaired to *Theſſalonica*, and there reſided, till he was recalled from baniſhment.

a doned their country, and burnt down their towns and houſes, were preparing to enter *Gaul* by way of *Geneva*, *Cæſar*, whoſe province *Gaul* was, found himſelf obliged to leave *Rome*, and haſten to the defence of the country committed to his care. Accordingly he repaired thither in ſuch haſte, that he reached the banks of the *Rhone* in eight days. Upon his arrival, he broke down the bridge of *Geneva*; and as he found but one legion in the province, he deferred giving anſwer to the *Helvetians*, who deſired leave to paſs through the country of the *Allobroges*, till he had covered the frontiers of his province, by carrying on a wall from the lake *Lemanus*, or lake of *Geneva*, to mount *Jura*, now *Mont S. Claude*. This wall was nineteen miles in extent, ſixteen foot high, and defended by a deep ditch and caſtles at proper diſtances.

Cæſar goes into Gaul.

b As *Cæſar* did not ſet out from *Rome* till about the beginning of *April*, and this work was completed before the ides, or the thirteenth, of the ſame month, it is manifeſt, that, beſides the *Roman* legion, great numbers of the inhabitants were employed in it. When the deputies of the *Helvetii* returned at the time appointed for an anſwer, *Cæſar* told them, that the *Romans* never ſuffered foreign armies to march through their countries; and that, if they attempted to force a paſſage, he would repel force with force. Upon this, the whole nation of the *Helvetians* appeared in a body; and then *Cæſar*, perſuaded that he could not reſiſt them with the few troops he had, left *Labienus*, one of his lieutenants, to defend his lines, and haſtening back into *Italy*, brought from thence in a very ſhort time five legions. With theſe he fell upon the

Refuſes the Helvetians *a paſſage through the* Roman *province, and defeats them.*

c *Helvetians*, while they were embarraſſed in paſſing the *Arar*, now the *Saone*, cut in pieces thoſe who had not yet croſſed the river, and, throwing a bridge over it, advanced againſt the reſt. The *Helvetians*, ſomewhat diſheartened at the loſs they had ſuſtained, ſent deputies to the *Roman* camp to treat of an accommodation; but as they refuſed to give hoſtages, *Cæſar* detached his cavalry, with orders to haraſs them on their march. The *Roman* horſe, having attacked them in narrow roads, were repulſed with no ſmall loſs, which raiſed the courage of the *Helvetians*, while the *Romans* began to be ſomewhat diſheartened for want of proviſions. *Cæſar* had none but the *Ædui*, the faithful allies of *Rome*, to depend on for a ſpeedy ſupply of corn. Their country lay between the *Seine*, the *Loire*, and the *Saone*, was extremely fruitful,

d and capable of ſupporting an army far more numerous than that of *Cæſar*; but the *Roman* general, to his great ſurpriſe, found the corn fail when he moſt wanted it. The *Ædui* indeed had promiſed to ſupply his troops with proviſions; but they poſtponed from day to day the ſending of the convoys which they had promiſed; ſo that the army was reduced to great ſtraits. *Cæſar* therefore, ſuſpecting the fidelity of the *Ædui*, reſolved to find out the true cauſe of theſe artful delays. In order to this he examined *Liſcus*, the chief magiſtrate of the *Ædui*, and a lord of the country named *Divitiacus*, who ſerved both in the *Roman* army. The former told him, that *Dumnorix*, younger brother to *Divitiacus*, deſigning to uſurp the ſovereign power, and depending on the aſſiſtance of the *Helvetians*, had, to gratify them, privately con-

Treachery of Dumnorix *the* Æduan.

e veyed the corn out of the province, and raiſed the price of it, hoping by that means to make the *Roman* army periſh with famine. *Divitiacus* owned the ſame thing, but without naming his brother. *Cæſar* was inclined to puniſh *Dumnorix* with ſeverity; but pardoned him at the entreaty of his brother *Divitiacus* [y].

And now *Cæſar* drew near *Bibracte* (T), the capital of the *Ædui*, to facilitate the conveyance of the corn, which thoſe faithful allies had promiſed. When the enemy ſaw him retreat, they purſued and attacked him; whereupon a bloody battle enſued, which laſted from noon till night. The *Helvetians* behaved with incredible bravery; but at length were forced to give way, and retire to a hill, where they had placed their baggage and their women, and ſurrounded them with their waggons as with a

f rampart. Thither *Cæſar* purſued them, made himſelf maſter of their baggage, and took

[y] Cæs. bell. civil. l. i. c. 1——18.

(T) The modern geographers are divided in their opinions as to the ſituation of *Bibracte*, as *Cæſar* and *Strabo* call it. They all agree, that it was the moſt conſiderable of all the cities of the *Ædui*, from the *Doux* to the *Saone*; but moſt of them pretend, that it ſtood where the city of *Autun* now ſtands. It was called firſt, according to them, *Bibracte*, and afterwards *Auguſtodunum*, from the emperor *Auguſtus*. The latter name it retained, ſay they, till the time of the emperors *Conſtans* and *Conſtantine*, by whom it was rebuilt, and from them took the name of *Flavia*, both thoſe princes being deſcended from the *Flavian* family. M. *Valois* places the antient city of *Bibracte* near a village called *Beauvray*, about two leagues from *Autun*; and others take the town of *Pebrac*, on the borders of *Auvergne* and *Gevaudan*, to be the antient capital of the *Ædui*.

The Helvetians, *defeated anew, return to their own country.*

took a great many priſoners, among whom were the wife and daughter of the famous *Orgetorix*, the firſt author of the tranſmigration. After this overthrow, the *Helvetians*, diſheartened at the loſs they had ſuſtained, which amounted to one hundred and thirty thouſand of their people, had recourſe to the clemency of the conqueror; who, having obliged them to lay down their arms and give him hoſtages, ſent them back to their own country, with orders to rebuild their cities and villages. Only the *Boii* were allowed, at the requeſt of the *Ædui*, to ſettle in *Gaul*, whence they formerly came. This victory made the *Roman* name formidable throughout all *Gaul*; congratulations were brought to *Cæſar* from all parts, and the *Ædui* implored his protection againſt *Arioviſtus* king of the *Germans*, who, taking advantage of the differences which had long ſubſiſted between them and the *Arverni* (U), had joined the latter, made himſelf maſter of great part of the country of the *Sequani* (W), and obliged the *Ædui* to give him their children as hoſtages. *Cæſar*, pleaſed with this new opportunity of acquiring glory, promiſed them his aſſiſtance; and accordingly diſpatched embaſſadors to *Arioviſtus*, inviting him to an interview; which he declining, *Cæſar* ſent other deputies, deſiring him to reſtore to the *Ædui* their hoſtages, and to bring no more troops over the *Rhine* into *Gaul*. At the ſame time he put him in mind of the favour he had ſhewn him during his conſulate, ſince, by his means, he had been declared a friend and ally of the *Roman* people. *Arioviſtus* anſwered, That he had a right to make war when and where he pleaſed; that he was not obliged to give any perſon an account, either of the victories he gained, or of the terms he preſcribed to the conquered; that he would not reſtore to the *Ædui* their hoſtages, *&c.* *Cæſar* no ſooner received this anſwer, than he marched to *Veſontio* now *Beſançon*, the capital of the *Sequani*, to prevent its being ſurpriſed by *Arioviſtus*. There the *Romans* received ſuch accounts of the formidable ſtature and looks of the *Germans*, as alarmed them. *Cæſar* therefore having called a council of war, reproached them in ſuch ſtrong terms with their fears, that they were aſhamed of the weakneſs they had diſcovered. He then led them againſt the enemy; but when they came within five miles of their camp, *Arioviſtus* ſent to deſire an interview with the *Roman* general; which was readily granted. Both commanders repaired to the place agreed on, which was a riſing ground in the midſt of a large plain. During the conference, in which they treated each other with great haughtineſs, the horſe that attended the king drew near to thoſe of *Cæſar*, and diſcharged a ſhower of darts and ſtones at them. *Cæſar* reſtrained the ardour of his men; but immediately broke off the conference and retired to his camp, whither he was followed by deputies from the king, deſiring, that embaſſadors might be ſent him to treat in an amicable manner. *Cæſar* readily complied with his requeſt; but *Arioviſtus*, as ſoon as they arrived in his camp, treated them as ſpies, put them in irons, and decamping the ſame day, poſted himſelf ſo as to intercept the *Roman* convoys. *Cæſar* followed him, and, drawing up his men for five days together in a neighbouring plain, bid the enemy defiance; but *Arioviſtus* kept cloſe in his camp, and *Cæſar* was informed, that the women in the enemy's camp, who pretended to propheſy, had foretold, that they could not be victorious till after the new-moon. Upon this intelligence, the proconſul marched all his legions up to the *German* trenches, which forced *Arioviſtus* to come to a battle, in which he was intirely defeated, and moſt of his troops cut in pieces. The king, with much difficulty, eſcaped croſs the *Rhine*; but two of his wives and one of his daughters periſhed in the flight. Another of his daughters was taken priſoner, with many *Germans* of diſtinction. After this victory, *Cæſar* put his troops into winter-quarters, and, croſſing the *Alps*, returned into *Ciſalpine Gaul*, which was a part of his government, to make there the neceſſary preparations for the next year [z].

Cæſar *invites* Arioviſtus *to an interview.*

Treachery of Arioviſtus.

Arioviſtus *intirely defeated.*

At *Rome* the tribune *Clodius*, who was intirely devoted to *Cæſar*, being ſenſible of the ſuperiority that general was gaining over *Pompey*, whoſe glory he had almoſt eclipſed in one campaign, began to inſult him, and even talked of diſannulling all his acts. He had already taken young *Tigranes* out of the hands of *L. Flavius* the prætor,

Clodius *inſults* Pompey.

[z] Cæs. ibid. c. 18—55.

(U) The country of the *Arverni* lay, according to *Strabo*, between the ocean, the *Pyrenees*, and the *Rhine*. *Lucan* tells us, that the *Arverni* pretended to derive their origin from a colony of *Trojans*, who ſettled among the *Gauls*, under the conduct of *Antenor*. This fable *Sidonius*, to do honour to his Nation, adopts for a certain truth. The *Arverni*, in ancient times, were one of the moſt powerful nations of *Gaul*.

(W) The *Sequani* inhabited the country now called the *Franche Comte*, which reaches from the canton of *Baſle* to the neighbourhood of *Stralſund*.

a prætor, to whoſe cuſtody *Pompey* had committed him, and ſent him back into *Armenia*, where it was feared, he would raiſe new troubles. This treatment rouſed *Pompey*, who now began to think of recalling his old friend *Cicero*, whom he had ſo baſely deſerted. As this could no otherwiſe be done, than by a decree of the ſenate, or of the people, and the latter was impracticable during the tribuneſhip of *Clodius*, he made it his buſineſs to engage the conſcript fathers in his behalf; but the conſuls, *Piſo* and *Gabinius*, rendred all their attempts abortive, ſo that nothing could be done this year in favour of the illuſtrious exile. The next year, the firſt thing the new conſuls, *P. Cornelius Lentulus* and *P. Cæcilius Metellus*, propoſed in the ſenate, was the recalling of *Cicero*, which met with a general approbation; but when the
b affair was brought before the people, *Clodius* appeared armed in the comitium, at the head of a company of gladiators, to oppoſe it with open violence. Then *Milo*, who was at the head of the tribunes, hired another company of gladiators to repel force with force. The conſcript fathers, depending on the protection of *Milo*, paſſed the decree in the moſt ſolemn and pompous manner; as did alſo the people when it was brought before them, notwithſtanding the warm oppoſition of *Clodius*. In the mean time, *Cicero*, informed of what paſſed at *Rome*, left *Theſſalonica*, where he reſided, and came to *Dyrrachium*, and from thence ſet ſail for *Brunduſium*, where his reception was a kind of triumph. From *Brunduſium* he ſet out for *Rome*, and had the pleaſure to ſee all *Italy* take part in his joy, Every colony and municipium ſent
c deputies to congratulate him; and the nearer he came to *Rome*, the more the crowds increaſed. As he was juſt ready to enter the city at the gate *Capena*, the whole ſenate met him in a body and conducted him, amidſt the ſhouts and acclamations of the people, to the capitol, from whence he was carried to his habitation, as he himſelf expreſſes it, *on the ſhoulders of all* Rome. After his return, he ſoon began to reaſſume his former aſcendant over the ſenate, and as corn was become exceeding dear at *Rome*, he procured for *Pompey*, his benefactor, the honourable commiſſion of ſupplying the city, with an unlimited power in all the ports of the *Mediterranean* for five years. After this he prevailed on the pontifices to put him again in poſſeſſion of the ground, on which his houſe had ſtood, and on the conſcript fathers to rebuild,
d at the expence of the public, his houſes both in the city and country [a].

Cicero *recalled.*

Returns to Rome *with great honour.*

During theſe tranſactions at *Rome*, *Cæſar*, being informed by *Labienus*, whom he had left in *Gaul*, that all the nations of *Belgium* had conſpired againſt the republic, and had entered into an alliance againſt the *Romans* as a common enemy, raiſed two new legions in *Inſubria*, repaſſed the *Alps* early in the ſpring, and joining *Labienus*, immediately began to march, and in fifteen days arrived on the confines of the *Belgæ* (X). Upon his approach the *Rhemi* ſubmitted; but the reſt of the *Belgæ*, appointing *Galba*, king of the *Sueſſones*, now the *Soiſonnois*, commander in chief of their united forces, which amounted to one hundred and fifty thouſand men, marched againſt the *Rhemi*, who had declared for the *Romans*, and laid ſiege to one of their
e cities called *Bibrax*, which ſome modern writers take to be *Braine*, a little city in the *Soiſonnois*, others to be *Laon*, alled by the antients *Mons Bibrax*. *Cæſar*, upon this news, ſent a ſtrong detachment to the relief of the beſieged city. Whereupon *Galba*, leaving *Bibrax*, marched directly to *Cæſar* and incamped about three miles from the *Romans*. After both armies had continued ſome days in ſight of each other, *Galba* attempted to paſs the *Axona*, now the *Aiſne*; which *Cæſar* no ſooner knew, than he marched his horſe and light-armed infantry over the bridge, which he had ſeized, and attacking the enemy while they were embarraſſed in croſſing the river, made ſuch a dreadful ſlaughter of them, that the bed of the river was filled up with dead bodies; inſomuch, that the *Belgæ*, who eſcaped the ſlaughter, marched over them to the op-
f poſite bank. The *Belgæ* were ſo diſheartened with this defeat, that they reſolved to diſperſe, and return every one to his own country. The next day *Cæſar* appeared before *Noviodonum*, now *Noyon*, a city of the *Sueſſones*, and ſo terrified the inhabitants with his machines, that they opened their gates to him. The *Bellovaci*, who inhabited the preſent *Beauvaiſis*, alſo gave way to the ſtorm, and implored the clemency of the conqueror, as ſoon as he appeared before their capital. The *Ambiani*, now the people of *Amiens*, followed the example of the *Bellovaci*; but the *Nervii*, a fierce nation,

Cæſar *marches againſt the* Belgæ.

And defeats them.

Reduces the Sueſſones, *the* Bellovaci, *the* Ambiani, &c.

[a] Dio. Cass. xxxvi. Plut. in Cic. Cic. pro domo ſua. pro Sextio in Piſ. & alib. paſſ.

(X) *Belgic Gaul* comprehended that great country, which is bounded by the *Britiſh* ocean on one ſide, and the river *Seine* on the other.

nation, who poſſeſſed the country now known by the name of *Cambreſis*, joined the *Atrebates* and *Veromandui*, that is, the inhabitants of the territory of *Arras* and of the *Vermandois*, and, having ſecured their wives and children in inacceſſible places, ſtood on their defence. In the mean time, *Cæſar* advanced, and arrived in the enemy's country; but while his legions were buſy in pitching their camp, the *Nervii*, who lay concealed in a neighbouring wood, ſallying out of their ambuſcade, attacked the *Roman* cavalry, put them to flight, and then fell on the legionaries with a fury not to be expreſſed. As this attack was unexpected, *Cæſar* had in a manner every thing to do at the ſame inſtant. The banner was to be erected, the charge ſounded, the ſoldiers at a diſtance recalled, the army drawn up, and the ſignal given. In this ſurpriſe *Cæſar* ran from place to place, exhorting his men to remember their former valour; and having drawn them up in the beſt manner he could, cauſed the ſignal to be given. The legionaries made a vigorous reſiſtance; but as the enemy ſeemed determined either to conquer or die, the ſucceſs was different in different places. In the left wing the ninth and tenth legions did wonders, drove the *Atrebates* into a neighbouring river, and made a great ſlaughter of them. In another place the eighth and eleventh legions repulſed the *Veromandui*, and drove them before them. But in the right wing the ſeventh and twelfth legions ſuffered extremely. They were intirely ſurrounded by the *Nervii*, all the centurions in the fourth cohort being ſlain, and moſt of the other officers wounded. In this extremity, *Cæſar*, ſeizing the buckler of one of the private men, put himſelf at the head of his broken wing, renewed the attack, and being joined by the two legions, which he had left to guard the baggage, fell upon the *Nervii*, already fatigued, with freſh vigour, and made a dreadful havock of them. However, that warlike nation did not give ground; as ſoon as one fell, another ſtood upon his body, and ſupplied his place. In ſhort they were almoſt all cut in pieces; and then their old men, with their women and children, ſurrendered to the conqueror, who left them in poſſeſſion of their cities and liberty. Then *Cæſar* advanced againſt the *Advatici* (Y), who, upon his approach, pretended to give up their arms, and ſubmit; but treacherouſly concealed a third part of them, and made an attack on the *Romans* in the night. This ſo provoked th *Roman* general, that he broke down the gates of their city the next day, put a great number of them to the ſword, and ſold the reſt, to the number of fifty-three thouſand, for ſlaves. At the ſame time *P. Craſſus*, the ſon of the triumvir and one of *Cæſar*'s lieutenants, ſubdued ſeven other nations (Z), and took poſſeſſion of their cities. The fame of theſe exploits brought the proconſul embaſſadors with offers of ſubmiſſion from ſeveral nations beyond the *Rhine*; but as the ſeaſon was far advanced, he put his troops into winter-quarters in the territories of the *Andes*, *Taurones*, and *Carnutes*, now the *Angevins*, the *Tourangeaux*, and thoſe of *Chartrain*, and repaſſing the *Alps*, ſpent the winter in *Inſubria* [b]. By theſe conqueſts *Cæſar* effaced the remmbrance of *Pompey*'s victories in the eaſt, and at the ſame time by the prodigious ſums he heaped up in *Gaul*, chiefly by robbing the temples of their treaſures, he purchaſed himſelf many friends in *Italy*.

Is attacked by the Nervii.

Whom he defeats.

And likewiſe the Advatici.

Several other nations ſubdued.

The following year *Marcius Philippus* and *Cornelius Lentulus* were raiſed to the conſulate. During their adminiſtration, *Ptolemy Auletes*, king of *Egypt*, who had been driven from the throne by the *Alexandrians*, was reſtored to it by *Gabinius*, proconſul of *Syria*, as we have related at length in our hiſtory of *Egypt*. In *Gaul* *Galba*, one of *Cæſar*'s lieutenants, was attacked in his winter-quarters at *Octodurus*, now *Martaignac* in *Lower Valais*, by a great body of *Gauls*, whom he defeated, killed above ten thouſand of them, and then, after having burnt *Octodurus*, marched into the country of the *Allobroges*, to ſpend the reſt of the winter there in more peaceable quarters. In the mean time, *Cæſar*, who was in *Illyricum*, which was part of his province, being informed, that the *Veneti*, that is, the ancient inhabitants of *Vannes* in *Bretagne*, with ſome other nations near them, had endeavoured to recover their hoſtages

Galba *defeats a great body of* Gauls.

[b] Cæs. l. ii. c. 1---33.

(Y) The *Advatici* were the remains of thoſe *Cimbri* and *Teutones*, whom *Marius* had defeated in *Italy*. They had been left on the banks of the *Rhine* to guard the baggage and booty of their countrymen, and had ſettled there, after the intire defeat of the *Cimbri*.

(Z) Theſe ſeven nations were the *Veneti*, *Unelli*, *Oſymii*, *Curioſolitæ*, *Seſuvii*, *Aulerci*, and *Rhedones*, that is, according to the modern geographers, the inhabitants of *Vannes*, *Coutance*, *Treguier*, *Cornouaille* *Sees*, *Maine*, and *Rennes*.

a hoſtages, and were making great preparations for war, ſent orders for building a fleet on the *Loire*, and made all haſte to the army. Upon his arrival, he appointed *Brutus* admiral of the fleet, which he found ready equipped; and the new admiral putting to ſea, engaged the enemy's fleet, and gained a complete victory over them. Hereupon the *Veneti* immediately ſubmitted; but *Cæſar* put their chief men to death, and ſold the reſt for ſlaves. At the ſame time *Titurius Sabinus*, whom he had detached againſt the *Unelli*, defeated *Veridorix* their chief, and ſubdued them, with the *Aulerci* and *Lexovii* (A). *Craſſus*, whom he had ſent into *Aquitaine*, beſieged the capital of the *Sociates*, and reduced it; but the reſt of the *Aquitani* ſtill refuſing to ſubmit, *Craſſus* marched againſt them, and killed near thirty thouſand of them in one battle.

The Veneti, Unelli, Aulerci, &c. *ſubdued.*

b The conſequence of this victory was the reduction of all *Aquitaine*. And now all the nations in *Gaul* being diſarmed, except the *Morini* and *Menapii*, that is, the ancient inhabitants of the territory of *Teroüenne*, of *Guelders*, *Juliers*, and *Cleves*, *Cæſar* himſelf marched againſt them; but, as they retired to inacceſſible faſtneſſes, all he could do was to burn and ravage their country; after which he put his troops into winter-quarters in the countries of the *Aulerci* and *Lexovii*, and, repaſſing the *Alps*, as uſual, ſpent ſome months in *Ciſaſpine Gaul*. From thence he influenced all affairs at *Rome*, and encouraged his chief agent *Clodius* to pull down *Cicero*'s new houſe; but *Milo* oppoſed the furious tribune, and prevented the execution of his deſign. And now *Pompey* began to be extremely jealous of *Cæſar*, whoſe victories in *Gaul* intirely

Cæſar *excites* Clodius *to commit violences in* Rome.

c eclipſed the glory he had acquired in the eaſt. *Cæſar* likewiſe took umbrage at *Pompey*'s joining *Cicero*; however, they both kept up the appearance at leaſt of friendſhip, being apprehenſive, that *Craſſus* would leave them, if they came to a quarrel. Beſides *Cæſar* ſtood in great need of *Pompey*'s aſſiſtance, to get *Domitius Ahenobarbus* excluded from the conſulate, who had declared, that he would, if raiſed to that dignity, ſhorten the time of *Cæſar*'s proconſulate. To exclude *Ahenobarbus* was no eaſy matter; he being ſupported by *Cato*, who was returned from *Cyprus*, and by all the enemies of the triumvirate, who were very numerous. Among all the well-wiſhers of the republic, *Cicero* was the only perſon who kept meaſures with the triumvirs; the remembrance of his baniſhment having made him more circumſpect. As

d it was the common intereſt of the triumvirate, that *Ahenobarbus*, a ſincere friend to his country, ſhould be ſet aſide at the next election, *Pompey* and *Craſſus* agreed to ſtand in competition with him; but as they deſpaired of ſucceſs without the concurrence of *Cæſar*, they both went to *Luca*, where he ſpent the winter, to propoſe their ſcheme to him, and engage his intereſt. There they found ſo many prætors and proconſuls making their court to him, that one hundred and twenty bundles of rods were ſeen at a time. *Pompey* and *Craſſus* no ſooner informed him of their deſign, than he came heartily into their meaſures. He was indeed ſenſible, that a ſecond conſulate would increaſe the power of *Pompey* and *Craſſus*; but it was more for his intereſt, that they ſhould ſucceed, than that the conſulſhip ſhould be conferred on *Ahenobarbus*, who

Pompey *and* Craſſus *agree to ſtand for a ſecond conſulſhip.*

e was intirely under the influence of *Cato*. *Cæſar* therefore cloſed with the propoſal, and ordered his agents and emiſſaries at *Rome* to ſpare no expence in purchaſing the ſuffrages of the tribes. As all this was kept ſecret, *Ahenobarbus*, not ſuſpecting that the two triumvirs would be his competitors, went very early on the day appointed for the election to ſolicit the ſuffrages of the people. He was attended by *Cato*, who was to preſent him to the tribes, and by a ſlave, who, as it was yet dark, carried a flambeau before him; but he had not gone far, before ſome aſſaſſins, who lay in wait for him, killed the ſlave, and falling on the candidate and his friend, would have diſpatched them likewiſe, had they not ſaved themſelves by flight. *Ahenobarbus* eſcaped unhurt; but *Cato* was wounded in the arm. This notorious act of violence rouſed

f the zeal of the ſenate; but the furious *Clodius*, at the head of an armed mob, oppoſed all their meaſures; and at the ſame time *Caius Cato*, another tribune, proteſted againſt holding the comitia; ſo that the conſular year being expired, the republic fell into an inter-regnum; which ſo grieved the ſenators, that they went into mourning, as in a time of public calamity. As the fathers were well appriſed, that theſe diſturbances were occaſioned by *Pompey* and *Craſſus*, they asked them in full ſenate, Whether they aſpired to the conſular dignity? They owned they did; and then the other

(A) Some take the *Unelli* for the people of *Coutance*; others place them in *Perche*; and ſome bring them nearer *Bretagne*. The countries of the *Aulerci* and *Lexovii* comprehended *Evreux* and *Liſieux*.

They are chosen.

other candidates desisting; through fear of the triumvirs, the comitia were held without the least disturbance, and *Pompey* and *Crassus* unanimously chosen [c]. a

Cæsar, now under no apprehension of being recalled from *Gaul*, hastened thither to oppose the *Usipites* and *Tenchtheri* (B), who being driven out of their own country by the *Suevi*, had crossed the *Rhine*, with a design to settle in *Belgic Gaul*. As soon as he appeared, the *Germans* sent him a deputation, offering to join him, if he would assign them lands. *Cæsar* answered, That there was no room in *Gaul* for newcomers; but that he would desire the *Ubii*; the people of *Cologne*, to give them leave to settle in their territories. Then they desired time to treat with the *Ubii*; and in the mean while, falling treacherously upon some *Roman* squadrons, killed about seventy men, *Cæsar*, exasperated at this perfidiousness, immediately marched after them, b

Cæsar defeats the Usipites and Tenchtheri.

and coming up with them, when least expected, made a dreadful slaughter of the unhappy wretches, who were but indifferently armed. They fled in the utmost confusion; but *Cæsar* pursued them to the conflux of the *Rhine* and the *Maese*, where the slaughter was renewed with such fury, that of four hundred thousand souls very few escaped. After this, being resolved to break into *Germany*, and spread the terror of the *Roman* name among those barbarous nations, he ordered a bridge to be built over the *Rhine*; which wonderful undertaking being completed in ten days, he entered *Germany*, plundered and sacked the country of the *Sicambri* (C), terrified the *Suevi* (D), and having made them sensible that there was a more formidable nation in the world than themselves, he returned into *Gaul*, and broke down the bridge he had built. This expedition into *Germany* was finished in eighteen days [d]. c

Passes the Rhine.

His expedition into Britain.

And now *Cæsar*, having reduced all *Gaul*, and struck terror into the *German* nations, bordering on the countries which he had subdued, resolved to pass over into *Britain*, and punish those islanders for sending continual supplies to the *Gauls* against the *Romans*. This was a dangerous enterprize; and therefore, before he embarqued in it, he carefully inquired of the merchants, who traded to the *British* islands, what sort of people they were; in what manner they made war; under what laws they lived, and which were their best ports. After this, he sent *Volusenus* over into *Britain*, to view the coast, while he himself, crossing the country of the *Morini*, came to the place where the passage from the continent to the island is narrowest. Thither he ordered d all the ships to repair, which he had made use of against the *Veneti*. In the mean time, the *Britains*, informed of these preparations, dispatched deputies to him, offering to submit to the republic and to give hostages. *Cæsar* sent the embassadors back with fair promises, and with them one *Comius* of *Atrebatum*, a man well known in *Britain*, charging him to gain over to the *Roman* interest as many cities as he could, and to persuade them to send him hostages; but *Comius*, not caring to trust the inhabitants, continued five days on the coast; and then, without so much as landing, returned to make his report to *Cæsar* of what he had observed. *Cæsar*, leaving *Sulpicius Rufus* in *Gaul* to guard the ports, put to sea with two legions, and made the *British* coast the next morning, which he found lined with men to oppose his landing. e

Lands in Britain.

As he could not conveniently make a descent in that place, the eminences, which the inhabitants had seized, being so near the shore, that they could from thence harass the *Romans* with their darts, without being exposed themselves to any danger, he sailed eight miles farther, and there met with such a vigorous opposition, that he was in danger of being obliged to return to sea, till the standard-bearer of the tenth legion, leaping boldly into the water, encouraged, by his example, the others to follow him. They all leaped out of their ships, through fear of leaving a *Roman* eagle in the hands of the enemy, and, advancing through a shower of darts, gained the shore, engaged the *Britains* on firm ground and put them to flight. The *Britains* were so terrified with the success of the *Romans*, that they desired a peace; which was granted f them,

[c] Dio Cass. l. xxxix. Plut. in Pomp. Cic. de provin. consular. [d] Cæs. bell. Gall. l. iv. c. 1—17.

(B) Some modern geographers place these people in the territory of *Relinchusen* in *Germany*; others in the neighbourhood of *Zutphen*. It is certain that they had no fixed settlement; for, in *Tacitus*'s time, they inhabited the country bordering on the territory of *Basile* (26).

(C) We cannot give any account of the country of the *Sicambri*. All we know of them is, that they lived near the rivers *Lyppe* and *Issel*, and that they possessed a pretty large territory in *Germany*.

(D) The *Suevi* inhabited that part of *Germany* which is now the dutchy of *Mecklemburg*, the marquisate of *Brandenburg*, *Turingen*, and a part of *Upper Saxony*.

(26) *Tacit. de morib. German.*

a them, upon their delivering ſome hoſtages; but in the mean time, *Cæſar*'s tranſports being, for the moſt part, ſhattered by a violent ſtorm, and proviſions growing ſcarce in his camp, the *Britains*, inſtead of ſending him the reſt of the hoſtages, drew together what troops they could, and falling on the ſeventh legion, which *Cæſar* had ſent to get proviſions, would have cut them all off, had not the general come very ſeaſonably to their aſſiſtance and diſengaged them. In this extremity *Cæſar* loſt no time in refitting his ſhips, procuring proviſions, and ſecuring his camp. However, the *Britains* attacked him anew, and fought with great bravery and intrepidity; but, being defeated a third time, they had recourſe to the clemency of the conqueror, who was glad to grant them a peace, upon their delivering up to him double the number of
b hoſtages which he had required before. With theſe hoſtages, as the ſeaſon was far advanced, he put to ſea, and returned to *Gaul*, without the loſs of one ſhip. There he put his troops into winter-quarters; and, repaſſing the *Alps*, returned to *Inſubria* [e].

Defeats the inhabitants in ſeveral battles.

And returns to Gaul.

WHILE *Cæſar* was thus employed in *Gaul*, *Pompey* and *Craſſus* governed *Rome* very arbitrarily, without any regard either to the ſenate or people. C. *Trebonius*, tribune of the people, in order to put the conſuls upon a level with *Cæſar*, propoſed a law, appointing *Craſſus* governor of *Syria*, *Egypt*, and *Macedon*, and *Pompey* of the two *Spains*, for five years. *Cato* oppoſed this dangerous propoſal, till he was ſeized by the tribune's orders and ſent to priſon. As *Cæſar*'s commiſſion was near expiring, and by this law all power would be veſted in *Pompey* and *Craſſus*, *Cæſar*'s friends
c oppoſed it, till the tribes agreed to continue him in his government of *Gaul* for five years longer. Then the *Trebonian* law paſſed by a great majority, enacting, that they ſhould have the above-mentioned governments; that it ſhould not be in any one's power to recal either from his province, till five years were expired; that they might raiſe as many troops as they judged neceſſary; and laſtly, that they might draw what ſupplies of men and money they thought proper from the kings and ſtates in alliance with *Rome*. This law plainly tended to the total deſtruction of the republican ſtate, and made the triumvirs ſole maſters of the government. *Pompey* choſe to ſtay in *Rome*; but *Craſſus*, extremely deſirous of making war upon the *Parthians*, embarqued at *Brunduſium*, before his conſulate expired, and ſet ſail for *Aſia*. *Pom-*
d *pey*, the more to engage the people in his intereſt, built a ſtone theatre at a vaſt expence, and diverted the multitude with moſt magnificent ſhews, in which five hundred lions and eighteen elephants appeared in the arena.

The Trebonian *law.*

THE next year *Domitius Ahenobarbus* and *Claudius Pulcher* were raiſed to the conſulate. The former was an avowed enemy to the triumvirate; and *Cato*, now prætor, was in a condition to aſſiſt him: but as the triumvirs were at the head of three great armies, they feared nothing either from the conſul or the prætor. *Cæſar* and *Craſſus* were indeed at a great diſtance from *Rome*; but *Pompey*, without any regard to law or precedents, having raiſed an army, to put himſelf, as he ſaid, upon a level with the other two, kept it at the very gates of *Rome*; ſo that the moſt zeal-
e ous republicans durſt not attempt any thing againſt the triumvirs, or in favour of the public liberty. While *Pompey* was thus keeping the capital in awe, *Cæſar* was intent on another expedition to the *Britiſh* iſlands. This was firſt retarded by *Indutiomarus*, a chief of the *Treviri*, who raiſed an inſurrection among his countrymen, but ſubmitted as ſoon as *Cæſar* drew near him; and afterwards by the revolt of *Dumnorix* the *Æduan*, who was killed by the *Roman* cavalry, whom *Cæſar* ſent againſt him. Theſe obſtacles being removed, *Cæſar* embarqued with five legions and two thouſand horſe, and landing in *Britain* without oppoſition, forced one of the enemy's intrenchments, and afterwards defeated *Caſſivelaunus*, general of all the *Britiſh* forces; which ſo terrified the enemy, that they never after appeared in the field with any conſiderable
f body. Whereupon *Cæſar* advanced farther into the country, and, in ſpite of all oppoſition, paſſed the *Thames*, his men wading up to the neck in the water. However, *Caſſivelaunus*, with only four thouſand of his charioteers, haraſſed the *Romans* to ſuch a degree, that *Cæſar* would probably have found it very difficult to have reduced him, had he not been aſſiſted by *Mandrabatius*, prince of the *Trinobantes*, who, out of hatred to *Caſſivelaunus*, by whom his father *Inmanuentius* had been killed, prevailed on his countrymen to join *Cæſar*. Then *Caſſivelaunus*, after ſome unſucceſsful attempts in *Cantium* or *Kent*, ſubmitted to the conqueror, and gave hoſtages.

Cæſar's *ſecond expedition into* Britain.

[e] Idem ibid. c. 7—37.

hoſtages. Whereupon *Cæſar*, fearing ſome new tumults in *Gaul*, embarqued his troops, and returned to the continent before the autumnal eqninox [f] (E). a

The death of Julia.

On his return, he received letters from *Rome*, acquainting him with the death of his daughter *Julia*, who was, we may ſay, the great cement of peace between her father and husband; and had, by her good offices, hitherto prevented them from coming to an open rupture. Her virtue and extraordinary qualities had ſo endeared her to all ranks of men in the republic, that ſhe was honoured after her death, with a mark of diſtinction never before beſtowed on any of her ſex. She was buried in the *Field of Mars*, an honour allowed only to the greateſt heroes of the republic [g].

A general inſurrection in Gaul.

Cæſar, on his return to *Gaul*, found a famine in the country, which obliged him to divide his troops, and put them into different quarters, for their better ſubſiſtence. This gave the *Eburones*, now the people of *Liege*, an opportunity of taking arms againſt *Sabinus* and *Cotta*, whom *Cæſar* had poſted in their country with only one legion and five cohorts. At the ſame time *Ambiorix*, a leading man among the *Gauls*, pretending friendſhip, told *Sabinus* and *Cotta*, while they were beſieged in their camp, that all the *Gauliſh* nations were marching againſt them, and offered to conduct them ſafe through his dominions to *Cæſar* or *Labienus*. The *Romans* in this diſtreſs accepted the offer; but were by the treacherous *Ambiorix* led into an ambuſcade, and moſt of them cut in pieces. *Ambiorix* elated with this ſucceſs, proclaimed it in the neighbouring nations; and then the *Advatici*, falling unexpectedly upon *Quintus Cicero*, whom *Cæſar* had poſted among them with one legion, reduced him to great ſtraits; but the brave *Roman* defended himſelf with great gallantry, till *Cæſar*, whom he found means to acquaint with his danger, came to his relief and defeated the enemy. The news of this victory ſoon reached *Labienus*, who was likewiſe attacked by the *Rheni*, among whom *Cæſar* had quartered him with one legion. *Indutiomarus*, being joined by the *Senones*, came and inſulted him in his camp; but the *Roman*, after pretending fear for ſome time, made a vigorous ſally, put the enemy to flight, and killed *Indutiomarus*, the chief author of the revolt. This victory gave *Cæſar* a little more quiet during the reſt of the campaign, which was the moſt difficult, as well as the moſt glorious, of any he had made in *Gaul*; but, after all, he loſt ſo many men this ſummer, that he was forced to have recourſe to *Pompey*, who was weak enough to ſpare him two legions out of the army, which he kept for oſtentation only near *Rome*. *Pompey* was blind to *Cæſar*'s deſigns; but *Cato* foreſaw the evils he was bringing on the republic, tho' it was out of his power to prevent them. All he could do was, to attempt the rooting out of bribery and corruption. In order to this, he enacted a law, forbidding the buying of votes at elections; and thereby incurred the hatred both of the rich, whom he endeavoured to deprive of a ſure way of obtaining honours, and of the poor, whom he would have excluded from a means of living without labour; neither did the law put a ſtop to the evil. When the election of new conſuls came on, the candidates bought no more ſingle votes of the people, but with large ſums purchaſed the protection of the triumvirs, or of the preſent conſuls; and thoſe who offered moſt would have been choſen, had not *Q. Mutius Scævola*, one of the tribunes and a true republican, by raiſing difficulty upon difficulty, got the aſſembly diſſolved as often as it was called, till at length the conſular year expired before the election was made, and then a long inter-regnum enſued [h]. b c d e

Pompey ſends Cæſar two legions.

Cato endeavours in vain to prevent bribery.

Great diſorders occaſioned in Rome by Pompey.

Pompey, who commanded an army in the neighbourhood of *Rome*, fomented diſcord in the capital, and, by his private intrigues, got the election of conſuls put off for ſeven months; during which time his friends, to ſound the diſpoſition of the people, ſaid in all places, that it was neceſſary, in the preſent ſituation of affairs, that *Rome* ſhould be governed by one man; nay, the tribune *C. Luceius* went ſo far, as to propoſe to the people the raiſing of *Pompey* to the dictatorſhip; but *Cato* oppoſed the f

[f] Idem, l. v. c. 1——23. [g] Plut. in Pomp. [h] Dio Cass. l. xl. Cic. ad Q. fratrem, l. iii. & ad Attic. l. iv. epiſt. 15, 16.

(E) *Cæſar*, notwithſtanding the great advantages he gained, according to his account, in *Britain*, abandoned the iſland, without leaving any troops in it, or fortifying any ſingle place; which inclines us to believe, that the reputation he acquired in theſe two expeditions, was not near ſo great as it is repreſented in his commentaries. The poet *Lucan* tells us in expreſs terms, that he turned his back to the *Britains: Territa quæſitis oſtendit terga Britannis*, ſays he. *Dion* writes, that, in one action, the *Britains* entirely routed the *Roman* infantry; but were afterwards put in diſorder by the cavalry. *Horace* and *Tibullus* inſinuate, in ſeveral places of their works, that, in their time, the *Britains* were not looked upon as a conquered nation. Whence it is pretty plain, that his expedition into *Britain* was not ſo ſucceſsful, as he repreſents it to have been.

a the motion with ſuch eloquence and reſolution, that he had like to have got the tribune deprived of his office. Then *Pompey*, fearing to diſguſt the people whoſe favour he courted, and in order to remove all ſuſpicions, ſuffered *Domitius Calvinus* and *Valerius Meſſala* to be choſen conſuls; but this did not reſtore peace to the city. The five remaining months of the conſular year were ſpent in factions and maſſacres. Thoſe who ſtood candidates for the curule offices brought their money openly to the place of election, where it was without ſhame diſtributed among the heads of the factions; and thoſe who received it employed force and violence in favour of the perſons who paid them: ſo that ſcarce any office was diſpoſed of, but what had been diſputed ſword in hand, and had coſt the lives of many citizens [i].

b DURING theſe tranſactions at *Rome*, *Craſſus*, whoſe unſucceſsful expedition againſt the *Parthians* we have deſcribed at length in our hiſtory of *Parthia* [k], after having loſt his ſon in that war, was himſelf killed, and his whole army, except five hundred horſe, either cut in pieces, or taken priſoners. His death gave riſe to the civil war, which ſoon after broke out between the two ſurviving triumvirs; for, while he lived, he was a check to them both, and balanced their intereſts: but he being taken off, an open field was left for their ambition and emulation to contend in. *Pompey* would bear no rival, and *Cæſar* no ſuperior; and hence thoſe diſturbances, which ended at length in the ruin of *Pompey* and the utter deſtruction of the republican ſtate, as we ſhall ſee in the following chapter.

The death of Craſſus.

CHAP. XII.

The hiſtory of Rome, *from the death of* Craſſus *to the death of* Pompey.

c ONE of the triumvirs being dead, and another at a great diſtance from *Rome*, *Pompey*, who continued in the capital, raiſed great diſturbances there, hoping by that means to get himſelf promoted to the dictatorſhip. The city was now, in a manner, a ſeat of war between the candidates for offices; inſomuch, that the people being afraid to meet in the *Campus Martius*, the comitia were deferred, and another inter-regnum enſued. Theſe diſturbances were greatly increaſed by the death of *Clodius*, who was killed by his mortal enemy *Milo*. This event, which *Cicero* endeavours to diſguiſe with all the art of eloquence, is thus related by hiſtorians: As *Milo* was going from *Rome* to *Lanuvium*, with his uſual guard of domeſtics, he met *Clodius* on the road, who was returning from his country-houſe. *Milo* was in a chariot, with
d his wife and other women; but *Clodius* on horſeback, and well attended. They met near *Bovillæ*, and, tho' their looks were not very cordial, they paſſed each other without any inſult. But the maſters were ſcarce paſſed, when their ſlaves began to quarrel, and exchanged ſeveral blows with each other. Hereupon *Milo*, alighting out of his chariot, fell upon *Clodius*'s ſlaves ſword in hand; and his attendants, encouraged by the example of their maſter, wounded many of *Clodius*'s retinue. In this ſcuffle *Clodius* himſelf, being dangerouſly wounded with a blow on the head, one of his ſlaves carried him to a neighbouring inn, or, as ſome ſay, to his own houſe. Thither *Milo* followed him, and, thinking it more eaſy to eſcape condemnation by killing his enemy, than by ſuffering him to live after he had been wounded, completed the
e work, which one of his ſlaves had begun. Some writers tell us, that *Milo*, finding his rival ready to expire of the wound he had received before, left him in that condition,

Clodius *is killed by* Milo.

[i] APPIAN. bell. civil. l. ii. CIC. ad Q. fratrem, l. viii. epiſt. ult. [k] Hiſt. Univerſ. Vol. IV. p. 298--304.

tion, and returned with all ſpeed to *Rome*, to prevent what might be related and a exaggerated there to his prejudice. However that be, the bloody body of *Clodius* was brought to the city by his brother *Appius*, which raiſed a general commotion among the people, who looked upon the deceaſed tribune as their boldeſt protector;

Great diſturbances occaſioned by his death.

and the moſt reſolute enemy of the ſenate and nobility. They ran to *Milo*'s houſe to ſet fire to it; but he repulſed them at the head of his ſlaves, and killed ſeveral of the mutinous multitude in the fray. Then they carried the dead body to the ſenate-houſe, and there pulling to pieces all the ſeats of the ſenators, they made a funeral pile of them, on which they placed the body, and then ſet fire to it, which burnt with ſo much fury, that the ſtately building, where the ſenate uſed to aſſemble, was ſoon reduced to aſhes. In the mean time, *Milo*, having ſent for a great number of his ſlaves b out of the country to guard his perſon, made uſe of an artifice with reſpect to the murder, which he imagined muſt be effectual. He gained *M. Cæcilius*, one of the tribunes, who, having called an aſſembly of his own creatures, ordered *Milo* to appear at his tribunal with a deſign to acquit him. But the people, more tranſported than ever, fell upon *Milo* and his tribune, who narrowly eſcaped being killed, diſperſed the aſſembly, and, under pretence of ſeeking for *Milo*'s friends, committed all ſorts of violences; inſomuch, that no-body durſt appear in the ſtreets, unarmed and unguarded. During theſe diſturbances, *Pompey*'s friends revived the old propoſal of nominating him dictator. The ſenate aſſembled, but while they were conſulting about raiſing him to that dignity, *Cato*, who was always watchful over the c public liberty, inſinuated, that it would be more proper to chuſe him ſole conſul, ſince a conſul was bound, when called upon, to give an account of his adminiſtration to the ſenate and people, whereas a dictator was accountable to no-body for his con-

Pompey *ſole conſul.*

duct. *Cato*'s expedient was approved of, and *Pompey* declared ſole conſul, a thing never known in *Rome* before. At the ſame time new troops were allotted to him, a thouſand talents, that is, 193750 *l.* ſterling allowed him yearly for their maintenance, and he continued in the government of *Spain* for four years longer, with a power to govern that province by his deputies. *Pompey* no ſooner entered upon his

Milo *tried and condemned.*

new office, than he ordered *Milo* to be tried for the murder of *Clodius*. On the day appointed for the trial, *Appius Claudius*, brother of the deceaſed, appeared againſt d him, and was heard with great attention. *Cicero* undertook the defence of the accuſed, but was ſo terrified by *Pompey*'s preſence and the ſoldiers about him, that he could ſcarce open his mouth; ſo that *Milo* was condemned to baniſhment. He choſe *Marſeilles* for the place of his abode, whither *Cicero* ſent him the ſpeech, which he had compoſed in his defence. We are told, that *Milo*, in reading it, cried out, *It is lucky for me that* Cicero *could not pronounce this harangue*; *for if he had, I ſhould not have eat ſo good fiſh as I now do.*

The progreſs of the Roman *arms in* Gaul.

While *Pompey* was ruling arbitrarily at *Rome*, *Cæſar* was ſecuring his conqueſts in *Tranſalpine Gaul*. *Ambiorix*, the *Nervii*, *Advatici*, and *Menapii*, had revolted at the inſtigation of the *Treviri*, and the revolt had ſpread to other nations. He there- e fore firſt reduced the *Menapii*, and then marched againſt the *Treviri* and *Eburones*. The former he found already ſubdued by *Labienus*, and the latter at his approach retired, under the conduct of *Ambiorix*, to the woods and marſhes, whither no army could follow them. In the mean time, winter approaching, *Cæſar* retired to *Inſubria*, that he might be within reach of the capital. He was afraid leſt *Pompey*, who was no longer attached to him by ties of blood, or by the regard he had for *Craſſus*, ſhould gain ſuch a ſuperiority over him, as it would not be eaſy for him to conquer. To prevent this, he ſent immenſe ſums to *Rome* to be diſtributed by his agents among the populace, paid the debts of ſome, lent money to others without intereſt; and in ſhort, after having conquered the *Gauls*, as one of the antients expreſſes it, with the

The Gauls *revolt.*

Roman ſteel, ſubdued the *Romans* with the *Gauliſh* gold. But he had not been long in *Inſubria*, when news was brought him, that the *Gauls* had taken up arms in his abſence, that they had made *Vercingetorix*, a young and brave prince, their generaliſſimo, and that almoſt all the nations bordering on the ocean had joined in the revolt. Hereupon the proconſul repaſſed the *Alps*, flew with incredible expedition to *Narbonne*, from thence through deep ſnows to the country of the *Nervii*, where he gathered together his ſcattered troops, and then laid ſiege to *Noviodunum*, a city of the *Bituriges*, which brought *Vercingetorix* to its defence. But he was defeated and obliged to retire.

Cæſar *defeats* Vercingetorix.

Cæſar, having made himſelf maſter of *Noviodunum*, led his troops againſt *Avaricum*, now *Bourges*, one of the ſtrongeſt cities in *Gaul*; took it by ſtorm, notwithſtanding g the

a the vigorous reſiſtance of the gariſon, and made ſuch a ſlaughter of the *Gauliſh* troops, that of forty thouſand men ſcarce eight hundred eſcaped. His next attempt was on *Gergovia*, the capital of the *Arverni*, which he beſieged in ſight of *Vercingetorix*. But, while he was purſuing the ſiege, he received advice, that the *Nithiobriges*, now the people of *Agenois*, had revolted, and that ſome of the chief men among the *Ædui* had formed a treacherous ſcheme of carrying off to *Vercingetorix* ten thouſand men, whom they were to ſend to the *Romans*. Upon this advice, *Cæſar*, leaving *Fabius* to guard his camp before *Gergovia*, went to meet the *Ædui*, who begged for mercy, and were incorporated among the *Roman* auxiliaries. But ſoon after the whole nation of the *Ædui* ſhook off the *Roman* yoke, and murdered all the *Italians* in their capital.

b This made *Cæſar* uncertain what meaſures to purſue. At length he reſolved to attack the enemy's camp, which he did with good ſucceſs, till his men, contrary to his orders, abandoning the attack of the camp, fell unexpectedly on the town in hopes of ſurpriſing it. But *Vercingetorix* defended it ſo effectually, that *Cæſar*, after the loſs of ſeven hundred men, was forced to raiſe the ſiege. From thence he haſtened to *Noviodunum*, where he had left his military cheſt, baggage, and proviſions; but the revolted *Ædui* had ſeized all and ſet fire to the city. Then *Cæſar*, reſolving to join, if poſſible, his lieutenant *Labienus*, marched to *Agendicum*, now *Sens*, and at the ſame time *Labienus*, upon a report of *Cæſar*'s diſtreſs, haſtened to the ſame place; and conducted his march through the enemy's country with great skill and dexterity. *Ca-*

c *mulogenus*, a *Gauliſh* general, attacked him with great courage; but the *Roman* defeated him, reached *Agendicum*, where he had left his heavy baggage, and from thence went to meet *Cæſar*. Notwithſtanding this defeat, almoſt all the nations of *Celtic Gaul* joined in the revolt; and, having appointed *Vercingetorix* their generaliſſimo, had the reſolution to come and attack *Cæſar*, who defeated them, and obliged them to retreat to *Aleſia*, a town of the *Mandubii*, now, as is commonly believed, *Aliſe* in *Burgundy*. Thither *Cæſar* purſued them, and laid ſiege to the place. As it was very advantagiouſly ſituated, *Vercingetorix*, after he had ſent meſſengers into all parts to raiſe new forces, ſhut himſelf up in it with eighty thouſand men. *Cæſar* immediately inveſted the place, ſurrounded it with a double circumvallation, and fortified his

d camp with all poſſible art and care, intending to reduce the enemy by famine. As the gariſon was very numerous, they were ſoon reduced to great diſtreſs for want of proviſions; and then *Vercingetorix* drove out of the city all the uſeleſs mouths; but *Cæſar*, refuſing to accept of their ſurrender, inhumanly ſuffered them to periſh within the circumvallation. At length the deſired ſuccours arrived to the number of a hundred and ſixty thouſand men, under four *Gauliſh* generals, the chief of whom was *Comius*, prince of the *Atrebates*, on whom *Cæſar* had beſtowed many favours. They made ſeveral attacks on *Cæſar*'s trenches, and fought three battles; but being always defeated and repulſed with great loſs, *Vercingetorix*, deſpairing of ſucceſs, ſurrendered at diſcretion. *Cæſar* reduced all the *Gauls* in the place to ſlavery, except the *Arverni*

e and the *Ædui*, whom he ſpared, hoping to gain over the two chief nations of *Celtic Gaul* by the diſtinction he ſhewed them. His expectations were not fruſtrated; the *Arverni* immediately ſubmitted, and the *Ædui* received him into their capital, where he ſpent the winter in tranquillity, after he had placed his army in different quarters to keep the provinces in awe. Thus ended a campaign, in which *Cæſar* gained more glory, for his conduct as general and his bravery as a ſoldier, than any *Roman* commander had ever done before him. [1] At *Rome* twenty days of public prayers were ordered, to return thanks to the gods for this extraordinary ſucceſs.

Is forced to raiſe the ſiege of Gergovia.

Camulogenus *defeated by* Labienus.

Cæſar *beſieges* Aleſia.

Defeats the united forces of the Gauls, *and takes the place.*

At *Rome*, *Pompey*, to ſtrengthen himſelf with a new alliance, married *Cornelia*, the daughter of *Cæcilius Metellus*, a ſenator of great intereſt and highly eſteemed

f by the patricians. As *Cæſar* was greatly beloved by the people, *Pompey* now made it his whole buſineſs to eſtabliſh his intereſt among the nobility. With this view he aſſociated his father-in-law with him in the conſulate, though that dignity had been conferred on him without a collegue; which moderation gained him the affection of the ſenate. When the time came for the electing of new conſuls, *Cato*, actuated only by a zeal for the public good, appeared among the candidates; but the tribes preferred to him *Claudius Marcellus* and *Sulpicius Rufus*, who were both in *Pompey*'s intereſt. During their adminiſtration, *Cicero* was obliged to exchange the robe for the ſword, in virtue of a law made by *Pompey* during his late conſulſhip, which required all thoſe who had been

Pompey *courts the favour of the ſenate.*

[1] Cæsar ibid. l. vii. c. 1—89.

been conſuls or prætors for ſome years, to repair to ſuch provinces as ſhould fall to a their lot, and exerciſe there their reſpective offices of proconſuls and proprætors.

Cicero's *expedition into* Cilicia.

Cilicia and the iſland of *Cyprus* fell to *Cicero*'s lot, who immediately imbarqued at *Brunduſium* with two legions, and arriving in *Cilicia*, incamped near *Iconium*, where he was informed by *Antiochus*, king of *Comagene*, that the *Parthians* had paſſed the *Euphrates*. Upon this, *Cicero*, croſſing *Cappadocia*, came to *Cybiſtra*, in the ſtraits of mount *Taurus*, in order to prevent the enemy from making incurſions into his province. Upon his arrival he received certain advice, that the *Parthians* were aſſembling about mount *Amanus*. Hereupon he haſtened thither, ſurpriſed the enemy, made a great ſlaughter of them, and recovered many caſtles which they had ſeized. But what gained him moſt glory was, the taking of *Pindeniſſum*, a ſtrong town in b *Cilicia*, which he reduced after a ſiege of fifty-ſeven days. In ſhort, though he was more of an orator than a ſoldier, he ſupported his character in this new employment with great dignity, and performed ſuch military exploits as induced his ſoldiers to ſalute him imperator [m]. His brother *Quintus Cicero*, who attended him in this expedition, and had ſerved in *Gaul* under *Cæſar* with great reputation, had, no doubt, hs ſhare in the glory of this campaign.

In the mean time, *Cæſar* ſpent the winter at *Bibracte*, the capital of the *Ædui*, his cares being divided between the important buſineſs he had to tranſact at *Rome*, and the neceſſary preparations for finiſhing the war with the *Gauls* the next campaign. At *Rome* his party prevailed in the comitium, and the people, whom he had artful- c ly gained by his bounties, openly declared for him. But the ſenate ſeemed to favour *Pompey*'s intereſt more than his. The conſul *Marcellus*, who was intirely and blindly devoted to *Pompey*, propoſed in the ſenate the recalling of *Cæſar* before his time expired; and becauſe this motion was rejected, he did all that lay in his power to diſgrace and expoſe the proconſul of *Gaul*. Among other things, he ordered a ſenator of *Novocomum*, which *Cæſar* had declared a *Roman* colony and preſented with the freedom of *Rome*, to be whipt, telling him, that he laid that mark upon him to let him know he was no citizen of *Rome*, and bidding him, when he went back, ſhew his ſhoulders to *Cæſar*. Soon after *Cæſar* moved the ſenate for the prolongation of his proconſulate; but, as *Pompey* and his agent *Marcellus* had a much greater aſcen- d dant over the conſcript fathers, his requeſt was rejected. When news of this refuſal was brought him into *Gaul*, he is ſaid to have clapt his hand on his ſword, crying out in the preſence of his officers, *What* Pompey *refuſes me, this ſhall give me.* *Plutarch* puts theſe words in the mouth of an officer, whom *Cæſar* had ſent to *Rome*, and who waited for the reſult of the debate at the door of the ſenate-houſe [n].

Cæſar *refuſed a prolongation of his proconſulate.*

The proceedings of the *Roman* ſenate engaged *Cæſar* to uſe all poſſible expedition in putting the laſt hand to his conqueſt. The *Gauls*, after the battle of *Aleſia*, reſolved to act ſeparately, and raiſe, in defence of the poor remains of their liberty, as many different armies as they had provinces. This *Cæſar* knew, and notwithſtanding the rigor of the ſeaſon, he marched againſt, and ſucceſſively ſubdued, the *Bi-* e *turiges*, *Carnutes*, and *Rhemi*. He then turned towards the country of the *Bellovaci*, whom he defeated in a pitched battle, killed *Correus*, one of their chief commanders, and by this ſingle victory quieted all *Belgic*, and the provinces bordering on *Celtic*, *Gaul*. After this he entered the country of the *Eburones* and laid it waſte, while *Labienus* did the ſame in the country of the *Treviri*. In the mean time *Dumnarus*, general of the revolted *Andes*, beſieged *Limonum*, now *Poitiers*, in the country of the *Pictones*; but *Caninius* and *Fabius*, two of *Cæſar*'s lieutenants, advancing to the relief of the place, *Dumnarus* raiſed the ſiege in order to return into his own country. *Fabius* purſued him, and, coming up with him, defeated his army, killed twelve thouſand of them on the ſpot, and, having diſperſed the reſt, entered the territories of the *Carnutes*, and f ſubdued both them and the nations bordering on the ocean, whom *Cæſar* calls *Armorici*. And now the only *Gauliſh* generals, who kept the field, were *Drapes* the *Senonian* and *Luterius* the *Cadurcean*, who retired to a ſtrong place called *Uxellodunum* (E). Thither

Subdues the Bituriges, Carnutes, *&c.*

[m] Plut. in Cic. Cic. l. v. ad Attic. ep. 15, 18, 20. & alibi paſſim. [n] Appian. bell. civil. l. i. Plut. in Cæſare.

(E) *Sanſon* takes *Uxellodunum* for *Cahors* in *Quercy*; wherein he ſeems to be miſtaken, ſince the ancients give *Cahors* the name of *Devona*, *Dibona*, and *Divona*. Beſides, *Hirtius*, in his continuation of *Cæſar*'s commentaries, places *Uxellodunum* on the confines of *Quercy*, whereas *Cahors* was, according to all the modern geographers, in the centre of that province. Whence father *Briet* and *Cellarius* are of opinion, that the ancient city of *Uxellodunum* ſtood near *Uſſeldun*, or, as others call it, *Uſſelon*, near the borders of *Limouſin*.

Thither *Caninius* followed them, and defeated the two generals; but as the place was well garifoned and ſtored with proviſions, he could not reduce it. As it was the only a city which now held out, *Cæſar* haſtened thither from the fartheſt parts of *Belgic Gaul*; and having ſoon reduced the place by depriving it of water, he cut off the right hands of all thoſe who were fit to bear arms, to terrify other cities from the like revolt. And now *Cæſar*, having ſubdued all *Gaul* from the *Pyrenees* and *Alps* to the *Rhine*, reduced his conqueſts to a *Roman* province under the government of a prætor. During his ſeveral expeditions into *Gaul*, he is ſaid to have taken eight hundred cities, to have ſubdued three hundred different nations, and to have defeated in ſeveral battles three millions of men, of which one million were killed and another taken priſoners; circumſtances which would ſeem greatly magnified, were they not vouched by *Plu-* b *tarch* and other unexceptionable hiſtorians, both *Greek* and *Roman*.

All Gaul *ſubdued and reduced to a* Roman *province.*

After *Cæſar* had put his troops into different quarters, in order to preſerve peace in all parts of *Gaul*, he went to ſpend the winter at *Nemetocenna* in the centre of *Belgium*. There he governed the vaſt continent he had ſubdued, with ſuch mildneſs and prudence, as ſhewed him equally qualified to preſide over nations and to command armies. In the mean time, *Pompey* got two of *Cæſar*'s moſt avowed enemies, *Claudius Marcellus* and *Æmilius Paulus*, promoted to the conſulſhip, and *Scribonius Curio*, another of his creatures, put at the head of the tribunes. *Curio* was a young patrician of extraordinary talents and great eloquence, but one of the moſt vicious and debauched young men in *Rome*. His father, who had been diſtinguiſhed by a con- c ſulate and a triumph, had given him a great example; but the ſon only abuſed the gifts of nature and fortune. We are told, that young as he was, he had contracted debts to the amount of ſix hundred thouſand great ſeſterces, that is. 4,843,750*l.* ſterling. *Appius Clodius Pulcher*, who was generally thought an enemy to *Cæſar*, and *Calpurnius Piſo*, were choſen cenſors. So that of all the chief magiſtrates, *Calpurnius*, *Cæſar*'s father-in-law, was the only one on whom he could depend; but neither his character nor his office were ſuch at preſent as gave him any great weight. His collegue was indeed more bold; he degraded ſeveral of the *Roman* knights and ſenators, and among the reſt *Salluſt* the hiſtorian, whoſe enormous debauchery was branded with infamy °. The two cenſors took the laſt cenſus under the republic, in d which they computed three hundred and twenty thouſand citizens fit to bear arms, and ended it with a luſtrum.

Pompey *gets* Cæſar's *enemies raiſed to the chief magiſtracies.*

Such was the ſtate of affairs at *Rome* when *Cæſar*, after having ſpent the winter in *Tranſalpine Gaul*, repaſſed the mountains, in order to obſerve more narrowly the ſteps which *Pompey* and his enemies were taking againſt him at *Rome*. During his ſtay in *Ciſalpine Gaul*, he was informed, that the two conſuls had ſworn his deſtruction; and that, to compaſs it with more eaſe, the tribune *Curio* was preparing a law, depriveing him of his government and of the command of the army in *Gaul*. But, in a few days, he overturned all the ſchemes, which his competitor had been forming againſt him for ſeveral years. The riches he had heaped up in *Gaul* were immenſe. He had e indeed diſtributed vaſt ſums among perſons of all ranks, and even among the ſlaves at *Rome*; but he had ſtill reſerved vaſt treaſures for himſelf. With theſe he endeavoured to draw off from *Pompey* thoſe very friends whom he had raiſed to the magiſtracy. *Marcellus* was proof againſt all temptation; but his collegue *Æmilius Paulus* was bought at the price of fifteen hundred talents, that is, 310625*l.* ſterling. With this money he built that ſtately edifice, which was afterwards called the *Baſilica of Paulus*. As the tribune *Curio* was over-run with debts and devoted to his pleaſures, *Cæſar*, by enabling him to ſatisfy his creditors and plentifully ſupplying him with money for his debaucheries, ſecured him in his intereſt. Nevertheleſs *Curio* did not f diſcover at once the change which *Cæſar*'s money had wrought in him, but gradually and with circumſpection. *Pompey* continued to repoſe an intire confidence in him, and was continually preſſing him to propoſe his law for the recalling of *Cæſar*. But the crafty tribune poſtponed it, from month to month, under frivolous pretences; and when he was at length forced to act, *Cæſar*'s laſt year being near expired, he found means to do *Cæſar* the moſt important ſervice without declaring for him. He made a motion both to the ſenate and people, that they would either continue both generals in their commands, or reduce both, and left it to them to take their choice. The tribune foreſaw, that *Pompey* would never conſent to lay down the government of *Spain*, or part

Cæſar *buys off one of the conſuls and one of the tribunes.*

Curio *moves that both generals ſhould be recalled.*

° Dio. Cass. l. xl. Vell. Patercul. l. ii. Val. Max. l. ix. c. 1.

part with the command of the army; and therefore made this motion, that *Cæsar* might draw from *Pompey*'s refusal a pretence for continuing himself in his province at the head of his troops. *Cornelius Scipio*, one of *Pompey*'s friends, remonstrated, that in the present case a great difference was to be made between the proconsul of *Spain* and the proconsul of *Gaul*, since the term of the former was not yet expired, whereas that of the latter was. To this *Curio* replied, that in the present crisis, when the republic was in a manner subject to two absolute sovereigns, there was no medium. Both ought to be discharged, said he, or both continued in their office. Who-ever continues alone in arms, will become the tyrant of *Rome*. If they continue both armed, the power of the one will balance that of the other; and we shall be secured by their mutual fears. The senate were for recalling *Cæsar* and continuing *Pompey* in his office; but the people were inclined to favour *Curio*'s motion. *Pompey* himself, being greatly embarrassed, left *Rome*, under pretence of going to his government; but went no farther than to a country-house at a small distance from *Rome*, whence he wrote a very artful letter to the senate, acquainting them, that he was ready to resign all his employments and disband his army, provided *Cæsar* did the same. *Curio*, well appriſed that *Pompey*'s view was to induce the senate to recall *Cæsar*, told *Pompey*, on his return to *Rome* that it was his duty to begin what he proposed, and assured him, that his example would be followed by *Cæsar*. *Pompey* insisted upon *Cæsar*'s resigning the first, since his term was expired. Whereupon *Curio* proposed, that both should be ordered to lay down their commissions, and declared enemies to the republic, if they refused to comply with the order. The fathers all inclined to recall both rivals; but were for obliging *Cæsar* to resign the command of his army before *Pompey* gave up his. Whereupon *Curio*, who represented the people at the head of the tribunes, would not suffer them to deliberate any longer about the dismission of either. Then they only decreed, that one legion out of each army should be sent into *Syria*, where *Bibulus* wanted a reinforcement against the *Parthians*. *Pompey* at the same time demanded of *Cæsar* the legion which he had formerly lent him. *Cæsar* knew the reason of this order and of *Pompey*'s design, which was to weaken his army; but nevertheless he delivered up the two legions to *Appius Clodius*, whom the senate had sent to receive them and conduct them into *Italy*. *Cæsar*, on their quitting his army, loaded the officers with presents, and gave each private man two hundred and fifty drachmas, that is, about five pounds of our money. When the two legions arrived in *Italy*, instead of being sent into the east, they were both, by an order from the consul *Marcellus*, added to *Pompey*'s troops. *Cicero* at this time returned to *Rome* from his government of *Cilicia*, and demanded a triumph for his victory over the *Parthians*. His absence had prevented him from joining either party, and his present pretensions obliged his to stand neuter. He therefore took upon him the office of mediator; but *Pompey* would now hearken to no terms of accommodation; *Appius* having, on his return from *Gaul*, to flatter *Pompey*'s ambition, spread abroad, that *Cæsar*'s troops were dissatisfied with their general, for having engaged them in so many dangerous expeditions; that they suspected him of aiming at absolute authority; and therefore, on their first entering *Italy*, would all to a man declare for him and the senate. This false representation gave *Pompey* great confidence, and made him neglect the necessary preparations to oppose so powerful a rival. *Cicero*, amazed to find him deaf to all terms of accommodation, and at the same time neglecting to strengthen his army with new levies, asked him, with what forces he designed to make head against *Cæsar?* To this *Pompey* proudly answered, *that he needed but stamp with his foot, and an army would start out of the ground.* He spoke with so much confidence, because he flattered himself, that, in case of an open rupture, *Cæsar*'s army would abandon him. In the mean time, *Pompey* having got two of his friends, *Clodius Marcellus* and *Cornelius Lentulus*, chosen to the consulate, *Cæsar*, before they entered upon their offices, wrote to the senate, desiring them to continue him in his government, as they had continued *Pompey*. But his request being rejected, he repassed the *Alps* with the third legion, and advanced to *Ravenna*, whence he wrote a letter to the new consuls, wherein, after an honourable mention of his conquests and exploits, he declared, that he was willing to resign all his power, provided *Pompey* did the same. Hereupon warm debates arose in the senate; but it was at length almost unanimously decreed, that *Cæsar* should give up his government and the command of the army; and that he should be treated as an enemy to his country, if he did not, within a limited time, comply with this decree. *Cassius Longinus*, *Marc Antony*, and *Curio*, three of the tribunes,

Two legions draughted out of Cæsar's *army.*

Pompey *will hearken to no terms of accommodation.*

Cæsar's *requests rejected.*

a tribunes, proteſted againſt the proceedings of the ſenate. But the conſuls, having firſt attempted in vain to make them deſiſt from their oppoſition, drove them out of the ſenate with diſgrace. *Cæſar*, informed of all theſe tranſactions, that he might have the appearance of juſtice on his ſide, wrote again to the ſenate with a great deal of temper, deſiring, that ſince they were determined to deprive him of his government of *Gaul* and the command of the army, they would at leaſt continue him in the government of *Illyricum* and allow him two legions. It is probable, he would never have made theſe propoſals, if he had believed the ſenate would have complied with them. But he was well appriſed, that the oppoſite faction had reſolved to reduce him to the ſtate of a private perſon. He therefore affected a great deal of moderation,
b though he was all the while determined, neither to part with the command of the army, nor his government. At length the three tribunes, his friends, not thinking themſelves any longer ſafe in *Rome*, where the conſuls threatened to degrade them, retired in the night in the diſguiſe of ſlaves to take ſhelter in *Cæſar*'s camp at *Ravenna*. Upon their departure, the fatal decree was iſſued, which put the republic in a flame, and brought it to its deſtruction : *Let the conſuls for the year, the proconſul* Pompey, *the prætors, and all thoſe in or near* Rome, *who have been conſuls, provide for the public ſafety by the moſt proper means.* This was proclaiming war. So that two powerful parties were ſeen to take up arms, both pretending to have nothing in view but the defence of their common laws and liberty, while their chiefs aimed only at eſtabliſh-
c ing their own power and authority on the ruins of that liberty, which they affected to defend. *Pompey*'s party had a more ſpecious outſide : he covered his deſigns with the awful name of the commonwealth, which acknowledged him for her general, and the whole ſenate with the conſuls followed his enſigns. On the other hand, the people and their tribunes were with *Cæſar*; ſo that in reality the two legiſlative powers were divided between theſe two mighty rivals. The above-mentioned decree was no ſooner paſſed, than the conſul *Marcellus* went with his collegue *Lentulus* a little way out of town to a houſe, where *Pompey* then was; and preſenting him with a ſword, *We require you*, ſaid he, ſpeaking in the name of both, *to take upon you with this the defence of the republic and the command of her troops.* *Pompey* declared he would obey their
d orders; adding with a feigned modeſty, *Unleſs a more happy expedient be firſt found out.* By the ſame decree, which deprived *Cæſar* of his government and the command of the army, *Lucius Domitius* was appointed to ſucceed him, and impowered to raiſe four thouſand new levies to enable him to take poſſeſſion of his government [p].

The fatal decree for a civil war. Year of the flood 2955 *Before Chriſt* 44. *Of* Rome 704.

AFTER the ſenate had taken this fatal reſolution againſt *Cæſar*, they met daily to conſult about the moſt proper meaſures for carrying on the war, in caſe *Cæſar* refuſed to comply with their decree. *Pompey* lodged in the ſuburbs, not being allowed as general to enter the city; and there the ſenate aſſembled to hold their conſultations. They firſt conſidered what name they ſhould give the enterpriſe, and determined to call it a *tumult*, which was ranking it among thoſe ſudden commotions which are
e raiſed and ſuppreſſed in an inſtant. So that *Rome* either did not know, or did not dread, the enemy ſhe was bringing on herſelf. In the next place, they ordered *Pompey* to aſſemble thirty thouſand *Roman* troops, and take into the ſervice as many foreign forces as he ſhould think proper. Levies were made accordingly in all haſte, and money taken out of the public treaſury to defray the expences of one campaign. As for *Pompey*, he was wholly intent on appointing ſuch governors for the provinces as were moſt firmly attached to him. He gave *Syria* to *Cæcilius Metellus Scipio*, his father-in-law, who immediately ſet out with young *Pompey* to aſſemble a fleet on the coaſt of *Aſia*. *L. Domitius Ahenobarbus* was nominated to ſucceed *Cæſar*, purſuant to the decree of the ſenate, in the government of *Tranſalpine Gaul*; but he impru-
f dently ſhut himſelf up in *Corfinium* before he left *Italy*. *Cato* was appointed proprætor of *Sicily*, *Cotta* of *Sardinia*, and *L. Ælius Tubero* of *Africa*. *M. Calpurnius Bibulus* and *Cicero* were charged to guard the coaſts of *Italy*. The other provinces, viz. *Pontus*, *Bithynia*, *Cyprus*, *Cilicia*, *Macedon*, &c. were all beſtowed on *Pompey*'s friends, who from this time aſſumed the character of *generaliſſimo of the republic*, and governed with as abſolute a ſway as if he had been king of *Rome* [q].

Pompey *and the ſenate prepare for war.*

IN the mean time, the three tribunes, *Curio*, *Antony*, and *Longinus*, who had been driven from *Rome*, arriving in *Cæſar*'s camp, diſguiſed like ſlaves, he ſhewed them in that condition to the legion he had then with him, exaggerating the violence which had

Cæſar *exhorts his ſoldiers to ſtand by him.*

[p] PLUT. in Cæſare. APPIAN. bell. civil. l. i. DIO CASS. l. xl. HIRT. comment l. viii. c. 50. SUETON. in Julio. [q] PLUT. in Pomp.

had been offered them by the ſenate, and the unwarrantable ſteps the patricians had a
taken againſt himſelf; in the cloſe of his ſpeech, he exhorted his men to defend the
honour and character of their general, under whom they had made war with ſucceſs for
nine years together. When he had done ſpeaking, they all cried out, that they were
ready to maintain the rights of their general and of the tribunes of the people, and
revenge the injuries which had been done them. When he found he could depend on
his ſoldiers, he reſolved to begin hoſtilities without delay, and, entering *Italy* pro-
perly ſo called, to make himſelf maſter of *Ariminum*, a city bordering on *Ciſalpine*
Gaul, which was part of his province. As this was a bold ſtep, and an open decla-
ration of war, he carefully concealed his deſign, and ſent a detachment towards the
Rubicon, ordering the officer, who commanded it, to wait for him on the banks of b
that river. The next day he aſſiſted at a ſhew of gladiators, and made a great enter-
tainment. Towards the cloſe of the day he roſe from table, deſiring his gueſts to
ſtay till he came back, which, he ſaid, would be very ſoon, But, inſtead of return-
ing to the company, he immediately left *Ravenna*, where he then was, after he had
ordered ſome of his moſt intimate friends to follow him, through different roads,
to avoid being obſerved. He himſelf travelled in a hired chariot, and drove firſt
another way, but at ſome diſtance from the town turned towards *Ariminum*. When
he reached the banks of the *Rubicon*, which parted *Ciſalpine Gaul*, his province, from
Italy, all the misfortunes of the ſucceeding war offered themſelves to his mind, and
kept him ſome time in ſuſpence. He often changed his opinion without ſpeaking a c
word, being one minute determined to croſs the river, and another to go back, com-
puting with himſelf how many calamities his paſſing it would bring upon the republic,
and what an account of it would be tranſmitted to poſterity. As he had been brought
up in the boſom of a commonwealth, he could not look on the approaching ruin
of his country without concern; and therefore turning to *Aſinius Pollio*, *If I do not*
croſs the river, ſaid he, *I am undone*; *and, if I do croſs it, how many calamities ſhall I*
by this ſtep bring upon Rome! Having thus ſpoke he muſed a few minutes on the
hatred and inveteracy of his enemies, and then crying out, *The die is caſt*, he threw
Paſſes the Rubicon. himſelf into the river, and, croſſing it, marched with all poſſible expedition towards
Ariminum, which he reached and ſurpriſed before day-break (F). From thence, as d
he had but one legion with him, he immediately diſpatched orders to the great army
he had left in *Gaul* to croſs the mountains, and join him [r].

Rome *in the utmoſt conſter-nation.* It is impoſſible to expreſs the terror and fear all *Italy* and *Rome* herſelf was in, upon
the unexpected news of this enterpriſe. They imagined this renowned commander
already at the gates of the city, with the formidable army he commanded in *Gaul*.
Nothing was ſeen but terror and confuſion, the country people crouding into the city
for ſafety, and the citizens flying into the country. The ſenate met ſeveral times
without coming to any reſolution. Several ſenators, without propoſing any thing
themſelves, only contradicted the advice of others. *Pompey* himſelf was no leſs alarmed
than the other ſenators; as he had not yet drawn together his troops, who were e
quartered in different provinces at ſome diſtance from the capital, he was no-ways
in a condition to make head againſt *Cæſar*. But nothing gave him greater uneaſineſs,
than the reproaches which many of his own party threw out againſt him, ſome
charging him with indiſcretion in arming *Cæſar* againſt himſelf and the government,
and others blaming him for having neglected the neceſſary preparations. *M. Favo-*
nius, alluding to the rhodomontade mentioned above, deſired him *to ſtamp with his*
foot, and make armies ſtart up, as he had promiſed. Every ſenator thought himſelf pri-
vileged to reproach and adviſe him. In this confuſion, *Pompey*, ſeeing himſelf in
Rome without troops, and fearing, if he ſhould arm the people, they would declare
againſt him, reſolved to retire to *Capua*, where the two legions were encamped which f
Cæſar had ſurrendered to *Appius*. He communicated his deſign to the ſenate, and

at

[r] Plut. in Cæſar. Dio. Cass. l. xii. Epit. Liv.

(F) Some authors, and among the reſt *Suetonius* (27), tell us, that while *Cæſar* was yet in ſuſpenſe and undetermined, there appeared all on a ſudden a man of an extraordinary ſtature, playing on a flute of reeds; which uncommon ſight drew many of the legionaries to him, and among the reſt a trumpet, from whom the unknown man ſnatched his inſtrument, and ſounding the charge, threw himſelf into the river, and croſſed it. Hereupon *Cæſar*, without further conſideration, followed him, crying aloud, *Let us go whither the gods calls us, and the fury of our enemies drives us; the die is caſt.*

(27) *Suet. in Julio.*

a at the ſame time declared, that if any ſenator or magiſtrate refuſed to follow him, he ſhould be treated as a friend to *Cæſar*, and an enemy to his country. Upon this declaration the conſuls, the ſenators, and all the magiſtrates, left *Rome* in great haſte, and attended *Pompey* into *Campania* [f]. Pompey *abandons* Rome.

In the mean time, *Cæſar*, having raiſed new troops in *Ciſalpine Gaul*, ſent *Marc Antony* with a detachment to ſeize *Aretium*, and other officers to ſecure *Piſaurum* and *Fanum*, while he himſelf marched at the head of the thirteenth legion to *Auximum*, which opened its gates to him. From *Auximum* he advanced into *Picenum*, where he was joined by the twelfth legion from *Tranſalpine Gaul*. As *Picenum* readily ſubmitted to him, he led his forces againſt *Corfinium*, the capital of the *Peligni*, which b *Domitius Ahenobarbus* defended with thirty Cohorts. But *Cæſar* no ſooner inveſted it, than the gariſon betrayed their commander, and delivered him up with many ſenators, who had taken refuge in the place, to *Cæſar*, who, to ſhew his great moderation in the midſt of victory, granted them their lives and liberty (G). *Domitius*, fearing the reſentment of the conqueror, had ordered one of his ſlaves, whom he uſed as a phyſician, to give him a doſe of poiſon. When he came to experience the humanity of the conqueror, he lamented his misfortune, and blamed the haſtineſs of his own reſolution. But his phyſician, who had only given him a ſleeping draught, comforted him, and received his liberty, as a reward for his affection [t]. *Pompey*, thinking himſelf no longer ſafe at *Capua*, after the reduction of *Corfinium*, retired to *Brundu-* Cæſar *ſeizes*, Aretium, Piſaurum, *&c.* *Takes* Corfinium.

c *ſium*, with a deſign to carry the war into the eaſt, where all the governors were his creatures. *Cæſar* followed him cloſe croſs *Apulia*, and arriving with his army before *Brunduſium*, inveſted the place on the land-ſide, and undertook to ſhut up the port by a *ſtaccado* of his own invention. But before the work was completed, the fleet, which had conveyed the two conſuls with thirty cohorts to *Dyrrachium*, now *Durazzo*, being returned, *Pompey* reſolved to make his eſcape, which he conducted with all the experience and dexterity of a great officer. He kept his departure very ſecret; but at the ſame time made all neceſſary preparations for the facilitating of it. In the firſt place he walled up the gates, then dug deep and wide ditches croſs all the ſtreets, except only thoſe two that led to the port; in the ditches he planted ſharp-pointed ſtakes, d covering them with hurdles and earth. After theſe precautions, he gave expreſs orders that all the citizens ſhould keep within doors, leſt they ſhould betray his deſign to the enemy, and then in the ſpace of three days imbarqued all his troops, except the light-armed infantry, whom he had placed on the walls; and theſe likewiſe, on a ſignal given, abandoning their poſts, repaired with great expedition to the ſhips. *Cæſar*, perceiving the walls unguarded, ordered his men to ſcale them and make what haſte they could after the enemy. In the heat of the purſuit, they would have fallen into the ditches, which *Pompey* had prepared for them, had not the *Brunduſians* *Beſieges* Pompey *in* Brunduſium. Pompey *abandons* Italy *to the mercy of his rival.*

[f] Dio Cass. & Plut. ibid. Cæsar. bell civil. l. i. c. 8. Liv. l. cix. c. 46. [t] Plut. Appian. Cæsar. ibid.

(G) *Domitius*, as ſoon as *Corfinium* was inveſted, found means to convey a letter to *Pompey*, wherein he preſſed him to march directly to the defence of a place of ſuch importance. *Loſe no time*, ſaid he, *but lay hold of the favourable opportunity which fortune now offers you of ſurrounding* Cæſar. *If you make haſte, the war will be at an end. Conſider, your credit is at ſtake. You cannot in honour reject the requeſt of the many ſenators and* Roman *knights, who are ſhut up in this place. They have recourſe to you, as to their deliverer, and take it for granted, that you will not abandon thirty-three cohorts of the beſt of your troops to the mercy of the enemy, who haſtens to his own deſtruction.* But *Pompey*'s anſwer was very different from what *Domitius* expected. He told him, that he could not in his preſent ſituation hazard a battle, the loſs of which would infallibly bring with it the ruin of the republic. He reproached him with haveing undertaken the defence of *Corfinium*, and ſhut himſelf up in that place contrary to his opinion. He adviſed him to abandon the place, and join the conſular army, with all poſſible expedition. But as this was not now in his power, he prepared to ſuſtain a ſiege, provided his machines, aſſigned his troops their poſts, and, in order to encourage them, promiſed each ſoldier four acres of land. *Cæſar*, on the other hand, provided his camp with all things neceſſary for a ſiege; and in the mean time, the eighth legion joined him with twenty cohorts of *Gauls* and three hundred *German* horſe. For theſe he formed a new camp, and appointed *Curio* to command in it. *Domitius*, though he expected no ſuccours, did all that lay in his power to perſuade his men, that all the forces of the republic were marching to his relief. But a report being ſpread, that he deſigned to eſcape privately, they mutinied, ran to his quarters, and, having ſeized him, opened the gates to the enemy. As this tumult happened in the night, *Cæſar*, leſt the darkneſs ſhould encourage his men to plunder and commit violences, deferred entering the town till the next morning. At break of day *Lentulus Spinther*, one of the ſenators who were ſhut up in the place, waited on *Cæſar*, who received him with great marks of friendſhip, which induced the others to ſubmit and ſurrender the place at diſcretion. *Cæſar* not only gave *Domitius* his liberty, but reſtored to him the money which he had taken out of the treaſury for the paying of his troops, and was lodged in the hands of the magiſtrates of *Corfinium*.

ſians warned them of the danger, and by many windings and turnings led them to a the haven, where they found all the fleet under ſail, except two veſſels, which had run a-ground in going out of the harbour. Theſe *Cæſar* ſeized, took the ſoldiers on board priſoners, and brought them aſhore. *Cæſar*, ſeeing himſelf by the flight of his rival maſter of all *Italy* from the *Alps* to the ſea, was deſirous to follow and attack him, before he was joined by the ſupplies which he expected from *Aſia*. But being deſtitute of ſhipping, he reſolved to go firſt to *Rome* and ſettle ſome ſort of government there, and then paſs into *Spain* to drive from thence *Pompey*'s troops, who had taken poſſeſſion of that great continent under the command of *Afranius* and *Petreius*. Before he left *Brunduſium* he ſent *Scribonius Curio* with three legions into *Sicily*, and ordered *Q. Valerius*, one of his lieutenants, to get together what ſhips he could, and b croſs over with one legion into *Sardinia*. *Cato*, who commanded in *Sicily*, upon the firſt news of *Curio*'s landing there, abandoned the Iſland, and retired to the camp of the conſuls at *Dyrrachium*: and *Q. Valerius* no ſooner appeared with his ſmall fleet off *Sardinia*, than the *Caralitani*, now the inhabitants of *Cagliari*, drove out *Aurelius Cotta*, who commanded there for the ſenate, and put *Cæſar*'s lieutenant in poſſeſſion both of their city and iſland. In the mean time, the general himſelf advanced towards *Rome*, and that with the more confidence, becauſe he had made himſelf maſter of all *Italy*, without ſhedding one drop of blood. On his march he wrote to all the ſenators then in *Italy*, deſiring them to repair to the capital, and aſſiſt him there with their counſel. Above all, he was deſirous to ſee *Cicero*; and therefore, after having c preſſed him in vain by *Oppilus* and *Cælius*, their common friends, to come and meet him, he turned out of the road, and went to his country houſe, where he had a long conference with him, but could not prevail upon him to return to *Rome* (H). As *Cæſar* drew near the capital, he quartered his troops in the neighbouring municipia; and then advancing to the city, out of a pretended reſpect to the ancient cuſtoms, he took up his quarters in the ſuburbs, whither the whole city crouded to ſee the famous conqueror of *Gaul*, who had been abſent from *Rome* near ten years. And now ſuch of the tribunes of the people as had fled to him for refuge, reaſſumed their functions, mounted the roſtra, and endeavoured by their ſpeeches to reconcile the people to the head of their party. *Marc Antony* particularly and *Caſſius Longinus*, two of *Cæſar*'s d moſt zealous partizans, moved, that the ſenate ſhould meet in the ſuburbs, that the general might give them an account of his conduct. Accordingly, ſuch of the ſenators as were at *Rome* aſſembled, when *Cæſar*, with that dignity and eloquence, which were natural to him, made a ſpeech in juſtification of all his proceedings, encouraged the timorous, gave great hopes to the wavering, and concluded his harangue with propoſing a deputation to *Pompey*, with offers of an accommodation in an amicable manner. He even deſired the conſcript fathers, to whom in appearance he paid great deference, to nominate ſome of their venerable body to carry propoſals of peace to the conſuls and the general of the conſular army. But not one of the ſenators would take upon him that commiſſion, ſome being afraid of *Pompey*, who had declared all c thoſe enemies who ſhould ſtand neuter, and others plainly ſeeing that *Cæſar* did not mean what he ſaid (I). He then began to think of providing himſelf with the neceſſary

Cæſar's lieutenants make themſelves maſters of Sicily *and* Sardinia.

Cæſar *goes to* Rome.

The ſenate aſſembles.

(H) In this conference *Cæſar* earneſtly preſſed *Cicero* to return to the capital. *I have ſeen* Cæſar, ſays he, in one of his letters to *Atticus* (28). *who earneſtly preſſed me to return to* Rome; *but I withſtood his deſire. He looked upon my abſence as a tacit condemnation of his proceedings againſt* Pompey, *and is perſuaded, that moſt of the ſenators are induced to retire into the country by my example.* *Cæſar*, in order to prevail upon *Cicero* to come to *Rome*, told him, that he had nothing elſe in view, but to employ him in bringing about a laſting accommodation between him and *Pompey*. To this *Cicero* replyed, that he would readily attend him to the capital, upon condition, that he ſhould be at full liberty to declare his opinion concerning the preſent ſtate of affairs. But *Cæſar* not liking this condition, *You muſt not then take it amiſs*, replyed *Cicero*, *that I perſiſt, in my reſolution of not going to* Rome; *if I am not allowed to ſpeak my mind, I ought not to appear in the ſenate.* *Cæſar*, little ſatisfied with this anſwer, took his leave of *Cicero*, after having intreated him in a friendly manner not to take any ſtep in ſo nice an affair, without mature deliberation.

(I) *Cæſar* tells us, that he attempted ſeveral times to make up matters with *Pompey* in an amicable manner. On his march to *Brunduſium* he ſent *Cn. Magius*, one of *Pompey*'s chief officers, whom he had taken priſoner, to invite his rival to an interview. But, as the conſuls had already ſet ſail for *Dyrrachium*, *Pompey* anſwered, that he could do nothing in their abſence. In the firſt days of the ſiege he attempted once more to draw *Pompey* to a conference, and with this view ſent *Caninius Rebilius*, one of the chief officers of his army, to mediate an accommodation, together with *P. Scribonius Libo*, *Pompey*'s particular friend. But he returned the ſame anſwer, *viz.* that he could not come to an agreement in the abſence of the conſuls. *Cæſar* in his firſt

(28) *Epiſt.* 10.

a neceſſary ſums for the carrying on of the war, and had recourſe to the public treaſury. But *Metellus*, one of the tribunes, oppoſed him, alledging a law, forbidding any one to open the treaſury, but in the preſence, and with the conſent, of the conſuls. To which *Cæſar* replied, *Arms and laws do not well agree; when I ſhall have laid down my arms, then I will hearken to laws, and let you make as long harangues as you pleaſe; but at preſent I adviſe you to retire.* Having thus ſpoke, he went directly to the temple of *Saturn*, where the public money was kept. But the keys of the treaſury having been carried away by the conſul *Lentulus*, he ordered the doors to be broke open. This *Metellus* oppoſed, and then *Cæſar*, in a paſſion laying his hand on his ſword, threatened to kill him, if he gave him any further diſturbance, adding, *This you know, young man, is harder for me to ſay, than to do.* Theſe words ſo terrified *Metellus*, that he withdrew; and then *Cæſar* took out of the treaſury, which was ever after at his command, an immenſe ſum, ſome ſay three hundred thouſand pounds weight of gold. With this ſupply of money he raiſed troops all over *Italy*, and ſent governors into all the provinces ſubject to the republic. He made *Marc Antony* commander in chief of the armies in *Italy*, ſent his brother *C. Antonius* to govern *Illyricum*, aſſigned *Ciſalpine Gaul* to *Licinius Craſſus*, appointed *M. Æmilius Lepidus* governor of the capital, and having got together ſome ſhips to cruiſe in the *Adriatic* and *Mediterranean* ſeas, he gave the command of one of his fleets to *P. Cornelius Dolabella*, and of the other to young *Hortenſius*, the ſon of the famous orator. As *Pompey* had ſent governors into the ſame provinces, by this means a general war was kindled in all the parts of the known world. However, *Cæſar* would not truſt any of his lieutenants with the conduct of the war in *Spain*, which was *Pompey*'s favourite province, but took it upon himſelf; and, having ſettled his affairs in great haſte at *Rome*, returned to *Ariminum*, aſſembled his legions there, and, paſſing the *Alps*, entered *Tranſalpine Gaul*. There he was informed, that the inhabitants of *Marſeilles* had reſolved to refuſe him entrance into their city, and that *L. Domitius Ahenobarbus*, whom he had generouſly pardoned and ſet at liberty after the reduction of *Corfinium*, had ſet ſail for *Marſeilles* with ſeven gallies, having on board a great number of his clients and ſlaves, with a deſign to raiſe the city in favour of *Pompey*. *Cæſar*, thinking it dangerous to let the enemy take poſſeſſion of ſuch an important place, ſent for the fifteen chief magiſtrates of the city, and adviſed them not to begin a war with him, but rather follow the example of *Italy* and ſubmit. The magiſtrates returned to the city, and ſoon after ſent *Cæſar* the following anſwer: ſince the *Roman* people are divided into two parties, we will not take upon us to determine on which ſide the right lies. We have great obligations, and an equal affection for both competitors; they are both our patrons, both our benefactors; and therefore that we may not help one againſt the other, our port and the gates of our city ſhall be ſhut to both. In the mean time, *Domitius* arriving with his ſmall ſquadron was received into the city, and declared general of all their forces. Hereupon *Cæſar*, juſtly provoked at ſuch unfair dealings, immediately inveſted the town with three legions, and ordered twelve gallies to be built at *Arelas*, now *Arles*, in order to block up the port. But as the ſiege was like to detain him too long, he left *C. Trebonius* to carry it on, and *D. Brutus* to command the fleet, while he continued his march into *Spain*, where he began the war with all the valour, ability, and ſucceſs of a great hero. *Pompey* had three generals in this great continent, which was divided into two *Roman* provinces. *Varro* commanded in *Further Spain*; and *Petreius* and *Afranius*, with equal power and two conſiderable armies, in *Hither Spain*. *Cæſar*, while he was yet at *Marſeilles*, ſent *Q. Fabius*, one of his lieutenants, with three legions, to take poſſeſſion of the paſſes of the *Pyrenees*, which *Afranius* had ſeized. *Fabius* executed his commiſſion with great bravery, entered *Spain*, and left the way open to *Cæſar*, who ſoon followed him. As ſoon as he had croſſed the mountains, he ſent out ſcouts to obſerve the ſituation of the enemy; by whom he was informed, that *Afranius* and *Petreius*, having joined their forces, conſiſting of five legions, twenty cohorts of the natives, and five thouſand horſe, were advantagiouſly poſted on a hill of an eaſy aſcent in the neighbourhood of *Ilerda*, now *Lerida* in *Catalonia*. Upon this advice he advanced within ſight of the enemy, and incamped in a plain between

b *Breaks open the treaſury.*

c

d

e *Marſeilles beſieged.*

f *Cæſar enters Spain.*

firſt ſpeech to the ſenate ſhewed a great inclination to compoſe matters in an amicable manner, and deſired the conſcript fathers to depute ſome of their body, with propoſals of an accommodation, both to *Pompey* and the conſuls. But men of penetration plainly ſaw, that *Cæſar* was more averſe to any ſort of accommodation than *Pompey* himſelf, and that he talked of it only to leſſen the odium of his proceedings, and throw the whole blame of the war on *Pompey* and his party.

between the *Sicoris* and the *Cinga*, now the *Segro* and the *Cinca*. Between the eminence, on which *Afranius* had poſted himſelf, and the city of *Ilerda*, was a ſmall plain, and in the middle of it a riſing ground, which *Cæſar* attempted to ſeize, in order to cut off by that means the communication between the enemy's camp and the city, from whence they had all their proviſions. This occaſioned a ſharp diſpute between three of *Cæſar*'s legions and an equal number of the enemy, which laſted five hours with equal ſucceſs, both parties claiming the victory. But after all, *Afranius*'s men, who had firſt ſeized the poſt, maintained themſelves in poſſeſſion of it in ſpite of *Cæſar*'s utmoſt efforts. Two days after this battle continual rains, with the melting of the ſnow on the mountains, ſo ſwelled the two rivers, between which *Cæſar* was incamped, that they overflowed, broke down his bridges, and laid under water the neighbouring country to a great diſtance. This cut off the communication between his camp and the cities that had declared for him, and reduced him to ſuch ſtraits, that his army was ready to periſh for famine, wheat being ſold in his camp at fifty *Roman denarii per* buſhel, that is, 1 *l.* 12 *s.* 3 ½ *d.* ſterling. He tried to rebuild his bridges, but in vain, the violence of the ſtream rendering all his endeavours fruitleſs [u].

Is in great danger.

Upon the news of *Cæſar*'s diſtreſs, *Pompey*'s party at *Rome* began to take courage. Several perſons of diſtinction went to congratulate *Afranius*'s wife on the ſucceſs of her huſband's arms in *Spain*. Many of the ſenators, who had hitherto ſtood neuter, haſtened to join *Pompey*, taking it for granted, that *Cæſar* was reduced to the laſt extremity, and all the hopes of his party loſt. Of this number was *Cicero*; who, without any regard to the remonſtrances of *Atticus*, or the letters *Cæſar* himſelf wrote to him (K), deſiring him to join neither party, left *Italy* and landed at *Dyrrachium*, where *Pompey* received him with great marks of joy and friendſhip. But *Cicero* ſoon repented of the little regard he had paid to the advice of his friends, and could not forgive himſelf his having too eaſily given credit to the reports that were brought from *Spain*. He ever appeared gloomy, thoughtful, and uneaſy, and even vented his ill humour in ſevere jeſts on *Pompey* (L). The offenſive things he threw out on all occaſions, and his unſeaſonable jeſts, led ſome to ſuſpect, that he kept a correſpondence with *Cæſar*. However that be, *Pompey* would neither truſt him with any command, nor impart to him his deſigns; nay, he went ſo far as to bid him be gone to *Cæſar*'s camp, where he would have leſs reaſon to jeſt, and more to be afraid. Neither did his old friend *Cato* give him a very favourable reception. He was diſpleaſed at his having ſo unſeaſonably declared for a party, which he might have ſerved more effectually, by keeping an exact neutrality. *Cicero* was ſo ſtrongly affected with theſe reproaches, that he left the camp, and did not appear even at the battle of *Pharſalia*.

Cicero *repairs to* Pompey's *camp.*

But the joy of *Pompey*'s party was not long-lived. For *Cæſar*, after having attempted ſeveral times in vain to rebuild his bridges, cauſed boats to be made with all poſſible expedition; and while the enemy were diverted by endeavouring to intercept the ſuccours that were ſent him from *Gaul*, he laid hold of that opportunity to convey his boats in the night on carriages twenty-two miles from his camp; where with wonderful quickneſs a great detachment paſſed the *Sicoris*, and, incamping on the oppoſite bank unknown to the enemy, built a bridge in two days, opened a communication with the neighbouring country, received the ſupplies from *Gaul*, and relieved the wants of his ſoldiers. *Cæſar*, being thus delivered from all danger, purſued the armies of *Afranius* and *Petreius* with ſuch ſuperior addreſs and conduct, that he forced them to ſubmit without coming to a battle, and by that means became maſter of all *Hither Spain*. The two generals diſbanded their troops, ſent them out of the province, and returned themſelves to *Italy*, after having ſolemnly promiſed never to aſſemble forces again, or make war upon *Cæſar* [x]. Upon the news of the reduction of *Hither Spain*,

Reduces all Spain.

[u] Cæsar bell. civil. l. i. c. 14.—46. Appian. bell. civil. l. ii. c. 14, & ſeq. Dio Cass. l. 41. [x] Idem ibid. c. 46.—82.

(K) In one of theſe letters he expreſſes himſelf thus: *It will not be believed, that the juſtice of my enemy's cauſe has induced you to declare againſt me. Every one will think that you have been diſpleaſed at ſome action of mine, which would moſt ſenſibly grieve me. A man of honour, who loves the peace and welfare of his country, ought to avoid taking any ſide in a civil war. You cannot do better, nor more for your reputation, than to avoid engaging yourſelf, upon any account whatſoever, in theſe broils.*

(L) *Pompey* having told him one day, that he had joined the army at *Dyrrachium* a little too late; *How too late?* replied *Cicero*; *I do not find your affairs in ſuch forwardneſs.* Another time, when he was told, that ſeven eagles had been taken in *Pompey*'s camp, and that the augurs looked upon this as a happy omen; *it would be very lucky indeed*, ſaid he, *if we were at war with the magpies.*

a *Spain*, the *Spaniards* in *Further Spain* and one *Roman* legion deſerted from *Varro*, *Pompey*'s governor in that province, which obliged him to ſurrender his other legion and all his money. *Cæſar*, having thus reduced all *Spain* in a few months, appointed *Caſſius Longinus* to govern the two provinces with four legions, and then returned to *Marſeilles*, which city was then juſt upon the point of ſurrendering, after a moſt vigorous reſiſtance. Though the inhabitants had by their late treachery deſerved a ſevere puniſhment, yet he granted them their lives and liberty, but ſtripped their arſenals of their arms, and obliged them to deliver up all their ſhips. From *Marſeilles* *Cæſar* marched into *Ciſalpine Gaul*, and from thence haſtened to *Rome*, where he laid the foundations of his future grandeur. He found the city in a very different ſtate

b from that in which he had left it. Moſt of the ſenators and magiſtrates were fled to *Pompey* at *Dyrrachium*. However, there were ſtill prætors there, and among them *M. Æmilius Lepidus*, who was afterwards one of the triumvirs with *Octavius* and *Marc Antony*. The prætor, to ingratiate himſelf with *Cæſar*, nominated him dictator, of his own authority and againſt the inclination of the ſenate. *Cæſar* accepted the new dignity, but neither abuſed his power as *Sylla* had done, nor retained it ſo long. During the eleven days he held the dictatorſhip, he governed with great moderation, and gained the affections both of the people and patricians. He recalled all the exiles, except *Milo*, who had murdered *Clodius*. He granted the rights and privileges of *Roman* citizens to all the *Gauls* beyond the *Po*, and, as pontifex maximus, filled

c up the vacancies of the ſacerdotal colleges with his own friends. Though it was expected, that he would have abſolutely cancelled all debts contracted ſince the beginning of the troubles, he only reduced the intereſt to one fourth. But the chief uſe he made of his dictatorſhip was, to preſide at the election of conſuls for the next year, when he got himſelf and *Servilius Iſauricus*, one of his moſt zealous partiſans, promoted to that dignity. And now, being reſolved to follow *Pompey* and carry the war into the eaſt, he ſet out for *Brunduſium*, whither he had ordered twelve legions to repair with all poſſible expedition. But on his arrival he found only five there. The reſt, being afraid of the dangers of the ſea and unwilling to engage in a new war, had marched leiſurely, complaining of their general for allowing no reſpit, but

d hurrying them continually from one country to another. *When at laſt*, ſaid they, *and where will this* Cæſar *ſuffer us to enjoy ſome quiet? He carries us from place to place, and uſes us as if we were not to be tired out, or had no ſenſe of labour. Even our ſwords, our bucklers, and breaſt-plates, are worn out. Does not* Cæſar *gather from our wounds that we are mortal men, and ſubject to the ſame calamities and diſeaſes as other mortals are?* Such was their diſcourſe as they marched from their quarters to *Brunduſium*; and as their march was ſlow, they did not arrive at the time appointed. However, *Cæſar* did not wait for them, but ſet ſail with only five legions and ſix hundred horſe, in the beginning of *January*. When the legions found he had imbarqued without them, they changed their ſentiments, and, looking upon themſelves as traitors to their

e general, blamed their officers for marching ſo ſlowly. While they were waiting at *Brunduſium* for ſhips to tranſport them over into *Epirus*, *Cæſar* arrived ſafe with his five legions in *Chaonia*, the northern part of *Epirus* near the *Ceraunian* mountains. There he landed his troops, and ſent the ſhips back to *Brunduſium* to bring over the legions that were left behind. The war he was now entering upon was the moſt difficult he had yet undertaken. *Pompey* had for a whole year been aſſembling troops from all the eaſtern countries. When he left *Italy* he had only five legions; but, ſince his arrival at *Dyrrachium*, he had been reinforced with one from *Sicily*, another from *Crete*, and two from *Syria*. Three thouſand archers, ſix cohorts of ſlingers, and ſeven thouſand horſe had been ſent him by princes in alliance with *Rome*. All the

f free cities of *Aſia* had reinforced his army with their beſt troops; nay, if we give credit to an hiſtorical poet, ſuccours were brought him from the *Indus* and the *Ganges* to the eaſt, and from *Arabia* and *Æthiopia* to the ſouth; at leaſt it is certain, that *Greece*, *Aſia Minor*, *Syria*, *Paleſtine*, *Egypt*, and all the nations from the *Mediterranean* to the *Euphrates* took up arms in his favour. He had almoſt all the *Roman* knights, that is, the flower of the young nobility, in his ſquadrons, and his legions conſiſted moſtly of veterans inured to dangers and the toils of war. *Pompey* himſelf was a general of great experience and addreſs, and had under him ſome of the beſt commanders of the republic, who had formerly conducted armies themſelves. As for his navy, he had above five hundred ſhips of war, beſides a far greater number of ſmall

g veſſels, which were continually cruiſing on the coaſts, and intercepting ſuch ſhips as

Marſeilles *ſurrenders.*

Cæſar *nominated dictator.*

Is choſen conſul.

Cæſar *goes into the eaſt.*

Pompey *draws together numerous forces.*

carried arms or provisions to the enemy. He had likewise with him above two hun- a
dred senators, who formed a more numerous senate than that at *Rome*. *Cornelius Lentulus* and *Claudius Marcellus*, the last year's consuls, presided in it, but under the direction of *Pompey* their protector, who ordered them to assemble at *Thessalonica*, where he built a stately hall for that purpose. There, in one of their assemblies, at the motion of *Cato*, it was decreed, that no *Roman* citizen should be put to death but in battle, and that no city subject to the republic should be sacked. At the same time the conscript fathers assembled at *Thessalonica* decreed, that they alone represented the *Roman* senate, and that those, who resided at *Rome*, were encouragers of tyranny and friends to the tyrant. And indeed, as the flower of the nobility was with *Pompey*, and the most virtuous men in the republic had taken refuge in his camp, he was gene- b
Several persons of distinction flock to his camp. rally looked upon as the only hope and support of the public liberty. Hence many persons of eminent probity, who had hitherto stood neuter, flocked to him from all parts. Among these were young *Brutus*, who afterwards conspired against *Cæsar*, *Tidius Sextius*, and *Labienus*. *Brutus*, whose father had been put to death in *Galatia* by *Pompey*'s orders, had never spoke to him, or so much as saluted him since that time. But, as he now looked upon him as the defender of the public liberty, he joined him, sacrificing therein his private resentment to the interest of the public. *Pompey* received him with great joy, and was willing to confer upon him some command; but he declined the offer, desiring *Pompey* to bestow such marks of distinction on others, who better deserved them, both in consideration of their age and employ- c
ments. *Tidius Sextius*, though extremely old and lame, yet left *Rome*, and went as far as *Macedonia* to join *Pompey* there. *Labienus* likewise forsook his old benefactor, under whom he had served during the whole course of the *Gallish* war, and went over to his rival, though *Cæsar* had appointed him commander in chief of all the forces on the other side of the *Alps* (M). In short, *Pompey*'s party grew into such reputation, that his cause was generally called *the good cause*, while *Cæsar*'s adherents were looked upon as enemies to their country and abetters of tyranny [y].

Cæsar *takes* Oricum *and* Apollonia. But to return to *Cæsar*, as soon as he landed, he marched to *Oricum* the nearest city to him in *Epirus*, and made himself master of it without opposition, *L. Torquatus*, who was governor of the place for *Pompey*, having abandoned it at his approach. d
From thence he advanced to *Apollonia*, which stood on the confines of *Macedon*. This important place likewise surrendered, as soon as *Cæsar* appeared before it, *Staberius*, *Pompey*'s governor, not being in a condition to stand a siege. By these two conquests, *Cæsar* opened himself a way to *Dyrrachium*, a city on the confines of *Macedon*, where *Pompey* had fixed his magazines of arms and provisions. In the mean time, news was brought to *Cæsar*, that his fleet, which he had sent back to *Brundusium*, to transport the rest of his troops, had been attacked by a squadron of *Pompey*'s fleet under the command of *Bibulus*, who had taken thirty of them, and inhumanly burnt them with the seamen on board. This gave *Cæsar* great uneasiness, the more because he was at the same time informed, that *Bibulus*, with a hundred and e
ten ships of war, had taken possession of all the ports and harbours between *Salonium* and *Oricum*; so that the legions at *Brundusium* could not venture to cross the sea, without manifest danger of falling into the enemy's hands. Hereupon *Cæsar*, being greatly
Makes new proposals of an accommodation. embarrassed, made new proposals of an accommodation, sending *Vibullius Rufus*, an intimate friend of *Pompey*'s whom he had twice taken prisoner, *viz.* at *Corfinium* and in *Spain*, to propose to him the following terms; *viz.* that they should both disband their armies in three days, renew their former friendship with solemn oaths, and return together to *Italy*. With these proposals *Rufus*, who was in pain for *Dyrrachium*, hastened to *Pompey*'s camp, travelling night and day, without allowing himself any rest till he reached it. Upon his arrival he found, that *Pompey* had not f
yet received advice of *Cæsar*'s arrival; but he no sooner informed him of the taking of *Oricum* and *Apollonia*, than he immediately decamped, and by long marches reached

[y] Plut. in Pomp.

(M) It seemed very strange, says *Dion*, that *Labienus* should abandon *Cæsar*, who had loaded him with honours, and distinguished him above all others. But he gives this reason for it. *Labienus*, says he, *elated with his immense wealth, and proud of his preferments, forgot himself to such a degree, as to assume a character very unbecoming a person in his circumstances. He was even for putting himself upon an equal foot with* Cæsar, *who thereupon grew cool towards him, and treated him with some reserve, which* Labienus *resented, and went over to* Pompey.

a reached *Dyrrachium* before *Cæſar*, and incamped under the walls of the city. In the mean time, *Cæſar* was likewiſe advancing towards *Dyrrachium*, in hopes of ſurpriſing that important place; but, upon the unexpected news of *Pompey*'s arrival, he halted on the other ſide of the river *Apſus*, and intrenched himſelf there, having but a ſmall number of troops with him, if compared with *Pompey*'s formidable army. However, as *Pompey* durſt not croſs the river in *Cæſar*'s ſight, the two armies continued ſome time quiet in their reſpective poſts. As to the propoſals of an amicable accommodation, *Pompey*, ſuſpecting *Cæſar*'s ſincerity, anſwered, that he would not hearken to any terms, leſt it ſhould be ſaid, that he owed his life and return to *Italy* to *Cæſar*'s favour. Nevertheleſs, *Cæſar*, either to gain time, his troops not being yet arrived,
b or to caſt all the blame of a civil war on his rival, ſent *Vatinius* to treat with *Pompey* in his name. *Labienus* was deputed to receive his propoſals. But while they were conferring together, a party of *Pompey*'s men coming up to them, diſcharged a ſhower of darts at *Vatinius* and thoſe who attended him. Some of the centurions of his guard were wounded, and *Vatinius* himſelf narrowly eſcaped with his life [z].

As *Cæſar* had not a ſufficient force with him to engage the enemy, he wrote letter after letter to *Marc Antony*, who commanded the legions he had left in *Italy*, preſſing him to haſten their imbarquation. But *Antony*, either becauſe he wanted tranſports, or was afraid of the enemy's numerous ſquadrons, which almoſt covered the ſea, ſtill continued at *Brunduſium*, which filled *Cæſar* with many uneaſy reflections. Some-
c times he accuſed *Antony* of cowardice, and ſometimes ſuſpected him of treachery, as if he deſigned to revolt from him and make a third party in the republic. At length his impatience and uneaſineſs put him upon a bold attempt, which nothing could excuſe, but the extraordinary confidence he always had in his good fortune (N). He diſguiſed himſelf in the habit of a ſlave, and with all imaginable ſecrecy went on board a fiſherman's bark, which lay in the river *Anius*, or, as *Strabo* calls it, *Aous*, with a deſign to go over to *Brunduſium*, though the enemy's fleet was cruiſing on the coaſts both of *Greece* and *Italy*. The veſſel weighed anchor in the beginning of the night, and fell down the river without any difficulty. But it happened unluckily, that a ſtrong wind from the ſea ſprung up all on a ſudden, ſo that the rowers, after having
d ſtruggled a long time in vain with the waves and winds, which continually drove them back into the river, began to deſpair of getting out to ſea. Then *Cæſar*, who had hitherto never opened his mouth, ſtarting up, diſcovered himſelf to the maſter of the veſſel, who was greatly ſurpriſed to ſee him, and taking him by the hand, *Go on boldly, my friend*, ſaid he, *and fear nothing*; *thou carrieſt* Cæſar *and his fortune along with thee*. The mariners, encouraged by *Cæſar*'s preſence, uſed extraordinary efforts, and got out to ſea; but the ſtorm was ſo violent, that *Cæſar* himſelf, deſpairing of being able to get to *Italy*, ſuffered the pilot to return to the coaſt, where his ſoldiers met him, and expreſſed, with a great deal of tenderneſs and reſpect, their concern to ſee him ſo uneaſy for want of more troops, as if he could not gain a victory with them alone [a].

Cæſar tries to croſs the ſea in a bark.

e *Cæſar* was no ſooner landed, than he diſpatched *Poſthumius*, one of his lieutenants, with moſt preſſing orders to *Marc Antony*, *Gabinius*, and *Calenus*, to bring the troops to him at all adventures. *Gabinius*, unwilling to expoſe all the hopes of his general to the hazards of the ſea, thought it ſafer to march a great way about by *Illyricum*, and therefore engaged all the legionaries he could to follow him by land. But the *Illyrians*, who had, unknown to him, declared for *Pompey*, fell unexpectedly upon him, and killed him and his men, not one eſcaping. *Marc Antony* and *Calenus*, who went by ſea, were in the greateſt danger from one of *Pompey*'s admirals; but had the good luck to bring their troops ſafe to ſhore at *Nymphæum*, in the neighbourhood of *Apollonia*. As ſoon as it was known that *Antony* was landed, *Pompey* marched to
f prevent his joining *Cæſar*. On the other hand, *Cæſar* inſtantly decamped, and haſtening to the relief of his lieutenant, joined him before *Pompey* came up. Then *Pompey*, not caring to engage them when united, retired to an advantagious poſt in the neighbourhood

Part of Cæſar's troops cut off in Illyricum.

[z] Cæsar. bell. civil. l. iii. c. 19. [a] Plut. in Cæſare.

(N) Moſt hiſtorians blame this as a raſh action; and he himſelf in his commentaries makes no mention of this, or of another as dangerous an attempt, which is related by *Suetonius*. While he was makeing war in *Gaul*, upon advice that the *Gauls* had ſurrounded his army in his abſence, he dreſſed himſelf like a native of the country, and in that diſguiſe paſſed through the enemy's centinels and troops to his own camp.

neighbourhood of *Dyrrachium*, known by the name of *Aſparagium*, and there incamped. *Cæſar*, having thus at length got all his troops together, reſolved to finiſh the war by one general action, and determine the fate of the world, either by his own death, or by that of his rival. To this end he offered *Pompey* battle, and kept his army a great while drawn up in ſight of the enemy. But *Pompey* declining an engagement, he decamped and turned towards *Dyrrachium*, as if he deſigned to ſurpriſe it, hoping by this means to draw *Pompey* into the plain. But *Pompey*, looking upon the taking of *Dyrrachium* as a chimerical project, followed *Cæſar* at ſome diſtance, and letting him draw near to the city, incamped himſelf on a hill called *Petra*, which commanded the ſea, whence he could be ſupplied with proviſions from *Greece* and *Aſia*, while *Cæſar* was forced to bring corn by land from *Epirus*, at a vaſt expence and through many dangers. This inconvenience put *Cæſar* upon a new deſign, which was to ſurround an army far more numerous than his own, and by ſhutting them up within a narrow tract of ground, diſtreſs them as much for want of forage, as his troops were diſtreſſed for want of corn. Purſuant to this deſign, he drew a line of circumvallation from the ſea quite round *Pompey*'s camp, and kept him ſo cloſely blocked up, that though his men were plentifully ſupplied with proviſions by ſea, yet the horſes of his army began ſoon to die in great numbers for want of forage. *Cæſar*'s men, though in the utmoſt diſtreſs for want of corn, yet bore all with incredible chearfulneſs, proteſting, that they would rather live upon the bark of trees, than ſuffer *Pompey* to eſcape, now they had him in their power (O). At length *Pompey*, alarmed at the diſtempers which began to reign in his army, made ſeveral attempts to break through the barriers that incloſed him, but was always repulſed with loſs. One day *Pompey* himſelf attacked one of the enemy's caſtles; on which occaſion *M. Caſſius Scæva*, a ſoldier of fortune, at that time centurion, diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the defence of the caſtle in a very eminent manner. He withſtood the efforts of the enemy almoſt alone, made a great ſlaughter of them, and though he was wounded on the head, had loſt an eye, and was run quite through the body, yet he maintained the fight, till *Sylla*, one of *Cæſar*'s lieutenants, brought two legions from the camp to his relief, and then *Pompey* was forced to retire. This caſtle was defended by one cohort only of the ſixth legion, which held out againſt the utmoſt efforts of *Pompey* at the head of four complete legions. Every ſoldier of the cohort was wounded, *Pompey*'s men having diſcharged at them, during the attack, above thirty thouſand arrows, of which the brave *Caſſius* received two hundred and thirty on his ſhield. *Cæſar* therefore made him a preſent of two hundred thouſand ſeſterces, raiſed him to the poſt of primipilus, or firſt centurion of the legion, and allotted the whole cohort double pay and double allowance of proviſions ever after [b].

Cæſar beſieges Pompey in his camp.

The gallant behaviour of Caſſius Scæva.

And now *Pompey*, being reduced to the utmoſt extremity for want of forage, and in great danger of loſing all his forces, which for ſome time had had no other provender but leaves of trees, reſolved at all events to force the enemy's lines and eſcape. With the aſſiſtance therefore, and by the advice of two deſerters (P), he imbarqued his archers, ſlingers, and light-armed infantry, and, marching himſelf by land at the head of ſixty cohorts, went to attack that part of *Cæſar*'s lines which was next to the ſea, and not yet quite finiſhed. He ſet out from his camp in the dead of the night, and arriving at the poſt he deſigned to force by break of day, he began the attack by ſea and land at the ſame time. The ninth legion, which defended that part of the lines, made for ſome time a vigorous reſiſtance; but being attacked in the rear

[b] Cæsar. ibid. l. iii. c. 53. Lucan. l. vi. 53. Suet. in Julio.

(O) *Cæſar* tells us, that in this extremity ſuch of the army as had been in *Sardinia*, found out the way of making bread of a certain root called *Clæra*, which they ſteeped in milk; and that when the enemy inſulted them on account of the ſtarving condition which they were in, they threw ſeveral of theſe loaves among them, to put them out of all hopes of ſubduing them by famine. *So long as the earth produces ſuch roots*, ſaid they, *we will not let* Pompey *eſcape*.

(P) Theſe were two brothers *Roſcillus* and *Ægus*, *Allobroges*, and men of great diſtinction in their own country. They commanded the auxiliaries, whom they had brought to the aſſiſtance of *Cæſar*, but defrauded them of their pay, and uſed them with great rigour, which obliged them to carry their complaints to *Cæſar*, who thereupon privately reprimanded them. The two chiefs, offended at this diſgrace, took what money and horſes they could with them, and deſerted to *Pompey*. As they had narrowly obſerved all *Cæſar*'s circumvallation, and knew the weak parts of it, they directed *Pompey* in this enterprize, and proved very ſerviceable to him (29).

(29) *Dio Caſſ. l.* xli. *Cæſar. ibid. l.* iii. *c.* 60.

a rear by *Pompey*'s men, who came by ſea and landed between *Cæſar*'s two lines, they fled with ſuch precipitation, that the ſuccours *Marcellinus* ſent them from a neighbouring poſt could not ſtop them. The enſign, who carried the *Roman* eagle at the head of the routed legion, was mortally wounded; but nevertheleſs, before he died, had preſence of mind enough to conſign the eagle to the cavalry of his party, deſiring them to deliver it to *Cæſar*. *Pompey*'s men purſued the fugitives, and made ſuch a ſlaughter of them, that all the centurions of the firſt cohort were cut off except one. And now *Pompey*'s army broke in upon the poſts *Cæſar* had fortified, like a torrent, and were advancing to attack *Marcellinus*, who guarded a neighbouring fort; but *Marc Antony* coming very ſeaſonably to his relief with twelve
b cohorts, they thought it adviſeable to retire. Soon after *Cæſar* himſelf arrived with a ſtrong reinforcement, and poſted himſelf on the ſhore in order to prevent ſuch-like attempts for the future. From this poſt he obſerved an old camp, which he had made within the place where *Pompey* was incloſed, but afterwards abandoned. Upon his quitting it *Pompey* had taken poſſeſſion of it, and left a legion to guard it. This poſt *Cæſar* reſolved to reduce, hoping to repair the loſs he had ſuſtained on this unfortunate day, by taking the legion which *Pompey* had poſted there. Accordingly, he advanced ſecretly at the head of thirty-three cohorts in two lines, and arriving at the old camp, before *Pompey* could have notice of his march, attacked it with great vigor, forced the firſt intrenchment, notwithſtanding the brave reſiſtance of *Titus Pulcio*,
c and penetrated to the ſecond, whither the legion had retired. But here his fortune changed on a ſudden. His right wing, in looking for an entrance into the camp, marched along the outſide of a trench, which *Cæſar* had formerly carried on from the left angle of his camp about four hundred paces to a neighbouring river. This trench they miſtook for the rampart of the camp, and being led away, by that miſtake, from their left wing, they were ſoon after prevented from rejoining it by the arrival of *Pompey*, who came up at the head of a legion and a large body of horſe. Then the legion, which *Cæſar* had attacked, taking courage, made a briſk ſally, drove his men back to the firſt intrenchment, which they had ſeized, and there put them in great diſorder, while they were attempting to paſs the ditch. *Pompey*, in the
d mean time falling upon them with his cavalry in flank, completed their defeat; and then flying to the enemy's right wing, which had paſſed the trench mentioned above, and was ſhut up between that and the ramparts of the old camp, made a moſt dreadful ſlaughter of them. The trench was filled with dead bodies, many falling into it in that diſorder, and others paſſing over them and preſſing them to death. In this diſtreſs *Cæſar* did all he could to ſtop the flight of his legionaries, but to no purpoſe; the ſtandard-bearers themſelves threw down the *Roman* eagles, when *Cæſar* endeavoured to ſtop them, and left them in the hands of the enemy, who on this occaſion took thirty-two ſtandards; a diſgrace which *Cæſar* had never ſuffered before. He was himſelf in no ſmall danger of falling by the hand of one of his own men,
e whom he took hold of when flying, bidding him ſtand and face about; but the man, apprehenſive of the danger he was in, drew his ſword and would have killed him, had not one of his guards prevented the blow by cutting off his arm. *Cæſar* loſt on this occaſion nine hundred and ſixty of his foot, four hundred of his horſe, five tribunes, and thirty-two centurions. Had *Pompey* attacked *Cæſar*'s camp, during this panic, he might have eaſily made himſelf maſter of it, and put an end to the war at one blow. But, being afraid of ſome ambuſcade, he purſued the enemy to the gates of their camp, and then marched back without making any further attempts; which made *Cæſar* ſay, that *he had been loſt without redreſs, had* Pompey *known how to make uſe of his victory*. This loſs and diſgrace greatly mortified *Cæſar*, but did not diſcourage him.
f After he had by his lenity and eloquent ſpeeches, ſuited to his preſent circumſtances, recovered the ſpirits of his troops, he decamped and retired in good order to *Apollonia*, where he paid his troops, and left his ſick and wounded. From thence he marched into *Macedon*, where *Scipio Metellus*, *Pompey*'s father-in-law, was incamped. He hoped either to draw his rival into ſome plain, or to overpower *Scipio*, if not aſſiſted. He met with great difficulties on his march, the countries through which he paſſed refuſing to ſupply his army with proviſions; to ſuch a degree was his reputation ſunk ſince his laſt defeat. On his entering *Theſſaly* he was met by *Domitius*, one of his lieutenants, whom he had ſent with three legions to reduce *Epirus*. Having now got all his forces together, he marched directly to *Gomphi*, the firſt town of
g *Theſſaly*, which had been formerly in his intereſt, but now declared againſt him.

Pompey *fortes Cæſar's lines.*

Cæſar *defeated.*

He retires into Macedon.

Whereupon he attacked it with ſo much vigour, that, though the gariſon was very a
numerous and the walls of an uncommon height, he made himſelf maſter of it in a
few hours. From thence he marched to *Metropolis*, another conſiderable town of
Theſſaly, which immediately ſurrendered; as did all the other cities of the country,
except *Lariſſa*, of which *Scipio* had made himſelf maſter.

Pompey *purſues him.*

On the other hand, *Pompey*, being continually importuned by the ſenators and
officers of his army, left his camp at *Dyrrachium*, and followed *Cæſar*, firmly reſolved
not to give him battle, but rather to diſtreſs him by keeping cloſe at his heels, ſtrait-
ening his quarters, and cutting off his convoys. As he had frequent opportunities of
coming to an engagement, but always declined it, his friends and ſubalterns began to

Murmurs in his army.

put ill conſtructions on his dilatorineſs, to his face. Some reproached him with ſpin- b
ning out the war, in order to continue his authority over the *Roman* ſenate and the
foreign kings under his command. *Domitius Ahenobarbus* was continually calling him,
in deriſion, *Agamemnon*, and *king of kings*, inſinuating thereby, that he had no mind
to lay down his ſovereign authority, but was pleaſed to ſee ſo many kings and great
commanders paying their attendance at his tent. *Favonius*, who affected *Cato*'s free
way of ſpeaking, complained in a ſcoffing manner, that by reaſon of *Pompey*'s ambi-
tion they ſhould eat no figs that year at *Tuſculum*. Theſe reflections, together with
the complaints of his ſoldiers, made him at length reſolve to venture a general action.
With this deſign he marched into a large plain near the cities of *Pharſalia* and *Thebes*,
which latter was alſo called *Philippi*, from *Philip*, king of *Macedon* and the father of c
Perſes, who, having reduced the *Thebans*, placed a colony of *Macedonians* in their
city. This plain was watered by the *Enipeus*, and ſurrounded on all ſides by high
mountains; and *Pompey*, who was ſtill averſe from venturing an engagement, pitched
his camp on the declivity of a ſteep mountain, in a place altogether inacceſſible. There
he was joined by *Scipio*, his father-in-law, at the head of the legions which he had
brought with him from *Syria* and *Cilicia*. But, notwithſtanding this reinforcement, he

Pompey *unwilling to engage.*

was ſtill irreſolute, and unwilling to put all to the iſſue of a ſingle action, being ſtill
convinced of the wiſdom of his maxim, that it was better to deſtroy the enemy by
fatigues and want, than to engage an army of brave veterans, who were, in a manner,
reduced to deſpair. As he put off from day to day, under various pretences, deſcend- d
ing into the plain, where *Cæſar* was incamped, his officers forced him to call a council
of war, when all to a man were for venturing a general action the very next day.
Thus was *Pompey* obliged to ſacrifice his own judgment to the blind ardor of the
multitude; and the neceſſary meaſures were taken for a general engagement. *Plu-*

The confidence of Pompey's *officers.*

tarch and *Cæſar* tell us, that *Pompey*'s officers were ſo confident of victory, that *Do-*
mitius Spinther and *Scipio* quarrelled as if they had already conquered, which of them
ſhould ſucceed *Cæſar* in the office of pontifex maximus. Others ſent to *Rome* to hire
ſuch houſes as were ſuitable to the ranks of conſuls and prætors, as being ſure of entering
upon thoſe offices as ſoon as the battle was over. Some put in for the forfeited eſtates
of thoſe who followed *Cæſar*. *Spinther* reſerved for his ſhare *Cæſar*'s gardens and houſe e
at *Baiæ*, and the houſe of *Hortenſius*. The conſuls were ſettled for ſeveral years; but
a warm diſpute aroſe about the choice of prætors. The relations of *Hirtius*, whom
Pompey had ſent againſt the *Parthians*, inſiſted, that regard ſhould be had for him,
though abſent. In ſhort, their thoughts ran not ſo much on conquering, as in what
manner they ſhould ſhare and enjoy the fruits of their conqueſt, as if they were to
engage, ſays *Plutarch*, *Tigranes* the *Armenian*, or ſome petty king of *Nabathæa*,
and not that *Cæſar*, who had ſtormed a thouſand towns, ſubdued above three hundred
different nations, gained innumerable victories, taken a million of men priſoners, and
ſlain as many upon the ſpot in pitched battles. This preſumption was founded on
the number of their forces; for *Pompey*'s army conſiſted of forty-five thouſand foot, f
ſeven thouſand horſe well mounted and armed, and a great number of dart-men and
ſlingers; whereas *Cæſar* had at moſt twenty-two thouſand foot and a thouſand
horſe [c].

Pompey's *ſpeech to his men.*

When the day came, on which the fate of the world was to be decided, *Pompey*,
having aſſembled his troops, made them the following ſpeech, which is recorded by
ſeveral writers. "As I have been induced by your ardor to venture a battle, contrary
"to my own judgment, let me ſee you behave in it with bravery. As you ſurpaſs the
"enemy in numbers, ſtrive to do ſo in courage and reſolution. Look back with
"pleaſure

[c] Appian. Plut. Cæsar. ibid.

a "pleaſure on the glorious battle of *Dyrrachium*; maintain the glory you there "acquired, and ſuffer not the beſt cauſe to ſink under the deſperate attempts of one, "whoſe main aim is to deprive you of your liberty, and change the republic into "a monarchy. Remember, that *Pompey* leads you, that the authority of the ſenate "ſupports you, and the gods protect you". Having thus ſpoke, he cauſed the gates of the camp to be opened, and marched out at the head of his army. *Cæſar* was ſo far from expecting to engage that day, that he had already given the ſignal for decamping, with a deſign to march towards *Scotuſa*, his army being reduced to great ſtraits for want of forage and proviſions. But while his ſoldiers were buſy in taking down their tents and ſending away their cattle, ſervants, and baggage before them, word

b was brought him by his ſcouts, that they had ſeen arms carried to and fro in the enemy's camp, and that they had heard a noiſe and buſtle as of men preparing for battle. Not long after other ſcouts came in with further intelligence, that the enemy were marching out of their intrenchments, and that the firſt ranks were already drawn up in the plain. *Cæſar*, tranſported with joy at this news, told his men, that *the ſo much wiſhed-for day was come at laſt, when they ſhould fight with men, not with hunger and famine*. Then he ordered the red ſtandard, the uſual ſignal of battle among the *Romans*, to be ſet up before his tent; which was no ſooner obſerved by the ſoldiers, than they left their tents, and with loud ſhouts of joy repaired to their arms. The officers drew up their reſpective corps, every man falling into his proper rank, without

c any trouble or noiſe. When he had drawn up his men, he ordered three legions to level the ramparts, and fill up the ditches of his camp, telling them with great confidence, that they ſhould lodge that night in *Pompey*'s camp. This he ſaid not from a dependence on the vain aſſurances of the augurs and the preſages of victory, which were brought him from all parts (Q); but on his own addreſs and the experienced valour of his veterans. After he had levelled his trenches, he harangued his troops according to cuſtom, but with ſuch an air of confidence and ſatisfaction, as was ſufficient to have inſpired cowards with courage. "Fellow ſoldiers, ſaid he, the worſt part of "our labours is now paſt. To-day we are not to fight with hunger and want, but "with men; nay, with thoſe very men who left *Italy*, becauſe they could not ſtand

d "before us, and who would deprive us of the honours that are due to us for a long "courſe of victories. If therefore you have any grateful ſenſe of my benevolence and "bounty, let it now exert itſelf; and remember your promiſes at *Dyrrachium*. You "there vowed, that you would conquer or die; and it is no difficult matter for vete-"rans to conquer raw ſoldiers, eſpecially when they fight under a general, who, I "know, is driven to a battle contrary to his own judgment. This I ſay of the *Ita-*"*lians* only; as for the *Aſiatics*, give yourſelves no concern about them; their own "fears will diſperſe them. Exert therefore all your valour againſt the *Roman* legions "and *Italian* cohorts. I have levelled your trenches, that you may have no reſource "but in victory, and that the enemy may ſee, we are determined to lodge in their camp "by our deſtroying our own." This ſaid, he marched into the plain, and obſerving the

e diſpoſition of the enemy, as he drew near them, regulated his own by it. *Pompey* was on the left wing, with the two legions which *Cæſar* had returned to him at the beginning of the war. *Scipio*, *Pompey*'s father-in-law, was in the centre, with the legions he had brought from *Syria*, and the reinforcements ſent by ſeveral kings and ſtates of *Aſia*. The *Cilician* legion and ſome cohorts, which had ſerved in *Spain*, were in the right under the command of *Afranius* (S). As *Pompey*'s right wing was covered

Pompey *prepares for battle.*

Cæſar's *ſpeech to his ſoldiers.*

The diſpoſition of the two armies.

(Q) He had three days before purified his army by a ſacrifice, according to cuſtom, when the augur, upon the death of the firſt victim, told him, that within three days he ſhould come to a deciſive action. *Cæſar* asked him, whether he ſaw any thing in the intrails, which promiſed an happy event? *That*, anſwered the augur, *you can beſt tell yourſelf; for the gods promiſe a great alteration from the preſent poſture of affairs; if therefore you think yourſelf happy now, expect worſe fortune; if unhappy, hope for better.* The night before the battle, as he went the rounds about midnight, he ſaw a light in the heaven very bright and flaming, which ſeemed to paſs over his camp and fall into *Pompey*'s; and when *Cæſar*'s men came to relieve the guard in the morning, they perceived a panic among the enemy (30).

(R) *Cæſar* and *Appian* agree, that *Pompey* poſted himſelf in his left wing; but *Plutarch* places him in the right.

(S) Here again *Plutarch* differs from *Cæſar*, and gives *Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus* the command of the right wing, without ſo much as mentioning *Afranius*. It is ſomewhat ſurpriſing, that the account which *Cæſar* himſelf has left us of this memorable battle, ſhould meet with contradiction. Surely his evidence muſt be of the greateſt authority.

(30) *Plut. in Pomp. & Cæſare.*

covered by the *Enipeus*, he ſtrengthened the left with his ſlingers, archers, and the a
ſeven thouſand *Roman* horſe, on whom chiefly his party founded their hopes of victory. The whole army was drawn up in three lines with very little ſpaces between them. In conformity to this diſpoſition, *Cæſar*'s army was drawn up in the following order: The tenth legion, which had on all occaſions ſignalized themſelves above all the reſt, was placed in the right wing, and the ninth in the left; but as the latter had been conſiderably weakened in the action at *Dyrrachium*, the eighth legion was poſted ſo near it, as to be able to ſupport and reinforce it upon occaſion. The reſt of *Cæſar*'s forces filled up the ſpace between the two wings. *Marc Antony* commanded the left wing, *Sylla* the right, and *Cneius Domitius Calvinus* the main body. As for *Cæſar*, he poſted himſelf on the right over-againſt *Pompey*, that he might have him always b
in ſight. His army was likewiſe drawn up in three lines, but with larger ſpaces between the corps. *Pompey*, as we have hinted above, placed his whole body of horſe in his left wing, in order to diſtreſs and cut off the tenth legion, at the head of which *Cæſar* always fought in perſon. Hereupon *Cæſar*, who had only a thouſand horſe to oppoſe the enemy's ſeven thouſand, ſupplied that defect with a body of choice infantry, which he picked out of the legionaries of the third line, and formed into ſix cohorts. Theſe he placed behind the tenth legion, commanding them to advance to the front as ſoon as the enemy's cavalry ſhould charge, and together with the legionaries ſuſtain the firſt onſet of the cavalry. He likewiſe commanded them not to diſcharge their javelins at a diſtance, but firſt to cloſe with the enemy, and then aim c
only at the faces of the horſemen, who were for the moſt part young patricians, and therefore, as he rightly imagined, would be more ſolicitous about preſerving their beauty than gaining a victory. Thus was the whole plain covered from *Pharſalia* to the *Enipeus* with two armies, dreſſed and armed after the ſame manner, and bearing the ſame enſigns, the *Roman* eagles. *Pompey* obſerving how well the enemy kept their ranks, expecting quietly the ſignal of battle; and on the contrary how impatient and unſteady his own men were, running up and down in great diſorder for want of experience, began to be afraid, leſt his ranks ſhould be broke upon the firſt onſet; and therefore commanded the foot in the front to keep their ground, and quietly wait for the enemy (T). The two armies, though within reach of each other, kept for ſome d
time a mournful ſilence, which might poſſibly proceed from the melancholy reflections of both parties. For what could be more affecting, than to conſider, that the ſon had taken arms againſt the father, brother againſt brother, citizen againſt citizen, and friend againſt friend? At length the trumpets ſounded the charge, and *Cæſar*'s army advanced in good order to begin the attack, being encouraged by the example of one *Caius Craſtinus*, a centurion, who, at the head of a hundred and twenty men, threw himſelf upon the enemy's firſt line with incredible fury. This he did to acquit himſelf of a promiſe he had ſolemnly made to *Cæſar*, who, meeting him as he was going out of his tent in the morning, asked him after ſome diſcourſe, *What his opinion was touching the event of the battle?* To which he, ſtretching out his hand, replied e
aloud, *Thine is the victory*, Cæſar; *thou ſhalt conquer gloriouſly, and I myſelf this day will be the ſubject of thy praiſe, either dead or alive.* In purſuance of this promiſe he broke out of his rank, as ſoon as the trumpets ſounded, and at the head of his company ran in

The battle of Pharſalia.
Year after the flood 2956. *Before Chriſt* 43. *Of* Rome 705.

(T) *Cæſar* in his third book of the civil war blames this conduct. We ſhall give the reader a tranſlation of the whole paſſage from his own words; for every thing ſpoken by ſuch a man as *Cæſar* ought to be kept intire: "There was juſt as much ſpace between the two armies, ſays he, as was ſufficient "for both to meet and charge. But *Pompey* had "ordered his men to receive the enemy's onſet "without ſtirring, and keep their poſts, till *Cæſar*'s "army by charging firſt ſhould be diſordered. This "he is ſaid to have done by the advice of *Triarius*, "to the end, that the firſt force and impetuoſity of "thoſe troops might abate and be weakened, and "their ranks thinned; and that then thoſe, who "had remained firm in their poſts, might attack "them with better ſucceſs, when they were thus "broken and diſperſed. Beſides, he was in hopes "that their javelins would do leſs execution, if they "received them in their poſts, than if they advanced "to meet them, and that *Cæſar*'s ſoldiers, running the whole void or ſpace, inſtead of meeting "them in the middle of it, would come up out of "breath and wearied. But, in my opinion, this "was founded upon no manner of reaſon, becauſe "there is a natural vehemence and alacrity implanted in every man, which is kindled in the mind by "an eagerneſs and impatience to begin the onſet, "which ſhould not be checked, but rather encouraged, by the general. Our anceſtors therefore "wiſely ordained, that trumpets ſhould ſound on "every ſide, and all the ſoldiers raiſe a ſhout, conceiving that thoſe were the moſt proper means to "animate and encourage their own troops, and "daunt the enemy (31)." Thus far *Cæſar*. However, it is certain, that generals of great fame and experience have ſometimes done as *Pompey* did.

(31) *Cæſar. bell. civil. l.* iii.

a in upon the enemy, and made a great ſlaughter of them. But while he was ſtill preſſing forward, forcing his way through the firſt line, one of *Pompey*'s men ran him in at the mouth with ſuch violence, that the point of the ſword came out at the hind-part of his neck. Upon his death *Pompey*'s ſoldiers took courage, and with great bravery ſtood the enemy's onſet. While the foot was thus ſharply engaged in the centre, *Pompey*'s horſe in the left wing marched up confidently, and, having firſt widened their ranks with a deſign to ſurround *Cæſar*'s right wing, charged his cavalry, and forced them to give ground (U). Hereupon *Cæſar* ordered his horſe to retreat a little, and give way to the ſix cohorts, which he had poſted in the rear as a body of reſerve. Theſe, upon a ſignal given coming up, charged the enemy's horſe with that reſolution
b and good order, which is peculiar to men who have ſpent all their lives in camps. They remembered their inſtructions, not ſtriking at the legs or thighs of the enemy, but aiming only at their faces. This unexpected and new manner of fighting had the deſired effect. For the young patricians, whom *Cæſar* contemptuouſly calls the *pretty young dancers*, not being able to bear the thoughts of having their faces deformed with ſcars, turned their backs, and, covering their faces with their hands, fled in the utmoſt confuſion, leaving the foot at the mercy of the enemy. *Cæſar*'s men did not purſue the fugitives, but charging the foot of that wing now naked and unguarded, ſurrounded them, and cut moſt of them in pieces. *Pompey* was ſo tranſported with rage in ſeeing the flower of his forces thus put to flight, or cut in pieces, that he left
c his army, and retired ſlowly towards his camp, looking more like a man diſtracted and beſide himſelf, than one who by his exploits had acquired the ſurname of *The Great* (W). When he had reached the camp, he retired to his tent, without ſpeaking a word to any, and continued there, like one whom the gods had deprived of his ſenſes, till his whole army was defeated. *Cæſar* no ſooner ſaw himſelf maſter of the field, than he marched to attack the enemy's intrenchments, that *Pompey* might not have time to recollect himſelf. When *Pompey* was informed that his rival was advancing to attack his intrenchments, he then firſt ſeemed to have recovered his ſenſes, and cried out, *What! into my camp to?* He ſaid no more; but immediately laying aſide the marks of his dignity, and putting on ſuch a garment as might beſt favour his
d flight, he ſtole out at the decuman gate, and took the road to *Lariſſa*, which city had hitherto ſhewn great attachment to him. In the mean time, *Cæſar* began the attack on the enemy's camp, which was vigorouſly defended by the cohorts *Pompey* had left to guard it; but they were at length forced to yield (X). *Cæſar* was not a little ſurpriſed, when, after having forced the intrenchments, he found the enemy's tents and pavilions richly adorned with carpets and hangings, their couches ſtrewed with flowers, their tables ready ſpread, and ſide-boards ſet out with abundance of plate, bowls, and glaſſes, and ſome of them even filled with wine. So great was the confidence of *Pompey*'s party, that they made preparations before-hand for pleaſures to be enjoyed after the victory, which they thought certain. In *Pompey*'s tent *Cæſar*
e found the box in which he kept his letters; but, with a moderation and magnanimity worthy

Pompey *retires to his camp, and his army is defeated.*

Cæſar *makes himſelf maſter of* Pompey's *camp.*

(U) *Cæſar* himſelf owns, that his cavalry gave way and were in danger of being cut in pieces, when the ſix cohorts advanced to ſupport them. *Plutarch* therefore muſt be miſtaken, when he ſays, that theſe cohorts attacked *Pompey*'s cavalry before they had time to charge that of *Cæſar*. The memoirs he followed in his account of this battle ſeem not to have been the moſt exact.

(W) *Plutarch* applies to *Pompey*, as he is retiring before *Cæſar*, a paſſage in the eleventh *Iliad*, where *Homer* ſpeaks in a lofty manner of the flight of *Ajax* before *Hector*.

But partial *Jove* eſpouſing *Hector*'s part,
Shot heav'n-bred horror through the *Grecian*'s heart;
Confus'd, unnerv'd in *Hector*'s preſence grown,
Amaz'd he ſtood, with terrors not his own.
O'er his broad back his moony ſhield he threw,
And glaring round with tardy ſteps withdrew.
Pope.

(X) *Cæſar* tells us, that the cohorts appointed to defend the camp made a vigorous reſiſtance; but being at length overpowered, fled to a neighbouring mountain, where he reſolved to inveſt them. But before he had finiſhed his lines, want of water obliged them to abandon that poſt, and retire towards *Lariſſa*. *Cæſar* purſued the fugitives at the head of the fourth legion, and after ſix miles march came up with them. But they, not caring to engage a victorious legion led on by *Cæſar*, fled for refuge to a high hill, the foot of which was watered by a little river. Though *Cæſar*'s men were quite ſpent, and ready to faint with the exceſſive heat and the fatigue of the whole day, yet by his obliging manner he prevailed upon them to cut off the conveniency of the water from the enemy by a trench. This obliged the unfortunate fugitives to come to a capitulation, throw down their arms, and implore the clemency of the conqueror. This they all did, except ſome ſenators, who, as it was now night, eſcaped in the dark. *Cæſar* received thoſe who ſurrendered with all the clemency and kindneſs imaginable, forbidding his ſoldiers to offer them the leaſt inſult, or even to plunder their baggage.

worthy of himſelf, he burnt them all without reading one, ſaying, that he had rather be ignorant of crimes, than obliged to puniſh them [b]. a

The next day, when the dead were numbered, it appeared that *Cæſar* had ſcarce loſt two hundred men, among whom were about thirty centurions, whom *Cæſar* cauſed to be buried with great ſolemnity. He did particular honours to the body of *Craſtinus*, who had begun the battle, and ordered his aſhes to be depoſited in a tomb, which he erected to his memory. On *Pompey*'s ſide the number of the dead amounted to fifteen thouſand according to ſome, and to twenty-five thouſand according to others (Y). *Aſinius Pollio*, as quoted by *Plutarch*, tells us, that *Cæſar* when he ſaw the field of battle covered with many dead bodies, cried out with a deep ſigh; *This they would have; they brought me, by their obſtinacy, to the ſad neceſſity of conquering them to ſecure myſelf.* Among the dead were found the bodies of ten ſenators and forty knights. One of the ſenators was *Domitius Ahenobarbus*, who fled from the camp when *Cæſar* attacked it; but being exhauſted with fatigue, a body of horſe came up with him, and left him dead on the plain of *Pharſalia*. *Cæſar* took twenty-four thouſand priſoners, eight eagles, and a hundred and eighty enſigns. All the *Roman* citizens were immediately by his orders ſet at liberty; and it muſt be owned, that no conqueror ever took more pleaſure than *Cæſar* in acts of clemency. Some writers aſcribe his moderation to policy; but it is manifeſt from his whole conduct before, as well as after, the battle of *Pharſalia*, that he was endowed with a great fund of good-nature and humanity. He had always ſhewn a particular affection for young *Marcus Brutus*, whom he believed to be his ſon (Z); and therefore, as he had ſided with *Pompey* and fought under his banners, he was under the utmoſt concern in not ſeeing him appear after the battle; nor was his pleaſure leſs when he ſaw him ſafe, ſurrendering himſelf to him, and imploring his clemency. He received him with inexpreſſible joy and marks of the moſt tender and ſincere friendſhip, not ſuſpecting then, that he would one day become an accomplice of his death. b

His clemency and moderation.

Cæſar, though victorious, could not think the work complete ſo long as his rival lived. His fleets were ſtill maſters of the ſea. *Lælius*, who commanded one of them had lately beſieged *Vatinius*, *Cæſar*'s lieutenant, in *Brunduſium*, and *Caius Caſſius* had burnt above forty of his galleys in the ſtraits of *Meſſana*. Beſides, the remains of his troops might unite again, and, by the help of new levies and auxiliaries from foreign kings, make as formidable an army as the former; ſince *Egypt*, *Africa*, *Numidia*, *Pontus*, *Cilicia*, *Cappadocia*, and *Galatia*, ſeemed to have eſpouſed his cauſe with great zeal. *Cato*, whom *Pompey* had left at *Dyrrachium* with fifteen cohorts and three hundred galleys, might follow him, and renew the war in ſome other country. So that *Pompey*'s party, though weakened, was not intirely deſtroyed. *Cæſar* therefore, in order to complete the work, either by the death or captivity of his competitor, reſolved to ſet all other things aſide, and purſue *Pompey* into what part ſoever of the world he ſhould retire. Purſuant to this reſolution, after he had ſtayed two days at *Pharſalia*, to return thanks to the gods for the victory he had gained, and to refreſh his ſoldiers, he ſet out on the third with his cavalry, advancing every day as far as he poſſibly could, while one legion followed him by more eaſy marches [c]. c d e

Cæſar *reſolves to purſue* Pompey.

As for *Pompey*, he took the rout, as we have hinted above, to *Lariſſa*. When he had got a little way from the camp, he diſmounted, and finding the enemy did not purſue him, walked on leiſurely with his ſmall retinue, wholly taken up with ſuch thoughts as were natural to a perſon of his condition and circumſtances. He had been for the ſpace of thirty-four years together accuſtomed to conqueſt and victory, and was then at laſt in his old age beginning to know the calamities of war in ſlaughter and flight. He conſidered, with the greateſt concern imaginable, that he had loſt in one hour all the glory and power, which he had been gaining for ſo many years in innumerable battles; and that he, who a little before was guarded by a mighty army f

Pompey's *flight and adventures.*

and

[d] Plut in Pomp. & Cæſar. Appian. bell. civil. l. ii. Dio Cass. l. xli. Cæsar. bell. civil. l. iii. c. 60—91. [e] Cæsar. bell. civil. l. iii. Appian. l. ii.

(Y) *Appian* quotes ſome writers, who made *Cæſar*'s loſs amount to twelve hundred legionaries. *Aſinius Pollio*, who was preſent in this action and fought in *Cæſar*'s army, reduces the number of the ſlain on *Pompey*'s ſide to ſix thouſand men. But he is contradicted by all the ancients.

(Z) *Cæſar* was paſſionately in love with *Servilia* the mother of *Brutus*, who gave herſelf up intirely to him; whence *Cæſar*, as *Plutarch* obſerves, had reaſon to believe that *Brutus* was his ſon.

a and attended by kings, was now flying in ſo mean a condition, and with ſo ſmall a retinue, that his very enemies could not know him. Thus he came to *Lariſſa*, but would not enter the city, notwithſtanding the preſſing invitations of the inhabitants, leſt their kindneſs to him ſhould provoke *Cæſar* and bring them into trouble; nay, he exhorted them to ſubmit to the conqueror, and have timely recourſe to his clemency. From *Lariſſa* he purſued his rout with *L. Lentulus*, the laſt year's conſul, *P. Lentulus*, and the ſenator *Favonius*, and in the evening reached the vale of *Tempe* in *Theſſaly*, greatly fatigued and deſtitute of all neceſſaries of life. There, as he was very thirſty, he kneeled down, and drank out of a river, which watered that fruitful plain. Then riſing up, he croſſed the valley, and, coming to the ſea-ſide, betook
b himſelf to a poor fiſherman's cottage, where he paſſed the remainder of the night. How dreadful this night muſt have been, not ſo much on account of the inconveniencies of the place, as of his own tormenting reflections, we leave the reader to judge. The next morning by break of day, he went into a ſmall boat on the river *Peneus*, and, taking his freemen along with him, diſmiſſed his ſlaves, adviſing them to go boldly to *Cæſar*, and not be afraid. As he was going in the boat along the ſhore, he happened to ſpy a great ſhip of burden, riding at anchor and juſt ready to ſet ſail. The maſter of the ſhip, by name *Peticius*, a *Roman* citizen (A), knowing *Pompey*, took him into his ſhip, together with the two *Lentuli*, *Favonius*, and ſuch of his attendants as he thought fit. Soon after they had got aboard, they diſcovered *Deiotarus*,
c tetrarch of *Galatia*, who had ſerved under *Pompey* and made his eſcape after the battle, flying full ſpeed towards the ſhore. At the requeſt of *Pompey*, *Peticius* ſtayed and took him in likewiſe. *Cicero* tells us, that this prince had joined *Pompey* before the battle, depending on the flight of birds, which, he thought, promiſed his arms good ſucceſs. As the illuſtrious *Roman* had diſmiſſed his attendants, *Favonius* performed the meaneſt offices about him, not ſcrupling to wait upon him at table and help to undreſs him. The ſhip purſued her courſe, touched at *Amphipolis*, on the confines of *Thrace* and *Macedon*, where *Pompey* took ſome money of his friends for his neceſſary expences, and in a few days made one of the ports of the iſland of *Lesbos*, with a deſign to take in *Cornelia*, *Pompey*'s wife, and his ſon *Sextus*, whom in the be-
d ginning of the war he had ſent to *Mitylene*, the capital of the iſland. He no ſooner arrived in the port, than he ſent a meſſenger into the city, not caring to come himſelf aſhore, with news very different from what *Cornelia* expected. For ſhe, having heard no news from her huſband ſince his ſucceſs near *Dyrrhacium*, believed that the war was near ended, and that there was nothing more remaining for *Pompey*, than to purſue *Cæſar* and diſperſe the few troops he had ſtill with him. The meſſenger, finding her ſtill in this perſuaſion, informed her of the misfortune of her huſband with his tears, before he could deliver her any meſſage; and the unfortunate *Cornelia* no ſooner heard of his defeat and forlorn condition, then ſhe fell down in a ſwoon, and continued a long time ſenſeleſs. When ſhe came to herſelf, ſhe ſtarted up and
e haſtened to the ſea-ſide, where the ſight of *Pompey* renewed her grief. She fainted away a ſecond time in his arms, and, as ſoon as ſhe recovered her ſpeech, ſhe vented her paſſion in the following words; *It is the effect of my cruel deſtiny, not of yours, that I ſee you thus dejected and reduced to one poor veſſel, who, before your marriage with the unfortunate* Cornelia, *were attended by a fleet of five hundred ſail. Why therefore ſhould you come to ſee me, or why rather ſhould you not have left her to a ſeverer fate, who has been the cauſe of all your misfortunes? How happy a woman had I been, if I had breathed out my laſt, before I received the fatal news from* Parthia *of the death of* Craſſus? *Or how prudent, if I had followed his deſtiny as I deſigned? But I was reſerved for a greater miſchief, for the ruin of* Pompey the Great. *Pompey* is ſaid to have anſwered her thus:
f *Dear* Cornelia, *you have been hitherto accuſtomed only to the ſmiles of fortune, which perhaps has deceived you in this, that ſhe has been conſtant to me beyond her cuſtom; but it behoves*

Pompey *arrives in* Mitylene.

The meeting of Pompey *and his wife* Cornelia.

(A) *Plutarch* tells us, that *Peticius* had dreamt the night before, that he ſaw *Pompey* in a deſpicable condition, and that, while he was telling his dream to the paſſengers, one of the mariners acquainted him, that he ſaw a little boat putting off from the ſhore, and that the perſons in it held out their hands, as if they deſired to be taken into his veſſel. Hereupon *Peticius* ſtanding up, obſerved a man in the ſame dreſs, in which *Pompey* had appeared to him in his dream; and not doubting but it was he, he expreſſed with tears his concern for him; and ordering the mariners to let down the ſhip's boat, he called him by his name, as he drew near, and took him in with all his attendants, ready to convey him to what part of the world he pleaſed (32).

(32) *Plut. in Pomp.*

hoves us, who are mortals, to bear with theſe afflictions, and try our fortune once again: neither ought we to deſpond; for it is as poſſible for us to retrieve our former happineſs, as it was to fall from it into our preſent calamity. All the *Mitylenians*, who ran to the port to pay their homage to their old protector, were witneſſes of this interview, and, being touched with compaſſion, invited *Pompey* into their city. But he returning them thanks for their kind invitation, anſwered, that he would by no means enter their gates, leſt he ſhould draw upon them the reſentment of the conqueror, to whom he adviſed them to ſubmit, ſince he was a man of great goodneſs and clemency. Then turning to *Cratippus* the philoſopher, who then lived at *Mitylene* and came among the reſt to pay his reſpects to his old friend, he began to repine and argue with him, touching the diſpenſations of providence. But *Cratippus* modeſtly declined the diſ- b
pute for fear of heightening his ſorrow, and only encouraged him to bear with conſtancy his preſent misfortunes. *Plutarch* obſerves here, that the philoſopher might have eaſily anſwered his objections, by ſhewing, it was neceſſary, on account of the diſorders which reigned in the republic, that the government ſhould be lodged in the hands of a ſingle perſon, and by aſking him, what grounds men had to believe that he, if conqueror, would have uſed his good fortune better than *Cæſar*. But the diſpenſations of providence, adds *Plutarch*, are in the hands of the Supreme Being, and there we muſt leave them [f].

He arrives at Attalia.

Pompey, having taken his wife and friends aboard, ſailed from *Mitylene*, ſteering his courſe towards *Cilicia*. The firſt place he touched at was *Attalia*, a city of *Pam-* c
phylia, where he found ſixty ſenators of his party, ſeven or eight ſhips of his fleet, and ſome bands of ſoldiers. Here he was informed, that *Cato* had rallied a conſiderable body of troops, and was paſſed with them over into *Africa*. From *Pamphylia* he ſailed with his ſmall fleet for the iſland of *Cyprus*, where he received advice, that the *Rhodians* had refuſed to admit into their ports one of the *Lentuli* and his attendants, and that *Antioch*, the capital of *Syria*, had, at the inſtigation of the *Roman* citizens who traded there, declared for *Cæſar*. Hereupon being at a loſs whither he ſhould ſteer his courſe next, he ſummoned a council of the few faithful friends who followed him, to conſider with them what place would yield him the ſafeſt refuge and retreat, in the preſent ſituation of his affairs. Some adviſed him to paſs over into *Africa*, and there d
join *Juba* king of *Mauritania*, who had eſpouſed his cauſe and exerted himſelf in it with great zeal. *Pompey* himſelf was for retiring into *Parthia*, as the only country that was fit to protect him in his preſent diſtreſs, and ſupply him with a ſufficient force to make head againſt his competitor. But this was looked upon by all his friends as the project of a man overwhelm'd with grief and reduced to deſpair: they repreſented to him, that the *Parthians* were the moſt inveterate enemies of the *Roman* name; that they had hitherto ſtood neuter, and declared. that they would not eſpouſe either party; that they were overjoyed to ſee the republick weakening herſelf by her own forces, and laſtly, that it was dangerous to expoſe the young and beautiful *Cornelia* to the brutalities of a diſſolute court. This laſt motive, which was of more weight e
with him than all the reſt, induced him to drop the deſign of ſeeking protection among the enemies of *Rome*, though he was much perplexed where to find a ſafe retreat among her friends and allies. Among thoſe who attended the illuſtrious *Roman* in his flight was *Theophanes*, a native of *Mitylene*, who, as he was famous for the extent of his knowledge, had a great influence over *Pompey*; and this he made uſe of on the preſent occaſion, perſuading him to retire to *Egypt*, which was but a voyage of three days ſailing, where he had reaſon to expect from young *Ptolemy*, his pupil, all poſſible aſſiſtance, ſince he had lately reſtored his father to his kingdom, which favour the young prince had gratefully acknowledged, by ſending him a fleet to be employed againſt *Cæſar*. As ſoon as the advice of *Theophanes* prevailed, *Pompey* and f
Cornelia with their attendants weighed anchor, and, leaving *Cyprus*, ſteered towards *Egypt*, ſome in gallies, others in ſhips of burden [g].

He deſigns to retire into Parthia.

Theophanes *perſuades him to fly into* Egypt.

Cæſar *purſues him.*

In the mean time, *Cæſar*, wholly intent on purſuing his rival, arrived at the *Helleſpont*, which he ventured to croſs with a ſmall number of galleys, but was met in his paſſage by *Pompey*'s fleet under the command of *Caius Caſſius*. *Cæſar* did not avoid him, though the fleet he commanded conſiſted, according to *Appian*, of ſeventy ſhips; but boldly making towards him, ſummoned him to ſurrender. *Caſſius* was ſo ſtruck with the boldneſs of *Cæſar*, and ſurpriſed at his intrepidity and good fortune, that

[f] Plut. in Pomp. Dio, l. xlii. [g] Plut. ibid. Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 53. Appian. ibid. p. 480. Dio, l. xlii. & Lucan. l. viii.

of his forces were diſperſed all over the city in their quarters, he would have been a overpowered, and tore in pieces by the populace, had he not from a balcony ſpoke to them, and aſſured them, that the difference between *Ptolemy* and his ſiſter ſhould be ſoon made up to the ſatisfaction of both. Accordingly the next day having aſſembled the people, he brought out *Ptolemy* and *Cleopatra* to them, and then cauſing their father's will publicly to be read, wherein it was ordered that his eldeſt ſon and eldeſt daughter ſhould, according to the cuſtom of the country, be joined in marriage and reign together, under the guardianſhip of the *Roman* people, he decreed, in virtue of that guardianſhip, which, he ſaid, was veſted in him, that *Ptolemy*, as being the eldeſt ſon, and *Cleopatra*, as being the eldeſt daughter of the deceaſed king, ſhould, according to the tenor of the ſaid will, reign jointly; and that *Ptolemy*, the b younger ſon of *Auletes*, and his other daughter, named *Arſinoe*, ſhould reign in *Cyprus*. This laſt he added by way of gift to appeaſe the people; for *Cyprus* had been ſome time before ſubdued by the *Romans*, and was then governed, like the other *Roman* provinces, by a prætor ſent annually from *Rome*. *Photinus* was the only perſon in the aſſembly, who did not applaud this decree. As that miniſter had been the chief cauſe of the breach between *Cleopatra* and her brother, and alſo of her expulſion out of the kingdom, he was well appriſed, that both his life and authority would be brought into danger by her return, and therefore exerted his utmoſt endeavours to prevent the execution of the decree. In order to this, he not only ſowed new diſcontents among the people, but prevailed upon *Achillas* to bring his army, conſiſting of c twenty thouſand men, from *Peluſium* to *Alexandria*, in order to drive *Cæſar* out of the city. This gave riſe to the *Alexandrian* war, ſo famous in hiſtory, of which we have given a very particular account in our hiſtory of *Egypt* [o]. King *Ptolemy* periſhing, in this war, *Alexandria* and all *Egypt* ſubmitted to the conqueror, who thereupon ſettled *Cleopatra* and the ſurviving *Ptolemy*, her younger brother, on the throne, as king and queen; which was putting the whole power into her hands, *Ptolemy* being then only eleven years old; but as he had engaged in ſo dangerous a war only for the ſake of that lewd woman, he made it turn the moſt he could to her advantage. In this war periſhed not only the king, but likewiſe *Achillas* and *Photinus*, with all the accomplices of *Pompey*'s murder, except *Theodotus*, who, abandoning *Egypt* for fear of d *Cæſar*, wandered up and down, deſpiſed and hated by all men, till *M. Brutus*, after *Cæſar*'s death, finding him in *Aſia*, which was his province, cauſed him to be put to death, after he had made him ſuffer the moſt exquiſite torments he could invent. The aſhes of *Pompey* were ſome time after conveyed to *Rome*, and delivered to his wife *Cornelia*, who buried them at his country-houſe in the neighbourhood of *Alba* [p].

Appraſed by Cæſar's *decree.*

The Alexandrian *war.*

CHAP. XIII.

The hiſtory of Rome, *from the death of* Pompey *to the death of* Cæſar.

Honours heaped upon Cæſar *at* Rome.

WHEN the news of *Pompey*'s death reached *Rome*, the ſenate and people e ſtrove who ſhould heap moſt honours on the conqueror, now become abſolute maſter of their liberties, lives, and fortunes. He was by the unanimous conſent of all the orders of the republic, proclaimed conſul for five years, named dictator, contrary to the ancient cuſtom, not for ſix months only, but for a whole year, declared tribune of the people, and head of that college for his life; impowered to make peace

[o] Vide Hiſt. Univerſ. Vol III. p. 675.

[p] Plut. in Pomp. Dio. Paterc. ibid.

ſhewing any manner of civility. Since therefore they all continued ſilent, *Pompey* took a little book in his hand, wherein he had wrote a *Greek* oration, which he intended to ſpeak to *Ptolemy*, and began to read it. When the boat drew near the ſhore, *Cornelia*, who never loſt ſight of her husband, and was very impatient to ſee the event, obſerved ſeveral perſons of diſtinction running to the ſea-ſide to meet him. Upon this the diſconſolate *Cornelia* took courage, imagining they were coming to wait upon *Pompey* and conduct him to the king; but in that inſtant, as *Philip* his freedman lent him his hand to help him out of the boat, *Septimius*, coming behind him, ran him through with his ſword: at the ſame time *Achillas* and *Salvius* falling upon him with their drawn ſwords, the unfortunate *Roman*, having no means of defending himſelf or making his eſcape, took up his gown with both hands, and covering his face neither ſpoke or did any thing unworthy of himſelf; but giving a groan, patiently received, without ſtirring, all their thruſts. *Cornelia*, who had kept her eyes fixed on her husband the whole time, ſeeing the ſwords of the aſſaſſins glitter about him, gave ſuch a ſhriek as was heard on the ſhore; but the mariners on board her galley, ſeeing the *Egyptian* fleet under ſail, immediately weighed anchor, and being favoured by a briſk gale, ſaved the virtuous *Cornelia* and her ſon *Sextus*, from captivity and the cruel outrages they had reaſon to fear from ſuch barbarous and inhuman aſſaſſins. *Cornelia* and her ſon were conveyed ſafe to *Cyprus*; but ſome of the other veſſels were taken by the *Egyptians*, and all thoſe who were on board moſt cruelly murdered [l].

Pompey the Great *cruelly murdered*, &c.

The head of *Pompey* was cut off, in order to be embalmed for a preſent to *Cæſar*; but the body was thrown naked upon the ſhore, and there expoſed to public view. *Philip* the freed-man ſtayed by it, watching it till the multitude had ſatisfied their curioſity; and then waſhing it with ſea-water, he wrapt it up in a garment of his own, and finding ſome rotten planks of a little fiſher-boat, he gathered them together for a funeral pile. While he was laying them together, an old *Roman*, who had ſerved from his youth under *Pompey*, came and helped him to perform the funeral rites (B). Such was the end of a hero, who in his youth had acquired the ſurname of *Great*, and had triumphed over three parts of the world; but having unfortunately imbarqued in a civil war, more out of a deſire of becoming ſole maſter of the republic, than a zeal for her preſervation when on the brink of ruin, he periſhed in it through his own ill conduct (C). The next Day *Lucius Lentulus*, the laſt year's conſul, who had left the iſland of *Cyprus*, and was ſailing along the coaſt, obſerving a funeral pile, and *Philip*, whom he did not know, ſtanding by it, from ſome ſecret apprehenſion of *Pompey*'s misfortune, came aſhore, and being told by *Philip*, that his apprehenſions were too true, he ſaid ſighing, *Alas! is this the fate of* Pompey the Great! and continuing immoveable, expreſſed his grief with a flood of tears. While he was thus bewailing the death of *Pompey*, he himſelf was ſeized by the king's guards and thrown into a dark priſon, where he was ſoon after put to death. [m]

Cæſar *arrives in* Egypt.

In the mean time, *Cæſar*, purſuing *Pompey* the ſame way he fled, ſteered his courſe towards *Egypt*, and arrived at *Alexandria* juſt as the news was brought thither of his death. Soon after he landed and entered the city, when the head of his rival was preſented to him, ſome ſay by *Theodotus*, others by *Achillas*, wrapt up in a veil, together with his ſeal, on which was engraved a lion holding a ſword in his paw; but

[l] Plut. in Pomp. Liv. l. cxii. Appian. p. 481. Vell. Paterc. l. ii. c. 53. Dio, l. xlii. [m] Plut. in Pomp. Cæs. bell. civil. l. iii.

(B) The poet *Lucan* tells us, that *Pompey*'s body was thrown into the ſea, and that *Servius Codrus*, who had been formerly *Pompey*'s quaſtor and had followed him from *Cyprus*, brought it aſhore, and buried it. His words are:

E latebris pavidus decurrit ad æquora Codrus,
Quæſtor ab Idalio Cynereæ littore Cypri;
Infauſtus Magni fuerat comes: ille per umbras
Auſus ferre gradum, victum pietate timorem
Compulit, ut mediis quæſitum corpus in undis
Duceret ad terram, traheretque ad littora Magnum.

Aurelius Victor adds, that *Codrus*, having burnt the body, buried the aſhes, and on the tomb wrote the following words: *Here lies* Pompey the Great.

(C) Had he continued in his camp at *Dyrrachium*, and near the ſea, of which he was maſter, he might have forced his rival to wander from province to province in ſearch of proviſions, and deſtroyed his army either by gradual loſſes, or uſeleſs conqueſts; but he ſuffered himſelf to be drawn into *Theſſaly*, and engaged his rival, when he might have conquered him without ſtriking a blow, *Cæſar*'s army being then reduced to the utmoſt extremity for want of neceſſaries. 'Tis true indeed, that his army forced him, in a manner, to quit his firſt camp; but this want of authority over his troops is juſt matter of blame in a general, who bore the ſurname of *the Great*.

a but *Cæsar*, with the utmost horror, turned his eyes from so dismal an object; and, reflecting on his former friendship with the deceased, the inconstancy of fortune, and the calamities which often attend the greatest men, burst into tears, and with a thundering voice ordered the messenger immediately to be gone. He kept the seal; but ordered the head to be buried with great solemnity in the suburbs of *Alexandria*, where he erected a temple to *Nemesis* the goddess of revenge. At the same time he prevailed upon *Ptolemy* to set at liberty all the friends of the illustrious deceased, who had been taken as they were straggling in those parts, and by his orders thrown into prison. These all joined their benefactor, who received them with marks of the most sincere friendship, signifying in all the letters he wrote to his friends at *Rome*, that the greatest b advantage and pleasure he reaped from his victory was, his saving every day the lives of some *Roman* citizens, who had taken arms against him [n].

Causes Pompey's *head to be buried.*

Cæsar being detained at *Alexandria* by the *Etesian* winds (D), which continue in those parts during the dog-days, in the beginning of which he entered that port, spent his time in demanding the money which the present king's father owed him, and in hearing and deciding the controversy between young *Ptolemy* and his sister *Cleopatra*. *Auletes*, as we have related in the history of *Egypt*, had engaged *Cæsar*, during his first consulate, by a promise of ten thousand talents, to get him confirmed in his kingdom by the *Roman* senate and people, and accounted among the friends and allies of that powerful state. Part only of this sum was then paid; and *Cæsar*, c wanting money to maintain his army, exacted the rest with rigour; which *Photinus*, who was *Ptolemy*'s prime minister, by several artifices made appear to the people to be greater than it was: for he stripped the temples of all their silver and gold vessels, and ordered the king's table to be served in wooden and earthen dishes, giving out, in order to stir up the mutinous populace of *Alexandria* against *Cæsar*, that he had seized all the silver and gold belonging to the temples of the gods and to the king. He also measured out to *Cæsar*'s soldiers, with a design to pick a quarrel with him before he was joined by the rest of his troops, musty and unwholsome corn, telling him, when he complained, that he must take it and be contented, since his army was maintained at the cost of another. This contemptuous treatment made *Cæsar*, d tho' he had then only three thousand two hundred foot and eight hundred horse with him, exact with more rigour the sum owing him; but *Photinus*, instead of paying it, pressed him every day to be gone, advising him to look after his other affairs, which were of greater consequence than such a paltry debt. *Cæsar* answered, That he was not come into *Egypt* to ask counsel, but to exact the money which the late king owed him, and to compose the differences between the present king and his sister *Cleopatra*, who were then at war. Accordingly soon after he issued out a peremptory order, injoining each of them to disband their armies, and bring the cause to his tribunal for a final decision. This was looked upon by the *Egyptians* as highly injurious to the sovereign majesty of their king, who, being an independent prince, acknowledged no superior, e and therefore was not to be judged by any man. To this *Cæsar* answered, That he did not take upon him to judge as a superior, but as an arbitrator appointed by the will of the late king, who had put his children under the tuition of the *Roman* people. This quieting all for the present, the cause was brought before *Cæsar*, and advocates were appointed on both sides to plead at his tribunal; but, in the mean time, *Cæsar*, being greatly taken with the charms and graceful behaviour of *Cleopatra*, from an impartial judge became her advocate, and betrayed a great inclination to favour her. This provoked *Ptolemy*, who thereupon stirred up the whole city of *Alexandria* against *Cæsar*. The *Roman* soldiers, who were near the king, seized him, while he was encouraging the inraged multitude to take up arms in defence of their sovereign, and f secured him in the house where their general lodged; but nevertheless, as the rest of

Photinus *endeavours to stir up the* Alexandrians *against* Cæsar.

Cæsar *summons* Ptolemy *and* Cleopatra *before him.*

A tumult in Alexandria.

[n] Plut. Appian. Cæs. ibid.

(D) By *Etesian* winds are meant such as blow at stated times of the year, from what part soever of the compass they come. They are so called from the *Greek* word ετος *a year*, being yearly or anniversary winds, such as our seamen call *monsoons* and *trade-winds*, which, in some parts of the world, continue constantly blowing for certain stated seasons of the year. Thus the north winds, which, during the dog-days, constantly blow upon the coasts of *Egypt*, and hinder all ships from sailing out of *Alexandria* for that season, are called *Etesiæ*, in *Cæsar*'s commentaries. In other authors the west and east winds are called *Etesiæ*, when they continue blowing for certain seasons of the year (33).

(33) *Vide Salmasii, exercit. in Solin. p.* 421, *&c*;

that he readily obeyed the ſummons, and joined *Cæſar* with his numerous fleet [h]. *Cicero* ſeems to inſinuate [i], that *Caſſius* did not join *Cæſar*, till after the war of *Alexandria*, when the conqueror was ſailing from *Egypt* to *Pontus*, to make war upon *Pharnaces* who had declared for *Pompey*. *Cæſar*, on his arrival in *Aſia*, to gratify *Theopompus*, who had made a collection of fables, enfranchiſed the *Cnidians* his country-men, and remitted one third of the taxes to all the *Aſiatics*. He likewiſe received under his protection the *Ionians*, *Æolians*, and other nations of *Aſia Minor*, who came to ſubmit to him and implore his protection. As he could have no certain account of the rout *Pompey* had taken, he reſolved to make what haſte he could to *Egypt*, fearing his rival ſhould get poſſeſſion of that rich and wealthy kingdom, rally his forces there, and, with the aſſiſtance of young *Ptolemy*, a prince highly obliged to him, renew the war. With this deſign he ſailed for *Rhodes*, ſtayed there till he was joined by two legions from the continent, and then ſet ſail for *Egypt*, without communicating his reſolution to any but *M. Brutus*, in whom he repoſed an intire confidence [k].

Pompey *arrives on the coaſt of* Egypt.

BUT *Pompey* arrived in *Egypt* before *Cæſar*; and being informed, that *Ptolemy* was at war with his ſiſter and incamped in the neighbourhood of *Peluſium*, he ſteered his courſe that way, and ſent a meſſenger before to acquaint the king with his arrival, and implore his protection. The king himſelf, who was very young, returned no anſwer to the meſſenger; but *Photinus*, *Achillas*, and *Theodotus*, who were the young prince's chief counſellors and had the greateſt influence over him, conſulted among themſelves about the reception of *Pompey*. *Photinus* was the chief miniſter of ſtate, *Achillas* the general of the armies, and *Theodotus* a mercenary teacher of rhetoric, but one who was in great eſteem with the king, as being his preceptor. While theſe three were conſulting, *Pompey*, riding at anchor at a great diſtance from the ſhore, was forced to wait the reſult of their deliberations; that *Pompey*, as *Plutarch* obſerves, who thought it beneath him to owe his ſafety to *Cæſar*, a *Roman* and his father-in-law, ſtooped ſo low as to lie at the diſcretion of three unworthy favourites. *Photinus* and *Achillas* were for receiving *Pompey*, thinking it would be a reproach to the *Egyptian* nation to abandon one in his diſtreſs, who had been guardian, friend, and zealous benefactor to their king; but *Theodotus* undertook to prove, that it was equally dangerous in that juncture of affairs to admit and refuſe him admittance. *If we receive him*, ſaid he, *we ſhall make* Cæſar *our enemy*, *and* Pompey *our maſter: if we diſmiſs him, we ſhall render ourſelves obnoxious to* Pompey *for that inhoſpitable expulſion, and to* Cæſar *for letting him eſcape*. He concluded, *that the ſafeſt expedient was to ſend for him and put him to death; for by that means they would ingratiate themſelves with the one, and have no reaſon to fear the other*; adding with a ſmile, *A dead man cannot bite*. This cruel advice was approved of, and the execution of it committed to *Achillas*, who, taking with him *L. Septimius* and *Salvius*, the former once a tribune and the latter a centurion in the *Roman* armies, and three or four officers more, went on board a ſmall veſſel, and made up towards *Pompey*'s galley, while the whole *Egyptian* army ſtood in battle array on the ſhore. The chief men, who attended *Pompey*, alarmed at the meanneſs of this reception, adviſed him to weigh anchor without delay and launch into the main; but the hero encouraged them, and in the mean time the *Egyptian* boat drawing near, *Septimius*, ſtanding up firſt, ſaluted *Pompey* in *Latin*, giving him the title of *imperator*. *Achillas* complimented him in *Greek*, and invited him on board his veſſel, telling him, that the ſea was ſo ſhallow near the ſhore, that his galley could not avoid ſtriking upon ſome ſhelve. *Pompey*, obſerving ſeveral of the king's galleys well manned, and the ſhore covered with ſoldiers, began to ſuſpect ſome treachery; but nevertheleſs, without betraying the leaſt diſtruſt, he took his leave of *Cornelia*, who already bewailed his death, and commanding two centurions, with *Philip* one of his freed-men and a ſlave called *Scenes*, to go on board the *Egyptian* boat before him, he himſelf followed, repeating to his wife and ſon as he went into the boat, the following iambics of *Sophocles*: *He that once falls into a tyrant's pow'r, Becomes a ſlave tho' he was free before*. As thoſe who were in the boat kept a profound ſilence, without paying the leaſt civility or ſpeaking a kind word to him all the way, in order to begin a converſation with *Septimius*, *Pompey*, looking earneſtly upon him, addreſſed him thus. *Methinks I ſhould know you friend*; *have we not been formerly fellow-ſoldiers?*. But *Septimius* anſwered with a nod only, without

The Egyptians *conſult about the receiving of* Pompey.

The advice of Theodotus.

Pompey's *reception.*

ſhewing

[h] SUET. in Jul. Cæſ. c. 63. APPIAN. p. 482, 483. [i] CIC. ad Attic. l. ii. epiſt. 15. [k] PLUT. in Bruto. APPIAN. p. 483. CÆS. ibid.

a peace and war with whom he pleaſed, to levy what forces he thought fit, *&c.* ſo that all the dignities and power of the republic now centered in *Cæſar* alone, who, without any violence or proſcriptions, was raiſed to a higher pitch of power and authority, than *Sylla* had acquired, by the death and baniſhment of innumerable citizens. As the new dictator could not then go in perſon to *Rome*, to take poſſeſſion of the many dignities conferred upon him, he appointed *Marc Antony* his general of the horſe, and ſent him with a detachment of troops to the capital, committing to him the government of *Italy*, during his abſence. As for the dictator himſelf, after he had put an end to the war of *Alexandria*, and ſettled his favourite *Cleopatra* on the throne of *Egypt*, he was forced to quit that kingdom, and march into the north of *Aſia* againſt

b *Pharnaces*, king of the *Cimmerian Boſphorus*, ſon of *Mithridates the Great*, who finding the *Romans* engaged in a civil war, had laid hold of that opportunity to attempt the recovery of his father's dominions in *Aſia*. In the very beginning of the troubles, he raiſed a powerful army, and, appointing *Aſander* governor of *Boſphorus* in his abſence, paſſed the *Euxine* ſea, and made himſelf maſter of *Colchis*, *Armenia Minor*, and ſeveral places in *Cappadocia*, *Pontus*, and *Bithynia*. After the battle of *Pharſalia*, *Cæſar* had ſent *Domitius Calvinus* with part of his army againſt him, committing to his care the government of all the provinces of *Aſia Minor*; but *Pharnaces*, having overcome *Domitius* in a pitched battle, made himſelf maſter of all the remaining parts of *Pontus* and *Cappadocia*. Puffed up with this ſucceſs, he treated the *Ro-*

c *man* merchants and publicans, who reſided at *Amiſus* the capital of *Pontus*, with great cruelty; and having ſeized all *Bithynia*, was preparing to paſs from thence into the province of *Aſia* properly ſo called. This extraordinary progreſs at length rouſed *Cæſar*, who was ſpending his time in wanton dalliances with *Cleopatra*, and put him again upon action. Having left part of his forces in *Egypt* to protect *Cleopatra*, he haſtened with the reſt into *Syria*; and, having appointed *Sextus Cæſar*, his relation, governor of that province, he purſued his march northward againſt *Pharnaces*. As he paſſed through *Galatia*, *Dejotarus*, who had ſided with *Pompey* and attended him in his flight, appeared before the dictator, in the habit of a ſuppliant and ſtripped of his royal robes, begging, he would extend to him the effects of the clemency, which

d had gained him greater glory than all his victories. The dictator was not much affected either with his ſubmiſſion or praiſes; but nevertheleſs, as he was naturally inclined to mercy, he freely pardoned him, and reſtored to him the enſigns of royalty; but at the ſame time ordered him to ſend forthwith to his aſſiſtance the legion, which he had trained up in the *Roman* diſcipline, and all his cavalry, to be employed againſt *Pharnaces*. With this reinforcment he entered the kingdom of *Pontus*, which *Pharnaces* had reconquered, and, without giving any reſpite either to himſelf or his troops, or hearkening to the propoſals of peace, which the king made, with no other view but to gain time, he advanced againſt him, attacked him, and gained a com-

e plete victory, an account of which he wrote to his friend *Aminitius* or *Anitius* in the following words *Veni, vidi, vici, I came, I ſaw, I conquered*; which, being all diſyllables and having the ſame cadence, happily expreſs the diſpatch of it. This victory, which was gained near the place where *Triarius* had been formerly defeated by *Mithridates*, repaired the honour of the *Roman* arms. After this defeat, *Pharnaces* fled with a thouſand horſe, the only remains of his vanquiſhed army, to *Sinope*, where he cauſed the horſes to be killed, and putting the men on board his ſhips in that port, he ſailed with them back to *Boſphorus*; but he was no ſooner landed, than *Aſander*, whom he had left his lieutenant in that kingdom, and who, in his abſence, had ſet up for himſelf, ſeized him, and, having put him to death, reigned in his ſtead. Here-

f upon *Cæſar* gave *Mithridates* the *Pergamenian* that kingdom, as a reward for the eminent ſervices he had done him in *Egypt*, as we have related in the hiſtory of that kingdom. But *Cæſar*, in declaring him king of *Boſphorus*, gave him only an empty title; for, *Aſander* being in poſſeſſion of it, he was to recover it by force of arms, in which attempt he loſt his life, inſtead of gaining the crown, being overcome and ſlain in battle by *Aſander*, who held the kingdom without any further oppoſition, the *Romans* not being at leiſure, on account of the inteſtine broils that ſtill continued among them, to give him any diſturbance [q].

Cæſar marches againſt Pharnaces.

Pardons Dejotarus.

Defeats Pharnaces.

And now *Cæſar*, having ſettled affairs in *Aſia* in the beſt manner he could, and left *Cælius Vinicianus* in *Pontus*, to keep that kingdom in awe, ſet out for *Rome*, attended

Sets out for Rome.

[q] Dio. l. xlii, Plut. in Cæs. Appian. Mithridat p. 254. Suet in Jul. Hirt. de bell. Alexand.

attended only with one legion. He paſſed through *Aſia*, and from thence croſſed a over into *Greece*, obliging every-where the publicans to bring to him the money, which, according to their engagements with the republic, they were to remit to the quæſtors at *Rome*. His ſudden arrival in *Italy* filled ſome with joy, others with fear, and kept the minds both of the ſenate and people in ſuſpenſe. They were well acquainted with the humanity of his temper; but, as he had been greatly provoked by the blind and inconſiderate zeal of ſome rigid republicans, they were afraid he might rather follow the examples of *Sylla* and his uncle *Marius*, than the dictates of his own good-nature. *Cicero* was one of the firſt who felt the effects of his clemency. That great orator had declared for *Pompey*, and, after his defeat, returned to *Italy*, where he had lived at ſome diſtance from the capital, not caring to appear b there, till he had obtained his pardon of *Cæſar*. He therefore no ſooner heard, that the dictator was landed at *Tarentum* and was marching from thence to *Brunduſium*, than he went to meet him, with an air of confidence mixed with fear and reſpect. *Cæſar*, who knew him while he was yet at ſome diſtance, in order to ſave him the confuſion of making ſubmiſſions, not ſuitable to the rank he had held in the republic, diſmounted, ran to meet him, and, having tenderly embraced him, walked a great while with him alone, without ſhewing the leaſt diſſatisfaction, or taking any notice of his paſt behaviour. *Cicero* was greatly taken with this kind reception; but nevertheleſs thought it adviſeable to keep at a diſtance from the capital, whither he repaired very ſeldom, and then only to make his court to the dictator. In his retirement he employed his c time in the ſtudy of philoſophy, and compoſed moſt of thoſe books, which will be the admiration of all ages. *Quintus Cicero*, the orator's brother, who had formerly ſerved under the dictator in *Gaul* as one of his lieutenants, and had received innumerable favours at his hands, had, in the very beginning of the war, abandoned him to follow *Pompey*; but, notwithſtanding his ingratitude, *Cæſar* pardoned him, at the earneſt intreaties of *Aulus Hirtius*, *Caius Trebonius*, and the famous *Titus Pomponius Atticus*, the orator's inſeparable friend, even in his greateſt misfortunes. Many others, who had borne arms againſt him, were not only pardoned, but received with great kindneſs, and even admitted to his confidence. This obliging behaviour, ſo different from that of *Sylla* and *Marius*, gained him the affections of the people, and drew d over great numbers of ſenators to his party, who had looked upon him before as a tyrant and uſurper. He entered *Rome* without the leaſt pomp or ſhew, being attended only by a ſmall number of legionaries; and finding great diſturbances in the city, occaſioned by a miſunderſtanding between *Marc Antony*, his general of the horſe, and *P. Cornelius Dolabella*, one of the tribunes of the people, who was no leſs attached to *Cæſar*'s intereſt than *Antony* himſelf, he reſtored *Rome* to its former tranquillity, and eaſily prevailed upon the people to reject the law, which *Dolabella* had promiſed, containing an abolition of all debts. This law had occaſioned the misunderſtanding between *Antony* and *Dolabella*, the former oppoſing it to the utmoſt of his power, and the latter ſtirring up the poor and meaner ſort of citizens to get it paſſed by e force. Matters were carried ſo far, that *Antony* was ordered by the ſenate to bring his troops into the city; and then a battle was fought in the very forum, between *Antony* and his legionaries on one ſide, and *Dolabella* at the head of the inſolvent debtors on the other; but the latter paid dear for their boldneſs, eight hundred of them being killed upon the ſpot; whereas the general of the horſe loſt only a very ſmall number of his men in the fray. *Cæſar*'s preſence put an end to all diſturbances. As he ſeemed to diſapprove the law, it was immediately rejected. Tho' he affected to govern according to the ancient laws of the republic, and pretended to leave both the ſenate and people in the full poſſeſſion of their former privileges, yet no one dared to oppoſe or contradict him. Thus no change, as to outward appearance, was viſible in *Rome*, and at the ſame time all orders of men were ſubordinate to the ſovereign will of the dictator. During his ſhort ſtay in the capital, he entertained the people with magnificent ſhews, and remitted them the rents of the houſes which they hired of the public. Afterwards he confiſcated the eſtates of thoſe who ſtill continued in arms againſt him, and cauſed them to be ſold publicly by auction. The lands, houſes, and moveables of *Pompey*, whoſe children ſtill diſturbed the public tranquillity, were, together with the effects of many others, expoſed in the forum to public ſale; but no-body bidding for thoſe of *Pompey*, out of reſpect to the memory of ſo great a man, *Marc Antony* purchaſed them at a very low price, and immediately took poſſeſſion of his houſe, where he ſpent his time, as is plain from *Cicero*'s ſecond *Philippic*, in a con-

How he received Cicero.

His clemency

Enters Rome

Appeaſes the diſturbances he found in the city.

Pompey's *houſe purchaſed by* Marc Antony.

tinued

a tinued ſcene of debauchery. When *Cæſar*'s officers demanded the ſmall ſum he had agreed to pay for *Pompey*'s houſe and moveables, he was highly offended, and treated them with great contempt, ſaying, He did not expect *Cæſar* would exact ſo paltry a debt of one who had done him ſo great ſervices. This provoked *Cæſar*, and occaſioned ſome coldneſs between him and his general of the horſe. As to *Cæſar*'s other friends, none of them had occaſion to complain of him, or repent their having embraced his party. As pontifex maximus, he appointed ſome of them augurs, others pontifices, others decemvirs, to whoſe care the *Sibylline* books were committed, and for their ſake increaſed the number of prætors to ten, filling that college with his friends and partizans. As the number of ſenators was greatly diminiſhed by the death

b of ſome and flight of others, he raiſed to the ſenatorial dignity the chief officers of his army, and ſuch of the knights as had followed his ſtandards. Tho' a few days only were wanting to the end of the conſular year, with which his dictatorſhip expired, he aſſembled the tribes in the *campus Martius*, and propoſed to them two of his lieutenants; *Q. Fufius Calenus* and *P. Vatinius*, to be choſen conſuls for the current year. This he did with no other view, but to honour with the conſular dignity thoſe two officers, who had ſerved, with great fidelity, under him in all his wars. The ſhortneſs of their conſulate made *Cicero* ſay by way of raillery, That the year, in which *Vatinius* and *Fufius* were conſuls, had neither ſpring, ſummer, nor autumn. The next year *Cæſar* cauſed himſelf to be created conſul; but did not part with the dictatorſhip. As conſul, he took for his collegue *M. Æmilius Lepidus*, who was juſt

c then returned from *Hither Spain*, which he had governed with great prudence and moderation. This was a great diſappointment to *Marc Antony*, who aſpired at the conſular dignity; but his late behaviour and ſcandalous debaucheries had alienated the dictator's mind from him; the more, becauſe he was hated by the people, on account of his haughty and imperious behaviour, while he diſcharged the office of general of the horſe [r].

Cæſar's ſecond conſulſhip.

And now *Cæſar*, having ſettled affairs in *Italy*, and taken the moſt proper meaſures to prevent any new diſturbances in the capital, was wholly intent on carrying the war into *Africa*, where *Pompey*'s party was ſtill very powerful, being headed by the fa-

d mous *Cato* and many officers of great diſtinction. When *Pompey* followed *Cæſar* into *Theſſaly*, he left in his camp at *Dyrrachium*, as we have obſerved above, fifteen cohorts, under the command of *Cato*. When news of *Pompey*'s overthrow was firſt brought to *Dyrrachium*, *Cato* reſolved with himſelf, if *Pompey* were killed, to lead the fifteen cohorts into *Italy*, there diſband them, and retire from the tyranny of *Cæſar*, as far as he could, and live in exile; but, if *Pompey* were ſafe, to keep the troops together for him. With this deſign he left *Dyrrachium*, which was too near *Theſſaly*, where *Pompey* had been defeated, and croſſed over to the iſland of *Corcyra*, where the fleet lay. There he found *Cicero*, to whom, as he was a ſcrupulous obſerver of the laws, he offered the command of the troops he had with him, ſince *Cicero* had a right

e to the firſt poſt, as having been conſul; whereas he had only been prætor. But *Cicero*, who already repented his having declared for *Pompey*, and was then returning to *Italy*, under various pretences declined the offer, which ſo provoked *Cneius*, *Pompey*'s ſon, that he reproached him with treachery and cowardice, and drawing his ſword, in the tranſport of his paſſion would have killed him on the ſpot, had not *Cato*, ſtarting up, laid hold of his arm, and held him, till the frightened orator was out of reach. The ſame night *Cato* conveyed him privately out of the camp, and by that means ſaved his life. *Cicero* immediately went on board a ſmall veſſel, and ſet ſail for *Brunduſium*, whence he wrote to *Oppius* and *Balbus* (E), two of *Cæſar*'s moſt zealous

Cato's behaviour after the battle of Pharſalia.

Cicero in great danger.

[r] Plut. in Cæſ. & Anton. Cic. Philip. ii. Macrob. Saturn. l. ii. c. 3. Epit. Liv. Cic. ad Attic. & paſſim alibi.

(E) *Caius Oppius* was one of *Cæſar*'s chief favourites. *Chariſius Aulus*, *Gellius*, and *Pliny* tell us, that he was a man of great learning, and the author of ſeveral works much eſteemed by the ancients, among the reſt, of the lives of *Scipio Africanus* and of *Pompey the Great*. *Plutarch* reproaches him with leſſening the exploits and glory of *Pompey*, and magnifying thoſe of *Cæſar*. In *Suetonius*'s time he was deemed the true author of the hiſtory of the *Alexandrian*, *African*, and *Spaniſh* wars, which paſſed then, and have been tranſmitted to us, under the name of *Hirtius*. The ſame writer aſcribes to *Oppius* ſeveral other works, none of which have reached our times. As for *Balbus*, he was a native of *Gades*, or, according to others, of *Carteia*. He ſerved firſt in the armies of *Quintus Metellus* and of *Pompey* againſt *Sertorius*. Several years after he became acquainted with *Cæſar*, while he governed *Spain* in quality of prætor, and was, at his recommendation, honoured with the rights and privileges of a *Roman* citizen. Theſe were afterwards called in queſtion; but *Balbus* found a zealous advocate in the perſon of *Cicero*, and

zealous partizans, conjuring them to uſe their good offices in his behalf, and excuſe him with the conqueror, for having inconſiderately followed *Pompey*'s party. While *Cicero* was ſailing towards *Italy*, many illuſtrious *Romans*, who had eſcaped from the battle of *Pharſalia*, arrived in the iſland of *Corcyra*, not knowing what rout *Pompey* had taken; ſo that *Cato* ſaw himſelf all on a ſudden at the head of a conſiderable army, and ſurrounded by many officers of diſtinction. That zealous republican did not doubt, but *Pompey* was fled either towards *Egypt*, where young *Ptolemy*, his pupil, reigned, or to the province of *Africa*, which *P. Accius Varus* had ſeized before the battle of *Pharſalia*, after having killed *Curio*, whom *Cæſar* had ſent againſt him, and cut his army in pieces: He therefore reſolved to haſten after him, and, having taken all his men on board, ſet ſail, ſteering his courſe towards *Africa*. Before he imbarqued, he gave thoſe, who were not willing to follow him, free liberty to depart and return to *Italy*. On his arrival in *Africa*, he found there *Sextus*, *Pompey*'s younger ſon, who gave him an account of his father's tragical death in *Egypt*. This news occaſioned a general conſternation among the troops; but nevertheleſs they all declared with one voice, that they were ready to ſhed the laſt drop of their blood in defence of their common liberties, and that, after *Pompey*, they would follow no other leader but *Cato*. Out of compaſſion therefore to ſo many brave men, who had given ſuch proofs of a ſincere love for their country, and whom he was aſhamed to abandon, in a ſtrange country amidſt ſo many difficulties, he took upon him the command, and, without delay, marched towards the city of *Cyrene*, which received him, tho' the inhabitants had a few days before ſhut their gates againſt *Labienus*. Here he was informed, that *Scipio*, *Pompey*'s father-in-law, had landed before him in *Africa*, and taken refuge in the dominions of *Juba* king of *Mauritania*, where he had found *Accius*, or, as *Plutarch* calls him, *Appius Varus*, at the head of a conſiderable army. Here-upon *Cato* reſolved to go and join them; and accordingly, having loaded a great many beaſts of burden with water and other neceſſary proviſions, he ſet out on his march, which was attended with inexpreſſible difficulties. His troops travelled for ſeveral days together through inhoſpitable deſerts, covered with burning ſands, and infeſted by lions, tigers, ſerpents of a monſtrous ſizes, *&c.* (F); ſo that they were obliged to be conſtantly on their guard night and day. Thus they marched ſeven days together, *Cato* himſelf being always the foremoſt, to encourage his men, who were quite exhauſted, by his example. *Plutarch* tells, that ſince the battle of *Pharſalia*, he had never mounted on horſeback, nor rid in a chariot; and that, to ſhew his concern, he had, ever ſince that fatal day, uſed to ſit at table, ſaying, That he never lay down but to ſleep (G). The ſoldiers, animated by the example of their leader, chearfully ſurmounted all difficulties, and arrived at length, to the number of ten thouſand men, at *Utica*. There a warm diſpute aroſe among the chief officers about the command of the army. *Varus*, who immediately joined *Cato*, together with *Scipio* and other ſenators of diſtinction, claimed the command as governor of *Africa*; which province had been allotted him by *Pompey* himſelf. On the other hand, the whole army demanded *Cato* for their leader; and even *Varus* and *Scipio* were willing to comply with their deſire: But *Cato* himſelf oppoſed his own promotion, ſaying, That he would not tranſgreſs thoſe laws, which he had taken arms to defend,

Cato retires to Africa.

Cato's march through the deſarts of Africa.

Cato declines the command of the army, which is conferred on Scipio.

and was ſolemnly acknowledged by the ſenate and people for a citizen of *Rome*. It was cuſtomary for foreigners honoured with this diſtinction, to aſſume the name of the perſon they choſe for their patron; and agreeable to this cuſtom *Balbus* took the name of *Cornelius*, having choſen *Lentulus*, who was of the *Cornelian* family, for his patron. Before the war broke out between *Cæſar* and *Pompey*, one *Theophanes*, a great favourite of the latter, adopted *Balbus*, and appointed him his heir. *Sidonius Apollinaris* commends ſome memoirs written by *Balbus* after the manner of a journal: *Quis Balbi ephemeridem*, ſays he, *fando adæquaverit* (34)?

(F) *Plutarch* tells us, that *Cato* took with him on his march ſome of thoſe who were called *Pſilli*, and made it their buſineſs to cure the biting of ſerpents, by ſucking out the poiſon. This is no extraordinary matter; for we read in *Homer*, that, in ancient times, wounds were cured by ſucking. But theſe *Pſilli* pretended, as we read in *Plutarch*, to a power of inchanting the ſerpents, and diſarming them of their fury, by ſtupifying them and laying them aſleep. We find in holy ſcripture inſtances of perſons, who pretended to that power, which they vaunted as miraculous. Upon this is founded, what we read in *Jeremiah*; *For, behold, I will ſend ſerpents, cockatrices among you, which will not be charmed* (35). But theſe wretched inchanters often paid dear for their preſumption.

(G) This was a token of mourning, which we know not what to make of now-a-days. On the contrary, we ſhould think a lying poſture at our meals very inconvenient; but this ſingle example of *Cato* inconteſtably proves, that it was preferred in thoſe days, and that ſitting at table was looked upon as a very incommodious poſture.

(34) *Sidonius Apollin. l.* ix. *epiſt.* 24. *Plin. l.* viii. *Dio Caſſ. l.* xlviii. *Cic. ad Attic.* iii. *epiſt.* 7.
(35) *Jerem. c.* viii. *ver.* 17.

a defend; and that he, who was only proprætor, ought not to command in the preſence of *Scipio*, who was proconſul. He added, that every one would look upon it as a good omen, to ſee a *Scipio* at the head of a *Roman* army in *Africa*, and that the very name would inſpire the ſoldiers with courage. *Cato*'s words decided the diſpute; all readily yielded to *Scipio*, who, being declared commander in chief of all the forces of the republic in *Africa*, appointed *Labienus*, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in ſeveral wars under *Cæſar*, his firſt lieutenant. *Juba*, king of *Mauritania*, no ſooner heard of *Cato*'s arrival, than he came to *Utica*, to confer with him and the other officers. That prince had always ſhewn a great attachment to *Pompey* and his party; but, as he now thought they could not well do without him, he aſſumed an air
b of grandeur and pride, which gave great offence to *Cato*. The firſt time he had an interview with *Cato* and *Scipio*, he ordered his own ſeat to be placed in the middle; which *Cato* obſerving, he took up his own chair, and placed himſelf on the other ſide of *Scipio*, to whom he thus gave the moſt honourable place. Such was the pride and haughtineſs of thoſe republicans, even at the time their republic was ready to ſink, if not ſupported by foreign ſtates and princes. Under *Scipio* were ſeveral officers of great diſtinction and experience in war, namely, *Labienus*, *Afranius*, *Petreius*, the two ſons of *Pompey*, *Cneius* and *Sextus*, *Fauſtus Sylla*, who had married their ſiſter, beſides a great number of ſenators and knights, all reſolved to prefer death to the loſs of their liberty, and either ſave the republic, or fall with it. King *Juba* promiſed
c to aſſiſt them to the utmoſt of his power, and join them with all his forces, as ſoon as the ſeaſon of the year would allow him to take the field [f].

Cæſar, now maſter of all *Aſia*, *Greece*, *Egypt*, and *Italy*, reſolved to carry the war forthwith into *Africa*, and there cruſh the remains of *Pompey*'s party; but while he was making the neceſſary preparations for that expedition, news was brought him, that the tenth legion, which he had always favoured in a particular manner, had openly revolted, and killed *Galba* and *Coſconius*, two officers of the ſenatorial order, who had endeavoured to appeaſe them. *Cæſar*, ſurpriſed at this unexpected attempt of his favourite legion, immediately diſpatched *Criſpus Salluſtius*, the famous hiſtorian, to quell the ſedition with his eloquence, and bring back the mutinous legion to their
d duty. *Salluſt* had great obligations to *Cæſar*, who had cauſed him to be appointed one of the ten prætors in the late election, after having reſtored him to his place in the ſenate, which he had forfeited by his infamous debaucheries. He therefore flew to *Capua*, where the mutineers were then encamped: but found it a more difficult task to appeaſe a ſeditious ſoldiery, then to harange a diſarmed multitude. He was forced to ſave himſelf by flight from their fury, and haſten back to *Rome*, to acquaint *Cæſar*, that the rebellious legion, without hearkening to any terms, were in full march towards the capital. The dictator, amazed at their boldneſs, placed guards at the gates of the city, on the ramparts, and in all open places; and then, as they drew near, ſent ſome truſty officers to aſk them what they wanted. Their ring-
e leaders anſwered, that they wanted to ſpeak with *Cæſar* himſelf. *Let them come into the city then*, replied *Cæſar*, *and appear in the field of* Mars, *without any other arms but their ſwords*. Upon this, being admitted within the walls, they marched in good order to the appointed place, and there waited for *Cæſar*, who, without hearkening to the advice of his friends, went immediately to hear their complaints. The preſence of a general, famous for ſo many victories, inſpired them with ſuch awe and reſpect, that even the boldeſt among them could not utter a ſingle word. Then *Cæſar*, mounting his tribunal, encouraged them to ſpeak and lay their complaints before him. Hereupon they took courage, and begged him to diſcharge them, alledged their age, their wounds, and their long ſervice. As *Cæſar* was entering on
f a new war, they expected he would have courted them, and with large preſents inticed them to follow him. They were therefore thunder-ſtruck, when he anſwered, without ſhewing the leaſt ſurpriſe or concern, *Your demand is juſt*; *I do diſcharge you*, *and you may be gone*. *Cæſar*, perceiving the conſternation and ſurpriſe theſe words occaſioned among them, after having kept ſilence for ſome time, added, *I do not*, *however*, *deſign to rob you of your rewards*; *theſe I will give you*, *when I ſhall have triumphed over the reſt of my enemies*. At theſe words they crouded round his tribunal, begging, that, ſince he intended to reward them, he would ſuffer them to deſerve the promiſed rewards with further ſervices. But *Cæſar*, without ſeeming to take notice of their demand,

Cæſar *reſolves to carry the war into* Africa.

The tenth legion mutinies.

Cæſar's *addreſs in appeaſing the mutiny.*

[f] Plut. in Cat. Appian. bell. civil. l. ii. Hirt. de bell. Afric. Dio. l. xliii.

demand, *Go, fellow-citizens*, ſaid he, *return to your houſes and families*. The word *fellow-citizens*, inſtead of *fellow-ſoldiers*, was like a clap of thunder in their ears. They all cried out, that they were ſoldiers, that they had not accepted of their diſcharge, and that they would follow him into *Africa*. But *Cæſar*, pretending to deſpiſe both their offers and ſubmiſſions, turned his back upon them, and came down from his tribunal. Then the legionaries, throwing themſelves at his feet, conjured him rather to inflict ſuch puniſhments upon them as their inſolence deſerved, than to diſband them in ſo ſhameful a manner. He continued long inflexible; but at length, pretending to be overcome by the importunity of his friends, he aſcended the tribunal once more, and, addreſſing himſelf to them, told them, That the revolt ſurpriſed him ſo much the more, as it came from a legion, which he had always diſtinguiſhed above the reſt; that nevertheleſs he could not prevail upon himſelf to puniſh thoſe, whom he had once ſo tenderly loved; that, on his return from *Africa*, he would give them the rewards he had promiſed, and lands too for their ſubſiſtence; but that he would not by any means ſuffer them to attend him in the expedition he was now undertaking, in order to convince them that he could conquer without them. This ſpeech made ſo deep an impreſſion on their minds, that, with tears in their eyes, they begged he would rather decimate them than debar them from ſharing with him the glory of his victories. *We will follow you as voluntiers*, they all cried out with one voice, *if you refuſe to admit us in the number of your legions*. Theſe words, which were manifeſtly ſpoken from a true ſenſe of their crime. and a ſincere repentance, touched *Cæſar*; he could no longer diſſemble, but ſtyling them again *fellow-ſoldiers*, he not only freely forgave them, but declared, that they ſhould ſhare with him both the glory and advantages of all his victories [t]. Having thus by his intrepidity, reſolution, and addreſs, regained the affections and confidence of the rebellious legion, he purſued with great ardour the neceſſary preparations of the new war in *Africa*, ordering his legions in the mean time to aſſemble at *Rhegium*, the place of the general rendezvous. Thither he repaired ſoon after himſelf, and finding there but one legion of new levies and ſix hundred horſe, with them he croſſed over into *Sicily*, leaving orders for the other legions to follow him with all poſſible expedition. On his arrival in *Sicily*, he incamped on the ſhore, declaring, that he was determined to ſet ſail, as ſoon as the wind proved favourable, without waiting for the five legions and a body of two thouſand horſe, who were in full march to join him. Accordingly on the ſixth of the calends of *January*, that is, on the thirteenth of *September*, according to the computation which then obtained, the wind blowing fair, he embarqued the troops he had with him, and in the evening weighed anchor, leaving orders with *Alienus* prætor of *Sicily*, to convey over to him the other legions, as ſoon as they came up. In four days he arived off *Adrumetum* on the coaſt of *Africa*; and having landed his troops at a ſmall diſtance from that city, by the advice of *Plancus*, one of his lieutenants he ſent to ſummon *Conſidius*, who commanded in the place, to deliver it up to him; but *Conſidius*, truſting in his numerous gariſon, which conſiſted of two legions and three thouſand *Mauritanian* horſe, killed with his own hand the meſſenger, and then marched out at the head of all his troops to attack *Cæſar* in the camp he had formed in great haſte, and conſequently but very indifferently fortified. *Cæſar* thought it adviſeable to abandon his camp, and retire in good order, marching along the coaſt towards *Ruſpina*, at a ſmall diſtance from *Adrumetum*. *Conſidius* purſued him, and greatly haraſſed his troops on their march. On this occaſion it was, that thirty *Gauliſh* horſe, who marched in the rear, put to flight two thouſand *Mauritanian* horſe, and drove them back to the very gates of *Adrumetum*. *Cæſar* with much-ado reached *Ruſpina*, being continually haraſſed by the enemy's parties; but not finding ſufficient proviſions in that neighbourhood to ſubſiſt his army, he turned towards *Leptis*, ſituate on the coaſt between the two *Syrtes*. As *Leptis* was a free city, the inhabitants opened their gates to him, and ſupplyed his army in the beſt manner they could. He had not been long here, before part of the troops he expected from *Sicily* arrived on board ſome galleys and a ſmall number of tranſports. Theſe informed him, that the reſt of the fleet were ſteering their courſe towards *Utica*; which gave *Cæſar* great uneaſineſs, that city being in the hands of the enemy. He therefore immediately diſpatched *Rabirius Poſthumius*, with orders to ſail along the coaſt, and direct to *Leptis* ſuch of his veſſels as he ſhould meet on his courſe. In the mean time, as

Cæſar pardons the mutineers.

He paſſes over into Sicily.

And from thence into Africa.

Is admitted into Leptis.

[t] Appian. Hirt. Liv. Dio. ibid.

a as the enemy were maſters of the country, and *Cæſar* in a manner beſieged in *Leptis*, his army was reduced to great ſtraits for want of proviſions; forage eſpecially was become ſo ſcarce, that he was forced to feed his horſes with a ſea-weed, which he mixed with graſs, to take off its ſaltneſs. He ſent out indeed ſeveral parties to bring in proviſions; but they had always the misfortune to fall in with the enemy, who narrowly watched their motions, and return with great loſs. One day a party of horſe, whom he ſent out to forage, meeting an *African*, who played with great art on the flute, diſmounted to hear him, leaving the care of their horſes to their ſervants; but, in the mean time, the enemy falling upon them unexpectedly, cut moſt of them in pieces, and purſued the reſt to their camp; which they would have entered with b the fugitives, had not *Cæſar* and *Aſinius Pollio*, at the head of a few cohorts, put a ſtop to their flight, by placing themſelves in the gate of the camp, and by that means obliging the horſe to face the enemy. In another encounter, which happened a few days after, the beſt part of *Cæſar*'s foot was put to flight by a ſtrong detachment from *Scipio*'s army. On this occaſion *Cæſar*, ſeeing one of the ſtandard-bearers flying with the reſt, taking hold of him by the collar, forced him to face about, ſaying, *Look that way*; *the enemy is there*. However, he could not prevail upon his frightened troops to ſtand their ground; but was forced himſelf to give way, and retire with them in no ſmall diſorder to his camp. As he was daily more and more ſtraitened for want of proviſions, and durſt not venture out of his camp with the few forces he c had with him, he reſolved to go himſelf in queſt of his fleet; and accordingly embarquing in the dead of the night, he ſet ſail, attended only with a ſmall number of officers. The next day, when the ſoldiery miſſed him, they gave all up for loſt, and it was with the utmoſt difficulty that the lieutenants, tribunes, and centurions kept them from abandoning their camp and deſerting to *Scipio*, who, with ten legions and twenty elephants, was advancing againſt them. But their fears were ſoon calmed; for *Cæſar*, the next day meeting by good fortune the reſt of his fleet, returned with them to *Leptis*, and decamped as ſoon as they were landed, with a deſign to advance farther into the country. He had ſcarce marched three miles, when his ſcouts brought him word, that the enemy appeared; and ſoon after he diſcovered a very numerous d army, which covered the whole plain, advancing in good order towards him. *Cæſar* immediately ordered his men to halt, and having drawn them up in one line, to prevent their being ſurrounded, waited in order of battle to receive the enemy's firſt onſet. This numerous body of *Roman* and *Mauritanian* forces was commanded by *Labienus*, who attacked *Cæſar* with ſuch fury, that he had need of all his courage and experience, to prevent his troops from flying back to their camp, and leaving the enemy maſter of the field. He was ſurrounded on all ſides, and would have been cut in pieces with all his men, had not a ſoldier of the tenth legion, by killing *Labienus*'s horſe, occaſioned ſome confuſion among the enemy's battalions. Thoſe who were next to the general, ſeeing him fall and believing him dead, gave ground, and began to e retire. *Cæſar*, obſerving the conſternation they were in, advanced at the head of a choice body of legionaries, and attacking with great intrepidity and reſolution the enemy's firſt line, put them to flight, before *Labienus*, who was ſtunned with his fall, recovered himſelf; but as *Labienus*'s ſecond line ſtill kept their ground, *Cæſar* thought it adviſeable not to attack them, but march back in good order to his camp, before the firſt line could rally, which they were attempting to do, being commanded by officers of great experience and conduct. As *Cæſar* was retreating, *M. Petreius* and *Cneius Piſo*, two zealous partizans of *Pompey*, appeared unexpectedly at the head of eleven hundred *Numidian* horſe and a numerous body of light-armed infantry, and fell upon his rear. We are told, that *Petreius* on this occaſion, remembering the f favours he had formerly received at *Cæſar*'s hands, ſpared his benefactor, under the pretence that he ought not to rob his general of the glory of completing the victory. Be that as it will, *Cæſar* got ſafe to his camp at *Leptis*, and from thence marched the ſame night to *Ruſpina*. In the mean time, *Scipio* joined his lieutenant *Labienus* with eight legions and four thouſand horſe; and then *Cæſar*, intrenching himſelf under the walls of *Ruſpina*, diſpatched meſſenger after meſſenger to *Italy* and *Sicily*, acquainting his friends with the danger he was in, and intreating them to ſend him ſpeedy ſuccours, without which he ſhould be obliged to abandon *Africa*, and return with ſhame and diſgrace to *Italy*. *Alienus*, prætor of *Sicily*, upon the firſt notice of his danger, ſent him powerful ſuccours; which were no ſooner arrived, than he reſolved g to march out of his camp and offer *Scipio* battle, who, with an army twice as numerous

Is greatly diſtreſſed for want of proviſions.

Several of his parties defeated.

Meets Labienus.

His army in danger of being cut in pieces.

Retires in good order to his camp.

Receives reinforcements from Sicily.

rous as his, was incamped at a ſmall diſtance, to prevent his drawing any forage or provisions from the neighbouring country. *Cato*, who commanded in *Utica*, being informed of the enemy's motions, wrote a letter to *Scipio*, adviſing him, as he had before done *Pompey*, by no means to hazard a battle, with a commander experienced in war and encouraged with ſucceſs; but to uſe delay, which, he ſaid, would cool the heats and paſſions of men, which are the chief ſupport and ſtrength of uſurpers; but *Scipio*, flushed with his late ſucceſs, not only rejected his advice, but wrote a letter to him, wherein he reproached him with cowardice, ſince he was not content himſelf to lie ſecure within walls and trenches, but muſt hinder others from making uſe of their courage, and laying hold of the opportunities of conquering which offered. Then *Cato* openly declared, that he was ſorry he had yielded the command to *Scipio*, who, ſaid he, will not uſe his power wiſely in war, and if he ſhould, contrary to all appearance, ſucceed, will, without all doubt, uſe his ſucceſs as unjuſtly at home; nay, he even told his friends, That, if *Scipio* ſhould conquer, he did not doubt, but he would prove as cruel and arbitrary a tyrant as *Cæſar* himſelf [u].

b

But, to return to *Cæſar*: being informed that the enemy laid great ſtreſs on an oracle, importing, that the family of the *Scipio*s ſhould be always victorious in *Africa*, and having in his army a mean and contemptible man of that family, known by the name of *Scipio Salutio*, he gave him the title of general, either in raillery, as *Plutarch* obſerves, to ridicule *Scipio*, who commanded the enemy's army, or ſeriouſly, to bring over the omen to his ſide. After this, he quitted his camp at *Ruſpina*, and marched ſtraight to *Utica*, with a deſign to draw the enemy to a general engagement, by threatening to lay ſiege to that city, which was the great magazine of all their proviſions and ammunition. He incamped before the place, without being in the leaſt diſturbed by the enemy, who were unwilling to engage before the arrival of *Juba* king of *Mauritania*, whom they daily expected with eighteen thouſand foot, eight hundred horſe, and thirty elephants. At length the king arrived with the expected ſuccours, and, together with *Scipio* and *Labienus*, formed three different camps, which in a manner blocked up that of *Cæſar*, who was again greatly diſtreſſed for want of proviſions, the enemy having laid waſte all the neighbouring country. While he was thus beſieged, news was brought him, that the ninth and tenth legions were at length arrived from *Sicily*, and in full march to join him. Hereupon *Cæſar*, leaving in his camp a ſufficient number of troops to defend his works, marched out with the reſt to meet them, and brought them ſafe to his camp before *Utica*. As he now thought himſelf ſtrong enough to cope with the enemy, he drew out his forces in order of battle for ſeveral days together; but the enemy not accepting the challenge, he reſolved to decamp, and, leaving *Utica*, which was in a condition to ſuſtain a long ſiege, to attack *Thapſus*, a place of great importance, but not ſo well provided and fortified. *Juba*, *Scipio*, and *Labienus* followed him, and incamped ſeparately about fifteen hundred paces from the enemy. *Cæſar* was no ſooner informed that they were intrenching themſelves, than he marched out of his camp, and making his way with incredible expedition, through thick woods and a country almoſt impaſſable, fell upon *Scipio*'s men, before they had completed their works, put them to flight, and then attacking firſt *Labienus*'s camp, and afterwards *Juba*'s, made himſelf maſter of them, and killed fifty thouſand of the enemy in the three camps, with the loſs only of fifty of his own men. After this battle, *Thapſus*, *Adrumetum*, and *Zama* immediately ſubmitted; and the heads of the party, giving all up for loſt, either laid violent hands on themſelves, or were taken and put to death by the enemy. *Scipio* endeavoured to ſave himſelf by ſea; but his veſſel being taken, he choſe rather to die, than owe his life to the conqueror. *Juba* and *Petreius* fought death in a ſingle combat, in which *Juba* being killed, *Petreius* ordered one of his ſlaves to diſpatch him. *Afranius* and *Sylla*, with a ſmall body of troops, took their rout along the coaſt of *Africa*, with a deſign to join the two ſons of *Pompey*, whom *Cato* had ſent into *Spain*; but were met, defeated, and taken by *Sitius*, one of *Cæſar*'s lieutenants, who would have ſaved them; but his ſoldiers in a mutiny cut them in pieces. Of all the heads of *Pompey*'s party, *Labienus* alone found means to make his eſcape, and convey himſelf ſafe into *Spain*. And now the enemy's forces being diſperſed, and their leaders either fled or killed, all *Africa* ſubmitted, except the city of *Utica*, where *Cato* commanded, and had formed a kind of ſenate, compoſed of three hundred *Romans*, who had repaired to him from different parts.

Cæſar marches to Utica.

Is in a manner blocked up by the enemy.

Marches to attack the enemy and defeats them.

The chief men of Scipio's *army either killed or taken.*

All Africa, *except* Utica, *ſubmits.*

c

d

e

f

[u] Plut. in Cat. & Cæſ. Appian. Hirt. ibid.

a part. The news of the victory gained by *Cæſar* at *Thapſus* threw the whole city into the utmoſt conſternation. Some of the citizens betook themſelves to their arms; others thought of nothing but how to ſave themſelves from falling into the hands of the conqueror. But *Cato* endeavoured to calm their fears, repreſenting to them, that perhaps things were not ſo bad in truth, but more than half increaſed by fame, as is uſual in war. Thus he quelled the tumult for ſome time; and having called together his ſenate or council, conſiſting of three hundred *Roman* citizens he firſt commended their courage and fidelity, and then intreated them by no means to ſeparate, ſince, while they kept together, *Cæſar* would have leſs reaſon to deſpiſe them, if they fought againſt him, and be more ready to pardon them, if they ſubmitted to him. Conſult among your ſelves, ſaid he; if you think fit to ſubmit, I will impute

b your reſolution to neceſſity; but if you reſolve to ſtand up in defence of your rights and liberties, I will be your companion, and, if you think fit, your leader. We are to fight againſt one, whoſe affairs are not in ſo good a condition as is generally believed. *Spain* has already declared for the ſons of *Pompey*; *Rome*, unaccuſtomed to ſlavery and oppreſſion, will be ready to ſhake off the yoke upon every turn of affairs; *Italy* will never ſubmit to a ſovereign, who acknowledges no other law but his own caprice; *Utica* is well furniſhed with all ſorts of proviſions and military engines, and in a condition to ſtem the courſe of this mighty conqueror's victories. Let us therefore defend to the laſt what ought to be more dear to us than our lives and fortunes. Notwithſtanding the uncertainty of war, we ſhall lead a moſt happy life, if we ſuc-

c ceed, or die a moſt glorious death, if we miſcarry. *Cato*'s words inſpired even the moſt cowardly with courage. They forgot the preſent danger, and declared with one voice, that they would ſtand a ſiege, proteſting they would rather die with *Cato*, than ſave themſelves by abandoning a perſon of ſuch exalted virtue. When they came to deliberate about the proper meaſures for the defence of the place, ſome were for ſetting the ſlaves at liberty; but this *Cato* oppoſed, ſaying, That no ſlave ought to be ſet at libery without the conſent of his maſter. We ought not, ſaid he, even in our preſent circumſtances, to make free with the property of others; but let every one diſpoſe as he pleaſes of what is his own. Some of the ſenators immediately ſet

d their ſlaves at liberty, and furniſhed them with arms; but the greater part of them, forgetting their former reſolution, ſhewed great backwardneſs in parting with their ſlaves, from whoſe labour they drew great advantages. Why ſhould we riſque all, ſaid they among themſelves, to preſerve *Utica?* Have we forgot what enemy we have to deal with? Is it not that *Cæſar*, to whom all the power of *Rome* has ſubmitted? and which of us is a *Pompey*, a *Scipio*, or a *Cato?* Now that all men give way to *Cæſar*'s fortune, ſhall we alone engage for the liberty of *Rome*, and in *Utica* declare war againſt one, who has driven *Pompey the Great* and *Cato* himſelf out of *Italy?* No, let us know ourſelves, ſubmit to the conqueror, and ſend deputies to implore his mercy. *Cato*, tho' he perceived the change, took no notice of it; but wrote to *Juba*,

e who, with a ſmall body of men, was retired to a neighbouring mountain, and to *Scipio*, who lay at anchor under a promontory near *Utica*, adviſing them not to come near the place, ſince he ſuſpected the fidelity both of the inhabitants and of the ſenators who formed his council. Not long after, a conſiderable body of horſe, who had eſcaped from the battle, appearing at ſome diſtance from *Utica*, ſent a meſſenger to acquaint *Cato* with the different ſentiments that prevailed among them, and to aſk his advice; for ſome were for joining him; others, not caring to lock themſelves up in the city, were for going to *Juba*. *Cato* haſtened out to confer with their leaders, whom he intreated not to abandon ſo many worthy ſenators, but to ſeek the mutual ſafety of one another, and to come into the city, which was impregnable and well

f furniſhed with corn and other proviſions for many years. The ſenators likewiſe, who attended *Cato*, with tears in their eyes beſought them to ſtay. Hereupon the officers went to conſult the ſoldiers; but, in the mean time, news was brought to *Cato*, that the greater part of his ſenators were raiſing a tumult in the city, and ſtirring up the inhabitants to exclude *Cato* and ſend deputies to *Cæſar*. This news being immediately divulged among the horſe, they deſired their officers to return to *Cato* with this anſwer, That they ſhould not be afraid of *Cæſar*, while they followed *Cato*, whom they were ready to join, provided he would either drive out of the city, or cut in pieces, all the *Uticans*, who would not fail to betray them and plot their ruin, as ſoon as *Cæſar* appeared. This condition ſeemed too cruel to the virtuous *Cato*, who therefore choſe rather to deprive himſelf of ſo powerful and neceſſary a ſupply, than conſent

Cato *encourages the* Romans *in* Utica *to ſtand a ſiege.*

The ſenate at Utica *reſolves to ſubmit.*

Cato's *humanity.*

to it. Upon his return to the city, the ſenators of his council openly declared, that a they were neither able nor willing to withſtand *Cæſar*; nay, they even threatened to ſeize thoſe ſenators, who were for ſtanding a ſiege, and to deliver them up to *Cæſar*. Hereupon *Cato* with much-ado prevailed upon the horſe to ſtay, at leaſt one night, in the city, in order to facilitate the eſcape of thoſe worthy ſenators, who were thus threatened by the reſt. While they were preparing to ſet out, news was brought, that *Cæſar* was drawing near with his whole army; and then *Cato*, ordering all the gates to be ſhut, except one towards the ſea, attended his friends to the port, and putting them on board ſome veſſels he had prepared for that purpoſe, he returned to the city, and diſmiſſed the body of horſe, adviſing ſeveral of his friends to join them, and abandon a city, which would ſoon fall into the enemy's hands. *Plutarch* ob- b ſerves, that tho' he was very preſſing with his other friends to ſave themſelves by flight, yet he gave no ſuch advice to his ſon, not thinking fit to perſuade him to abandon his father. As *Cæſar* drew near, the ſenators, who remained in *Utica*, appointed *Lucius Cæſar*, a relation of the conqueror, who had followed *Pompey*'s party, to intercede for them and make their ſubmiſſions to the dictator. *Cato* approved of their choice, and even compoſed the ſpeech, with which he was to addreſs *Cæſar*. *Lucius*, in taking his leave of *Cato*, told him, That he ſhould not ſcruple to kiſs the hands and fall at the knees of *Cæſar* in his behalf; but *Cato* would by no means give him leave ſo much as to mention his name. *I will not*, ſaid he, *be indebted to a tyrant, for thoſe very things which are marks of tyranny: to ſave men is an inſtance of his tyranny,* c *as if he were lord of their lives.* However, as *Lucius* was departing, he recommended to him his ſon and the reſt of his friends, and, tenderly embracing him, bid him farewel. While the reſt were preparing to attend *Lucius* in the habit of ſuppliants, *Cato* was greatly ſurpriſed at the conſtancy of a young *Roman*, named *Statilius*, who, tho' in the flower of his age and a noted enemy to *Cæſar*, declared, That he would rather die, than be indebted to an uſurper for his life. *Cato*, having attempted in vain to perſuade him to yield to fortune and join the other ſuppliants, recommended him to *Apollonides* and *Demetrius*, two celebrated philoſophers, ſaying, *It belongs to you to bring down this young man's ſpirit, and to make him know what is good for him* (H). Towards the evening, he ordered the gates of the city to be opened, exhorting both d the *Romans* and inhabitants to go out, and meeting the conqueror, throw themſelves upon his mercy. As for himſelf, he went, according to his cuſtom, to bathe before ſupper; and while he was in the bath, remembering *Statilius*, he cried out aloud to the philoſopher *Apollonides*, who always attended him, *Well*, Apollonides, *have you brought down the high ſpirit of* Statilius? *Is he gone without bidding us farewel? No*, anſwered the philoſopher, *I have diſcourſed much with him, but to little purpoſe; he is ſtill unalterable, and determined to follow your example. This*, anſwered *Cato* with a ſmile, *will ſoon be tried.* He then called his ſon, and adviſed him, among other things, never to intermeddle in affairs of ſtate; telling him, *That to act therein as became him was now impoſſible, and to do otherwiſe diſhonourable.* e

Cato's *conſtancy.*

Statilius *a follower of* Cato.

After he had bathed, he went to ſupper, at which he ſat, as he had always uſed to do ever ſince the battle of *Pharſalia*, contrary to the *Roman* cuſtom. Several of his particular friends, and ſome of the principle citizens of *Utica*, ſupped with him. Among the former were *Apollonides* the *ſtoic* philoſopher and *Demetrius* the *peripatetic*. After ſupper, many philoſophical queſtions were diſcuſſed, and, among the reſt, thoſe fundamental principles, which were called the *paradoxes of the ſtoics*; and this in particular, *that the good man only is free, and that all wicked men are ſlaves.* The moment this was propoſed, the peripatetic took up the argument againſt it (I); but *Cato*, raiſing his voice, maintained the inconteſtable truth of that maxim with more than ordinary warmth; and, in the heat of the diſpute, let ſome words drop, which f plainly ſhewed, that he deſigned to put an end to his life, and by that means ſet himſelf at liberty. Hereupon, when he had done ſpeaking, the whole company kept ſilence and ſeemed much dejected; but *Cato*, to divert them from any ſuſpicion of his deſign, turned the diſcourſe, and began again to talk of the preſent affairs, ſhewing

Cato *maintains the principles of the ſtoics.*

(H) By theſe words *Cato* implied, that the diſpoſition of mind, in which *Statilius* fancied himſelf to be, was rather the effect of vain-glory, than true conſtancy; and that what became *Cato*, who had always made a profeſſion of ſevere virtue and was *Cæſar*'s equal, did not become ſuch a young man as *Statilius*. *Epictetus* obſerves, that it is only for *an extraordinary perſon to imitate an extraordinary virtue.* It is not fitting for a perſon of common ſize to attempt ſo high a flight.

(I) The peripatetics maintained, that neither virtue nor vice had any relation to freedom or ſervitude, taking theſe words in a ſenſe too conſtrained and literal.

a ſhewing great concern for his friends who were at ſea, and for thoſe who were travelling by land, ſince they were to paſs through a dry deſert, which afforded nothing for their ſupport.

When the company broke up, he walked with his friends, as he uſed to do after ſupper, gave the neceſſary orders to the officers of the guard, and then withdrew, having firſt embraced his ſon and every one of his friends, with more than uſual tenderneſs. As this renewed their ſuſpicion of his deſign, his ſon, entering his room unknown to him, ſtole away his ſword, which he uſed to have always by him. *Cato* now alone, lay down, and taking up *Plato*'s dialogue on the immortality of the ſoul, began to read it with great attention. After he had read ſome time, in a tranſport
b of joy, which the hope of a happy immortality raiſed in his breaſt, he looked up for his ſword, and miſſing it, called one of his ſlaves; and, without ſhewing the leaſt eagerneſs or concern, only asked him, Who had taken away his ſword? As the ſlave made no anſwer, he continued reading; and a little while after, not ſeeming importunate or haſty for it, but as if he would only know what was become of it, he ordered it to be brought to him. He then took up the book again, and having finiſhed the whole dialogue without any tidings of his ſword, he called all his ſervants one by one, and in an angry tone demanded it of them, crying out, That he was betrayed and delivered into his enemy's hands, naked and diſarmed. One of his ſlaves attempted to appeaſe him; but he had ſcarce begun to ſpeak, when *Cato* gave him ſuch
c a blow on the mouth, that he hurt his own hand. At this noiſe his ſon and the reſt of his friends came running into his room, and, falling at his feet, endeavoured, with tears and intreaties, to divert him from any deſign he might have on his own life; but *Cato*, raiſing himſelf up, *Why does no body perſuade me by reaſon*, ſaid he, *or teach me what is better, if I have deſigned any thing that is ill? Muſt I be thus diſarmed, and hindered from making uſe of my own reaſon?* Then turning to his ſon, *And you, young man*, ſaid he, *why do you not tie your father's hands behind his back, that when* Cæſar *comes, I may not be able to hurt him? for againſt myſelf I ſtand in no want of a ſword; to end my days I need but hold my breath a little while, or ſtrike my head againſt the wall.* Having thus ſpoke, he diſmiſſed his ſon and the reſt of his friends, except the two philoſophers *Demetrius* and *Apollonides*, to whom he addreſſed himſelf more calmly
d thus: *Can you bring any reaſon to prove, that it is not baſe and unworthy of* Cato *to beg his life of his enemy? I have not yet determined any thing on this ſubject; but I would have it in my power to perform what I ſhall think fit to reſolve on.* As the philoſophers made no reply, which indeed they could not without contradicting their own principles, *Cato* told them, That he would not fail to ask their advice, when he ſhould have occaſion to make uſe of what their philoſophy taught; *but, in the mean time*, ſaid he, *go tell my ſon, that he ſhould not compel his father to what he cannot perſuade him.* Upon this they both withdrew, and ſent him his ſword by a young ſlave. *Cato* took it with great pleaſure, and, having drawn it and examined the point, ſaid in putting it up, *Now I am maſter of myſelf.* He then took the book again, and having read it twice over (K), he lay down, and fell into a ſound ſleep. About midnight he
e called

Reads Plato's phædo.

His ſon and friends endeavour to divert him from laying violent hands upon himſelf.

(K) And yet this dialogue ſeems too long to be read twice over in ſo ſhort a ſpace; but that which ſeems moſt incomprehenſible is, that *Cato*, before he laid violent hands on himſelf, ſhould read over that dialogue, which proves in the ſtrongeſt terms, that what he was going to do was not lawful. *A philoſopher*, ſays *Plato* in that dialogue, *will never lay violent hands on himſelf, that not being lawful even for thoſe to whom death is more deſireable than life. They are not allowed to procure that remedy to themſelves, tho' it be ever ſo neceſſary; for God has placed us in this life as in a poſt, which we are never to quit without his permiſſion. The gods take care of us, and we muſt conſider ourſelves as their peculiar property. If one of your ſlaves ſhould diſpatch himſelf without your command, you would think he had done you an injury, and would puniſh him, if it lay in your power.* How could *Cato* perſiſt in his reſolution againſt ſuch ſtrong arguments? He might poſſibly juſtify himſelf from what is added by *Socrates*; *We muſt wait with patience till it pleaſes God to ſend us an expreſs order to remove out of this life.* He looked perhaps on the condition he was then in as ſuch an order; and thus has *Cicero* commented upon it in the firſt book of his *Tuſculan* queſtions: *Cato autem ſic abiit e vita, ut cauſam moriendi nactum ſe eſſe gauderet. Vetat enim dominans ille in nobis deus injuſſu hinc nos ſuo demigrare; cum vero cauſam juſtam deus ipſe dederit, ut tunc Socrati, nunc Catoni, ſæpe multis, næ ille, medius fidius, vir ſapiens lætus ex his tenebris in lucem illam exceſſerit; nec tamen ille vincula carceris ruperit, leges enim vetant; ſed tanquam a magiſtratu, aut ab aliqua poteſtate legitima, ſic a deo evocatus atque emiſſus exierit.* But this trifling diſtinction deſtroys the very end and deſign of the dialogue. If it was left to every one to explain, as he thought fit, the ſtate he is in, and interpret it as an expreſs order from God to quit his ſtation, the prohibition of ſelf-murder would be unneceſſary, ſince a reaſon would never be wanting upon occaſion to juſtify it; therefore this action in *Cato* is not by any means warrantable. However, it muſt be allowed, that it was leſs criminal in him, than it can be in thoſe, who deſtroy themſelves for ſome private reaſons, when

His whole concern is about his friends.

called up two of his freed-men, *Cleanthes*, his phyſician, and *Butas*, whom he chiefly employed in public affairs. The latter he ſent to the port, to ſee whether his friends had ſet ſail, and ordered the former to apply ſome remedy to his hand that was hurt by the blow he gave his ſlave. At this they were all overjoyed, hoping he had laid aſide all thoughts of putting an end to his life. *Butas* ſoon came back, and brought him word, that all his friends were imbarqued, except *Craſſus*, who had ſtaid on account of ſome buſineſs, but was juſt ready to depart. He added, that the wind was high, and the ſea very rough. At this he ſighed, ſhewing a great deal of compaſſion for thoſe who were at ſea, and ſent again *Butas* to ſee, whether any of them were driven back and wanted his aſſiſtance. In the mean time, he again fell aſleep, and did not wake till day began to appear; when *Butas* returning, acquainted him, that the ſtorm was allayed, and that no noiſe was heard in the port. Then *Cato*, laying himſelf down again, as if he intended to ſleep, deſired *Butas* to withdraw and ſhut the door after him. He was no ſooner gone, than the zealous republican, as if he had waited till thoſe of his party were out of danger, taking his ſword, ran it into his body; but not being able to uſe his hand ſo well which had been hurt, he did not die immediately of the wound, but fell upon his bed, and threw down a table on which he had drawn ſome figures of geometry. The noiſe of this alarmed his ſon and his friends, who, breaking into the room, found him weltering in his blood, with his bowels in great part out of his body. Such a dreadful ſight and his ghaſtly looks, his eyes being yet open, ſtruck them all with ſo great terror, that they ſtood ſome time motionleſs, without being able, in that ſurprize and confuſion, to lend him the leaſt aſſiſtance. At length *Butas* accoſting him, put in his bowels, which were not hurt, and ſewed up the wound; but *Cato*, after ſome time, coming to himſelf, thruſt away the phyſician, rent open his wound again, and, tearing his bowels, expired immediately, in the forty-eighth, or, as others will have it, in the fifty-fifth year of his age. He was one of the moſt virtuous citizens *Rome* ever produced, had all the virtues, and none of the faults, of *Cato* the cenſor, one of his illuſtrious anceſtors, and would, with his invincible conſtancy and reſolution, have ſupported the ſinking republic, had not the gods themſelves, as *Plutarch* obſerves, decreed her deſtruction. His death was no ſooner known, than the inhabitants of *Utica* flocked to his houſe, calling him their benefactor, their deliverer, the only free, the only invincible, *Roman*. Tho' at that very inſtant word was brought them, that *Cæſar* was drawing near, yet neither fear of the preſent danger, nor the commotions and diſcord which reigned among them, nor even the eagerneſs each of them had of making their court to the conqueror, could divert them from burying his body with the utmoſt pomp, and paying all the funeral honours that were due to a perſon of his merit and rank. How ſtrong muſt the impreſſions have been, which the virtue of *Cato* left in their minds, ſince they thus openly honoured his memory at the approach of his enemy, who was victorious, and upon whoſe mercy they were that moment to throw themſelves! When *Cæſar*, who was now at the very gates of *Utica* with all his forces, heard of *Cato*'s death, he is ſaid to have uttered theſe words; Cato, *I envy thee thy death, ſince thou haſt envyed me the glory of ſaving thy life* (L). Upon *Cato*'s death, the city of *Utica* was by *Lucius Cæſar* delivered up to the conqueror, who pardoned ſome, but cauſed others to be privately put to death. Among the latter was *Lucius Cæſar* himſelf,

Stabs himſelf with his ſword.

Puts an end to his life.

The concern of the inhabitants of Utica *at his death.*

Utica *ſubmits to* Cæſar.

when overwhelmed with grief, pinched with poverty, overcome with fear, or ſome other paſſion; for there is a wide difference, in our opinion, between the puſillanimity of ſuch and the deſpair of a brave man, who kills himſelf, not for any private reaſon, but, if the expreſſion may be allowed, for ſome reaſon of ſtate; for tho' the action carries in it a brutal fury and the blind impulſe of an ungovernable paſſion; yet, as *Plutarch* has well obſerved on another ſubject, where he compares *Romulus* and *Theſeus*, *he is more excuſeable, who is tranſported by a ſtronger cauſe, as by a more ſevere ſtroke*. And what ſtroke can be more ſevere than the ruin of our country?

(L) *Plutarch* ſeems to queſtion whether *Cæſar* would have pardoned *Cato* or no. The diſcourſe, ſays that writer, which *Cæſar* wrote againſt *Cato*, is no great ſign of his kindneſs, or that he was inclined to ſhew him any favour. Is it probable, adds he, that *Cæſar* would have been tender of his life, when he was ſo bitter againſt his memory? But, with *Plutarch*'s leave, we are of opinion, that *Cæſar* would have ſpared him, as he did *Cicero*, *Brutus*, *Marcellus*, his moſt inveterate enemy, and many others, not indeed out of any friendſhip he had for him, but out of vanity, and perhaps policy. As for the book mentioned by *Plutarch*, *Cæſar* wrote it not out of hatred to *Cato*, but in his own vindication. *Cicero* had written an encomium on *Cato*, and called it by his name. A diſcourſe compoſed by ſo great a maſter, upon ſuch an excellent ſubject, was immediately in every body's hands. This touched *Cæſar* to the quick; for he looked upon a panegyric on his enemy, who choſe rather to kill himſelf than fall into his hands, as no better than a ſatire againſt himſelf. He therefore publiſhed an anſwer to it, containing a collection of charges and accuſations againſt that great man, which he ſtyled *Anticato*.

over against Pag. 165. Vol. V.









P. Simms

himſelf, who had treated with great cruelty ſuch of *Cæſar*'s adherents, as he had got into his power during the war; among the former were *Cato*'s ſon, his daughter, *Statilius*, and moſt of his friends. His ſon was afterwards ſlain in the battle of *Philippi*, with more glory than he had lived; for we are told, that he led a debauched life, and that being lodged, while he ſtayed in *Cappadocia*, in the houſe of *Marphadates*, one of the royal family, he maintained a criminal converſation with his wife, by name *Pſyche*, which in *Greek* ſignifies *ſoul*. This gave the *Romans* occaſion to ſay by way of raillery, *That* Cato *and* Marphadates *were good friends*; *for they had but one ſoul*; *that* Cato *was noble and generous, and had a royal ſoul*, &c. *Cato*'s daughter was married to *Brutus*, one of the conſpirators, and ended her life as became one
b of her birth and family, as we ſhall relate in a more proper place. As for *Statilius*, who affected to imitate *Cato*, he was prevented by the philoſophers from putting an end to his life; but he afterwards followed *Brutus*, to whom he proved very faithful and ſerviceable, and at length died, with many other illuſtrious *Romans*, in the battle of *Philippi* [w].

Cæſar, now maſter of *Utica*, and of the whole *Roman* province in *Africa*, marched into *Numidia* and *Mauritania*, and reduced both thoſe kingdoms to *Roman* provinces, appointing *Criſpus Salluſtius* to govern them in quality of proconſul, with private inſtructions to pillage and plunder the inhabitants, and by that means put it out of their power ever to ſhake of the yoke. The fruitful plains of *Numidia* he divided among
c the ſoldiers of *P. Sitius*, who had reduced great part of that country. *Sitius*, being driven out of *Rome*, we know not on what account, had taken refuge in *Mauritania*, and there aſſembled a conſiderable number of *Roman* exiles, with whom he entered into the ſervice of *Bogud*, a petty king of *Mauritania*, then at war with *Juba*. *Bogud* appointed him commander in chief of all his forces; which truſt he diſcharged with great fidelity, invading *Juba*'s dominions, and making himſelf maſter even of *Cirta* his capital. This diverſion was of great uſe to *Cæſar*; for it obliged *Juba* to leave great part of his forces at home, under the command of *Sabura*, one of his beſt generals, to defend his own kingdom; but, during his abſence, *Sitius*, having defeated and killed *Sabura*, made himſelf maſter of the whole country, and then marched with his vic-
d torious army to join *Cæſar*, whom he ſcarce knew. On his march he met a body of *Romans*, who had ſaved themſelves from the battle of *Thapſus*, under the command of *Afranius* and *Fauſtus Sylla*, defeated them, and took their leaders priſoners, together with *Sylla*'s wife the daughter of *Pompey*, whom he delivered up to *Cæſar*, who not only pardoned her, but ſent her into *Spain* to her brothers. Soon after *Sitius*'s fleet ſurpriſed in the port of *Hippo* the ſquadron which was conveying into *Italy Scipio* and other *Romans*, who had left *Utica*, and took moſt of them priſoners. *Scipio* laid violent hands on himſelf; but the reſt were brought to *Sitius*, who conſigned them to *Cæſar*. Theſe ſervices the dictator rewarded with a fruitful country bordering on *Numidia*, which he beſtowed on *Sitius*, appointing him ſovereign of that diſtrict,
e after having driven out a *Numidian* prince named *Manaſſes*, who had declared for *Juba*, and ſerved in his army againſt *Cæſar* [x].

Cæſar *reduces* Mauritania *and* Numidia.

P. Sitius *renders* Cæſar *important ſervices.*

How rewarded.

And now *Cæſar*, having brought all *Africa* under ſubjection and ſettled the affairs of that province, repaired to *Utica*, where his fleet waited for him. There he gave orders for the rebuilding of *Carthage*, as he did ſoon after his return to *Italy* for the rebuilding of *Corinth*; ſo that theſe two famous cities were deſtroyed in the ſame year, and in the ſame year raiſed out of their ruins, in which they had lain about a hundred years. Two years after they were both re-peopled with *Roman* colonies; and from theſe new inhabitants of *Corinth* were deſcended thoſe *Corinthians*, to whom St. *Paul* wrote his two epiſtles. As the dictator had now no enemy to con-
f tend with in *Africa*, he left that country, loaded with glory and ſpoils, and ſet ſail for *Italy* on the ides of *June*, that is, on the fourteenth of the *Julian April*; and arriveing three days after at *Caralos*, now *Cagliari*, ſailed from thence; on the third of the calends of *July*, for *Oſtia*, which he did not reach, the weather proving very ſtormy, till the twenty-ſixth of the *Julian May*, that is, twenty-eight days after. As he drew near *Rome*, the whole city went out to meet him, and conducted him to the capitol, where he returned thanks to *Jupiter* for the ſucceſs of his arms. The ſenate and people ſtrove who ſhould be moſt forward in heaping honours upon him. Supplications were appointed, and ſacrifices orderd to be offered daily in the temples for forty days together

Carthage *and* Corinth *rebuilt.*

Cæſar *returns to* Rome.

Honours beſtowed on him by the ſenate and people.

[w] Plut. in Cat. & Cæſ. Dio Cass. ibid. [x] Hirt. de bell. Africano.

together in thankſgiving to the gods for the victories he had gained in *Africa*. His a
uſual guard was by a decree of the ſenate trebled, and the number of the lictors, who attended him as dictator, doubled. His dictatorſhip was prolonged for ten years, and the dignity of cenſor, which had been hitherto divided between two magiſtrates, conferred on him alone, under the title of *prefect*, or *reformer, of manners*, that of *cenſor* ſeeming too vulgar. His perſon was declared ſacred and inviolable; and, to raiſe him above the level of his fellow-citizens, it was decreed, that he ſhould ſit, during his life, next to the conſuls; that he ſhould give his opinion the firſt in all public deliberations; that he ſhould ſit at all public ſhews in a curule chair, and that, even after his death, the chair ſhould be placed as uſual at the ſhews, to render his memory immortal; nay, they went ſo far as to place his ſtatue in the capitol next to that of b
Jupiter, with this inſcription on the pedeſtal, *To* Cæſar *à demi-god*. *Cæſar* had too much penetration not to know, that this profuſion of honours was the effect of fear, and not of any ſincere kindneſs or affection for him; and therefore, in accepting ſuch marks of diſtinction, he declared, That he would make no other uſe of the authority, with which they were pleaſed to truſt him, than to prevent any further diſturbances in the republic, and to render, as far as in him lay, all the members of it happy. I ſhall not, ſaid he, renew the maſſacres of *Sylla* and *Marius*, which I cannot reflect on without horror. I wiſh I had been able to ſave the republic without ſhedding a drop of blood, and without depriving *Rome* of one ſingle citizen; but, ſince that was not in my power, now that my enemies are ſubdued, I will make no c
further uſe of the ſword; but endeavour to gain by good offices thoſe who ſtill continue obſtinate. You ſhall all find in me not a *Marius* or a *Sylla*, but an indulgent father and zealous protector. As for my troops, I ſhall keep them together, not ſo much for my own defence, as for that of the republic. They ſhall not, however, be any charge to you; the ſpoils I have brought with me from *Africa*, will be ſufficient to maintain them, and likewiſe to defray for ſome time the expences of the government. This ſpeech and the pardon he granted a few days after to *M. Cauldius Marcellus*, one of his moſt inveterate enemies, calmed the fears both of the ſenate and people. *Marcellus* had been conſul five years before, and, during his conſulate, employed all his intereſt and authority againſt *Cæſar*. He had fought under *Pom-* d
pey's banners at *Pharſalia*; but, retiring after that fatal action from public affairs, he had choſen the city of *Mitylene* in the iſland of *Lesbos* for the place of his reſidence, and there led a quiet life, being intirely taken up with the ſtudy of philoſophy. *Cicero*, who had always profeſſed a ſtrict friendſhip for *Marcellus*, prevailed upon the conſcript fathers to intercede for him all in a body. Accordingly, the firſt time *Cæſar* appeared in the ſenate, *Lucius Piſo* having addreſſed him with an affecting ſpeech in favour of the illuſtrious exile, all the conſcript fathers ſeconded him, and, quitting their places, ſurrounded the dictator's tribunal, imploring his clemency in behalf of one of the moſt worthy members of their body. *Cæſar* heard them with great

Cæſar *pardons* Marcellus.

attention, and, as ſoon as they had done ſpeaking, *I willingly pardon* Marcellus, ſaid e
he, *out of regard to your interceſſion, conſcript fathers, and to his own merit. Let him return and take his place in the ſenate. I ſhall not for the future look upon him as an enemy, but rank him among my friends, to convince the world of the deference I pay to this venerable body.* The conſcript fathers returned him thanks, and *Cicero* in particular, in that famous ſpeech, which is ſtill admired by all the learned. But *Cæſar*'s clemency did not avail the unfortunate exile. Upon the firſt notice of what had paſſed at *Rome*, he left *Mitylene*, and came to *Athens*, with a deſign to paſs from thence over into *Italy*; but when he was ready to imbarque, he was ſtabbed by one *Magius Chilon*, a no leſs zealous follower of *Pompey* than himſelf, What prompted him to this murder is not well known; ſome ſuſpected *Cæſar* of being privy to it; but that f
ſuſpicion ſeemed quite groundleſs to *Cicero*, ſince *Magius* with the ſame dagger put an end to his own life, and died on the ſpot with *Marcellus* (M).

The

(M) *Cicero* writes on this ſubject to *Atticus* thus: *We can by no means ſuſpect* Cæſar *of having any hand in the death of* Marcellus, *ſince* Magius *ſtabbed himſelf with the ſame dagger, which he had plunged into* Marcellus's *breaſt. I am at a loſs to know what could prompt him to ſo black an attempt.* Marcellus *had been bail for him a little time before at* Sunium. *Perhaps, as* Magius *was not in a condition to ſatisfy his creditors, he had recourſe to* Marcellus, *who refuſed to ſupply him with the neceſſary ſums in a rough and uncivil manner, which was natural to him; and hence their quarrel* (35).

(35) *Cic. ad Attic. l.* xiii. *epiſt.* 10.

a THE dictator having, by his clemency and the extraordinary civility he ſhewed to all without diſtinction, delivered the ſenators from their fears, in the next place ſummoned the people, and, appearing in the aſſembly more like a common citizen, than a victorious general, returned them thanks, in a moſt obliging manner, for their inviolable attachment to his perſon. He then entertained them with a very particular account of his victories, telling them, That he had, by his laſt victory, ſubdued a country ſo rich, and of ſuch extent, that it would yearly ſupply the city with two hundred thouſand Buſhels of corn, and three millions of meaſures of oil. In conſideration of the many conqueſts he had made, four triumphs were decreed him both by the ſenate and people. Accordingly he triumphed four times the ſame month, *His triumphs.*
b *viz.* over the *Gauls*, over *Egypt*, over *Pharnaces*, and over *Juba*. In the firſt triumph were carried before his chariot the names of three hundred nations and eight hundred cities, which he had reduced by the death of a million of enemies. Among the priſoners appeared *Vercingetorix*, who had ſtirred up all *Gaul* againſt *Cæſar*, and attempted to relieve *Aleſia* at the head of three hundred thouſand men. His ſoldiers followed him, crowned with laurel, and the whole city attended him with loud acclamations; but, in the midſt of the public rejoicings, the axletree of the triumphal chariot breaking near the temple of *Fortune*, the victor narrowly eſcaped being cruſhed by the wheels. The ſuperſtitious *Romans* drew from thence preſages no-ways favourable to the conqueror; but the only inconvenience, that unforeſeen accident occa-
c ſioned then, was, the retarding of the triumph till it was night; and then *Cæſar*, to prevent all diſturbances in the dark, embelliſhed his triumphal proceſſion with a new ornament, cauſing forty elephants to be ranged, twenty on each ſide of his chariot, with a prodigious number of flambeaux on their backs, diſpoſed in the ſhape of ſo many pyramids, which in a manner turned night into day, and conducted, without the leaſt confuſion, the numerous crowd to the capitol. There *Cæſar*, to ſet the people an example of religion, mounted the ſteps of the temple on his knees. After he had offered the uſual ſacrifice to *Jupiter*, he viewed the ſtatue, which the ſenate and people had erected to himſelf near that of the god; and being offended at the inſcription, *To* Cæſar *a demi-god*, ordered the fulſome title of *demi-god* to be immediately can-
d celled. The ſecond triumph was over *Egypt*, when the pictures of *Ptolemy*, *Photinus*, and *Achillas* were carried before the triumphal chariot, with repreſentations of the cities of *Peluſium* and *Alexandria*, of the palace of the *Egyptian* kings, of the tower of *Pharos*, &c. Before the chariot walked many priſoners of diſtinction; among the reſt *Arſinoe*, the ſiſter of *Cleopatra*, loaded with chains; but, after the ſhew, ſhe was ſet at liberty, and only baniſhed from *Egypt*, that ſhe might not create new diſturbances in that kingdom to the prejudice of *Cleopatra* (N). The third triumph ſhewed the defeat of *Pharnaces* king of *Pontus*. In the midſt of the ſpoils, which the conqueror had brought from *Pontus*, *Bithynia*, and *Galatia*, the famous words *Veni*, *vidi*, *vici*, were carried on a table in large Characters, to ſhew rather the diſpatch, than the difficulty
e or importance, of that victory. The ſubject of the fourth triumph was the conqueſt of *Africa* and *Numidia*, with the defeat of *Juba* and his allies. In this triumph *Juba*, the ſon of king *Juba*, who was then very young, walked among the other captives before the triumphal chariot; but when the ſhew was over, *Cæſar* ſet him at liberty, and gave him an education ſuitable to his rank, appointing maſters to teach him the *Greek* and *Latin* tongues, and ſuch ſciences as the young noblemen of *Rome* ſtudied in thoſe days. By this means he became one of the moſt learned men of the age he lived in; inſomuch, that the emperor *Auguſtus*, in conſideration of his great knowledge and abilities, afterwards beſtowed on him the kingdom of *Getulia* in *Africa*, and gave him in marriage *Cleopatra Selene*, the daughter of queen *Cleopatra* by *Marc Antony* (O).
f The *Romans* were not ſo well pleaſed with this triumph as with the other three, *Cæſar* having cauſed the ſtatues of *Scipio*, *Petreius*, and *Cato* to be carried before him among thoſe of the foreign kings and princes whom he had ſubdued. They could not behold *Cato* tearing his bowels, as the ſtatue repreſented him, without expreſſing their concern

Juba, *the ſon of king* Juba, *led in triumph.*

(N) This young princeſs took up her reſidence in *Aſia Proper*; for there *Antony* found her after the battle of *Philippi*, and, at the requeſt of *Cleopatra*, cauſed her to be put to death (36).

(O) He was the author of ſeveral works, and, among the reſt of the hiſtory of *Rome*, which he wrote in *Greek*, and which is often quoted, and with great approbation, by the ancients, but is now intirely loſt, as are alſo all his other works. One of them was of the affairs of *Aſſyria*, and chiefly collected from the writings of *Beroſus*.

(36) *Hirt. de bell. Alexand. Joſeph. antiq. l.* XV. *c* 4.

cern with loud ſighs and tears for the death of ſo great a man. The veſſels of gold and ſilver, which in theſe triumphs were carried before the conqueror, amounted to the value of ſixty-five thouſand talents, that is, above twelve millions of our money, beſides eighteen hundred and twenty-two crowns of gold, weighing fifteen thouſand and thirty-three pounds, which were preſents made him, according to the cuſtom of thoſe times, by princes and cities after his victories. Out of theſe ſums he paid his ſoldiers their arrears, and beſides a hundred and fifty pounds of our money to every private man, as much more to each centurion, and thrice that ſum to each tribune and commander of the cavalry. As to the *Roman* people, whoſe favour he courted, he gave to each particular perſon ten buſhels of corn, ten meaſures of oil, and added a hundred denarii by way of intereſt, to the three hundred he had promiſed them before he ſet out for *Africa*. After this he entertained the people at twenty-two thouſand tables with ſix thouſand murenas, and an incredible profuſion of other dainties and rich wines, which moſt of them had never taſted before; and that nothing might be wanting to the pomp and magnificence of theſe feaſts, he entertained the city with a combat of two thouſand gladiators, with repreſentations of ſea and land fights, in which were ſometimes three, ſometimes four thouſand combatants on a ſide, and with all ſorts of plays, farces, and mimic performances (P). Theſe entertainments laſted ſeveral days, and drew ſuch multitudes of people to *Rome*, that the greateſt part of them were forced to lie in the open air, and many were ſtifled in the croud, among the reſt two ſenators [y].

His liberality towards the ſoldiers and the Roman *people.*

Cæſar, having by his largeſſes, entertainments, and ſhews, ſecured the affections of the ſoldiery and people, made it his whole buſineſs to reform the government, and eſtabliſh good order in the city. In order to this he publiſhed many wholeſome laws. In the firſt place, as many of the inhabitants had loſt their lives in the civil war, and many had abandoned their native country; he appointed great privileges and exemptions for ſuch as had numerous families, recalled all thoſe who had ſettled in foreign countries, and invited to *Rome* from all parts of the world ſuch perſons as were in any repute for their learning and knowledge, granting them for their encouragement all the rights and privileges of *Roman* citizens. At the ſame time he publiſhed a law, forbidding all citizens, above twenty years of age and under forty, to abſent themſelves from the capital more than three years, under any pretence whatſoever (Q). By other laws he reſtrained the profuſe way of living, which at that time prevailed

Reforms the government.

[y] Dio, l. xlii. Plin. l. xxxiv, xxxvi, xxxvii. Suet. in Cæſ. Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 56.

(P) The two famous *mimics*, or, as they were then called, *pantomimes*, *Laberius* and *Publius*, acted on this occaſion. *Labcrius* was by birth a *Roman* knight, but nevertheleſs acted on the ſtage mimic pieces of his own compoſing. *Cæſar* rewarded him for acting in the plays, with which he preſented the people, giving him, when they were over, five hundred ſeſterces, and a golden ring, which was reſtoring him to the equeſtrian dignity he had forfeited by performing on the ſtage. *Macrobius* has given us part of a prologue of this author (37), which may ſerve for a taſte of his wit and ſtyle. *Horace* indeed taxes his compoſures with want of elegance (38). But *Scaliger* thinks the cenſure very unjuſt, and the verſes cited by *Macrobius* more elegant than thoſe in which *Horace* finds fault with thym (39). When *Laberius*, was going, after he had received the golden ring of *Cæſar*, to reſume his place among the knights, *Cicero* told him, as he paſſed by the *orcheſtra*, where the ſenators ſat, that he would with all his heart make room for him there, but that he was already ſqueezed up himſelf; this he ſaid in alluſion to the many ſenators *Cæſar* had lately created. No wonder, replied *Laberius*, that you, who commonly make uſe of two ſeats at once, fancy yourſelf ſqueezed up, when you ſit like other people. This was a ſevere wipe on the inconſtancy and double-dealing of the orator (40).

Publius was a *Syrian* by birth, but received his education at *Rome* in the condition of a ſlave. Haveing by ſeveral ſpecimens of wit obtained his freedom, he undertook the writing of mimic pieces, and acted them with uncommon applauſe in the towns of *Italy*. At laſt being brought to *Rome* to bear a part in *Cæſar*'s plays, he challenged all the dramatic writers and actors, and carried the prize from every one of them, even from *Laberius* himſelf (41). A collection of ſentences taken out of his works is ſtill extant, which *Joſeph Scaliger* highly commends, and even thought it worth his while to tranſlate them into *Greek*.

(Q) *Plutarch* tells us, that *Cæſar* took a cenſus of the people, who from three hundred and twenty thouſand were now reduced to a hundred and fifty thouſand; ſo great a waſte, ſays he, had the civil war made in *Rome* alone; not to mention what the other parts of *Italy* and the provinces had ſuffered. But there are no fewer than three notorious miſtakes in this paſſage, as the learned *Rualdus* obſerves. The firſt is, where it is ſaid, that *Cæſar* took a cenſus of the people; *Suetonius* does not mention it, and *Auguſtus* himſelf in his *Marmora Ancyriana* ſays, that in his ſixth conſulate he numbered the people, which had not been done for forty-two years before. The ſecond is, that before the civil wars broke out between *Cæſar* and *Pompey*, the number of the people in

(37) *Macrob. Satur. l.* ii. *c* 7. (38) *Horat. ſatyr. l.* i. *ſatyr.* 10. *v.* 5. 6. (39) *Scaliger de re Poet. l.* i. *c.* 10. (40) *Macrob. Saturn. l.* ii. *c.* 7. (41) *Idem ibid.*

a prevailed in *Rome* and all over *Italy*; he confined the uſe of litters, of embroidered robes and jewels to perſons only of the firſt rank, or of overgrown eſtates; he limited the expence of feaſts by many ſumptuary laws, which he cauſed to be put in execution with the utmoſt rigour, his officers often breaking into the houſes of the rich citizens, and ſnatching from off their tables ſuch meats as had been ſerved up contrary to his prohibition. All the markets ſwarmed with informers, ſo that nothing could be brought thither, or ſold, without his knowledge; and he never failed to puniſh with heavy fines ſuch as he found guilty of the leaſt breach of the laws he had enacted for the reſtraining of luxury. As for the management of the public money, he reſerved that intirely to himſelf, but committed the adminiſtration of juſtice to the ſenators b and knights, chuſing from among them ſuch perſons as were noted for their integrity and probity. As his long command in *Gaul* had given him an opportunity of uſurping an abſolute power, to prevent others from treading in his footſteps, he ordained by a law, that no prætor ſhould be continued in his government above a year, and no conſular above two. All the magiſtrates in *Rome*, as well as in the provinces, were appointed by him, the people, whom he ſuffered to aſſemble in the comitium, to maintain at leaſt ſome appearance of a republican ſtate, not daring to chuſe any but ſuch as he propoſed, or recommended; by which means all the places and governments were filled with his creatures. The tribunes, the prætors, the quæſtors, and even the conſuls, were all perſons who had ſerved under him, and were inviolably c attached to his intereſt. The government of the countries ſubject to the republic was committed to ſuch only as the dictator thought he could confide in. Thus *Sicily* was allotted to *A. Allienus*, *Ciſalpine Gaul* to *M. Junius Brutus*, *Tranſalpine Gaul* to another *Junius Brutus*, ſurnamed *Albinus*, *Achaia* to *Servius Sulpicius*, *Numidia* to *Criſpus Salluſtius*, *Illyricum* to *P. Vatinius*, *Syria* to *Q. Cornificius*, and *Spain* to *Q. Caſſius Longinus*; ſo that the abſolute authority of *Cæſar* ſeemed to be equally eſtabliſhed in the capital and in the moſt diſtant provinces. In *Syria* indeed his power was diſputed by one *Cæcilius Baſſus*, who created great diſorders in that province. He was a *Roman* knight, and had fought on *Pompey*'s ſide in the battle of *Pharſalia*. After that overthrow he fled to *Tyre*, and there, pretending to be a merchant, underhand d engaged in his party many who had been favourers of *Pompey*, and even ſome of the *Roman* ſoldiers who were ſent thither to gariſon the city. Whereupon being at length taken notice of by *Sextus Cæſar*, whom the dictator had appointed governor of that province, as he haſtened northward againſt *Pharnaces*, he was ſummoned to appear before him, and give an account of his proceedings. *Sextus*, without betraying the leaſt fear, told the governor, that he was raiſing voluntiers, and making other preparations with no other deſign but to aſſiſt *Mithridates* of *Pergamus* in the reduction of the kingdom of *Pergamus*, which had been given him by *Cæſar*. *Sextus* believing him, he was diſmiſſed, and no more taken notice of, till having got together a conſiderable number of conſpirators, he ſeized on the city of *Tyre*, giving out, that e *Cæſar* was killed in *Africa*, and that thereupon he was appointed by the ſenate preſident of *Syria*. By this impoſture he increaſed his forces ſo as to be able to take the field, and engage *Cæſar*; but he was intirely defeated, and forced to take ſhelter in *Tyre*. There he continued inactive, till the many wounds he had received in the battle were cured; and then by his emiſſaries ſtirred up the troops under the command of

Sumptuary laws.

Diſpoſes of all employments.

Cæcilius Baſſus *raiſes diſturbances in* Syria.

in *Rome* amounted to no more than three hundred and twenty thouſand; for long before that it was much greater, and had continued upon the increaſe. The laſt is, where it is aſſerted, that in leſs than three years thoſe three hundred and twenty thouſand citizens were reduced by that war to a hundred and fifty thouſand; the falſity of which aſſertion is evident from this, that a little while after *Cæſar* made a draught of eighty thouſand to be ſent to foreign colonies. Is it probable, that he would have left no more than ſeventy thouſand ſouls in *Rome?* But what is ſtill ſtronger, eighteen years after, *Auguſtus* took an account of the people, and found the number amount to four millions and ſixty-three thouſand, *cenſere civium Romanorum capita quadragies centum millia, & ſexaginta tria millia*, ſays *Suetonius*. Such an increaſe in ſo ſhort a time muſt be prodigious, if not impoſſible. *Rualdus* has not only diſcovered theſe miſtakes, but the ſource of them; he makes it appear, that *Plutarch*, for want of a thorough underſtanding of the *Latin* tongue, has been miſled by the following paſſage in *Suetonius*, who ſays of *Cæſar*, *recenſum populi ne more, nec loco ſolito, ſed vicatim per dominos inſularum egit, atque ex viginti trecentiſque millibus accipientium frumentum e publico ad centum quinquaginta retraxit* (42). *Suetonius* ſpeaks there of the review taken by *Cæſar* of the needy citizens, who ſhared in the public corn, whom he found to amount to three hundred and twenty thouſand, and reduced to a hundred and twenty thouſand. *Plutarch* miſtook *recenſum* for *cenſum* the muſter taken by the cenſors, and this error led him into the other miſtakes.

(42) *Sueton. in Jul. c.* 4.

Sextus Cæſar *governor of* Syria *murdered by his own men.*

of *Cæſar*, who was given to all manner of lewdneſs, to rebel againſt their leader and murder him. Upon his death, the troops he commanded joined *Baſſus*, excepting a ſmall body that retired into *Cilicia*. *Baſſus* ſeeing himſelf again at the head of a conſiderable army, marched ſtraight to *Apamea*, and ſeizing that city, fortified it, and made it the place of his reſidence, there taking on him the government of the whole province. But *Antiſtius Verus* putting himſelf at the head of thoſe who had retreated into *Cilicia*, and drawing to him ſeveral others of the *Cæſarean* party in that country, marched back with them into *Syria*. There he was joined by the ſons of *Antipater* with auxiliaries from *Judæa*, and by ſeveral of the neighbouring princes, who were glad of an opportunity to ſhew their attachment to the dictator, and by that means gain his favour. Thus *Antiſtius* was enabled to make head againſt *Baſſus*, and even to drive him quite out of the field. He retreated to *Apamea*, where he was cloſely beſieged by *Antiſtius*; but, as he was a brave ſoldier and experienced commander, his adverſary, having ſpent the whole ſummer before the place without being able to gain any advantage over him, was forced towards the end of the campaign to raiſe the ſiege and forbear all hoſtilities, till he received new ſupplies both of men and proviſions [z].

The various ſucceſs of Baſſus

Cæſar, being informed of what paſſed in *Syria*, immediately diſpatched *Statius Murcus*, whom *Joſephus* through miſtake names *Marcus*, to ſucceed *Sextus* in the government of *Syria*, appointing him three legions to put an end to that unexpected war. Theſe, with the troops which *Antiſtius* commanded, formed a very conſiderable army; ſo that *Baſſus* was again obliged to ſhut himſelf up in *Apamea*, the ſiege of which place was renewed by the united forces of *Murcus* and *Antiſtius*. During the ſiege, both ſides ſolicited the aſſiſtance of the neighbouring princes and ſtates. *Alcaudonius*, an *Arabian* king, being on this occaſion ſent to both by *Baſſus* and *Murcus*, came with all his forces, and placing himſelf between *Apamea* and the camp of the *Cæſareans*, that covered the ſiege, offered his aſſiſtance, by way of auction, to that ſide which ſhould give moſt for it; and *Baſſus* having bid higheſt, he immediately joined him. At the ſame time *Pacorus* came to his aſſiſtance at the head of a numerous body of *Parthians*; which two reinforcements added ſuch ſtrength to the beſieged, that the *Cæſareans* were again forced to raiſe the ſiege, and leave *Baſſus* maſter of the field [a]. Hereupon the dictator ſent orders to *Q. Martius Criſpus*, governor of *Bithynia*, to march with the three legions he had under his command, to the aſſiſtance of *Murcus*; and at his approach *Baſſus* retired to *Apamea*, where he was cloſely beſieged the third time, but held out till the death of *Cæſar*, when he was relieved by *Caſſius*, who ſeized on the province of *Syria*, as we ſhall relate in the ſequel of this hiſtory.

Cæſar *reforms the kalendar*

While the dictator's lieutenants were thus employed in the eaſt, the dictator himſelf, to ſhew that nothing eſcaped his care, undertook at *Rome* the reformation of the *Roman* kalendar, which it belonged to him to rectify as pontifex maximus, an office he had bore long before he was either conſul or dictator. This reformation was at this time much wanted; for by reaſon of the faults of the former kalendar the feſtivals of the *Romans* and their ſolemn days were removed by degrees, and put out of due time, till at laſt they came to fall in with ſeaſons quite oppoſite to thoſe of their primitive inſtitution. The year which the *Romans* made uſe of till this time conſiſted of twelve lunar months; but twelve lunar months falling eleven days ſhort of a ſolar year, it was the office of the pontifex maximus with the college of the pontifices to add ſuch intercalations as ſhould make all even. This they uſually did by caſting in an intercalary month every two years, which alternatively conſiſted of twenty-two and twenty-three days. This ſhort month is called by *Plutarch* in one place *Mercidinus* [b], and in another *Mercidonius* [c]. The place it was allotted in the *Roman* kalendar was between the 23*d* and 24*th* of *February*. But the care of this intercalation being left to the pontifices, they put in or left out the intercalary month according as they had a mind to prolong or ſhorten the time of the annual magiſtrates then in office; by which means great diſorders crept into the political as well as the aſtronomical year; to prevent which *Cæſar* undertook that reformation, of which the world has had the benefit ever ſince, and happily completed it (R).

Yet

[z] Dio, l. xlvii. Libo apud Appian. de bell. civil. l. iii. Epit. Liv. l. cxiv. Joseph. antiq. l. xiv. c. 17. & de bell. Judaico, l. i. c. 8. [a] Dio, l. xlvii. Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 69. Appian. ibid. l. iii. & iv. Cic. ad Attic. l. xiv. epiſt. 9. [b] Plut. in Numa. [c] Idem in Cæſ.

(R) This he did by the following methods: 1*ſt*, He aboliſhed the lunar year, conſiſting of twelve lunar months, or three hundred and fifty-five days, by which the *Romans* had hitherto computed their time; and

a YET ſo commendable and uſeful a work gave offence to ſome, who envied his grandeur, and were weary of his power. They took occaſion from thence to ſay, that, after he had triumphed over the earth, he had a mind to govern likewiſe in heaven. It is no ſtrange thing to hear ignorant people talk at that rate; but that *Cicero*, who had long before tranſlated *Aratus*, and conſequently ought to have been better acquainted than any with the diſorders of the former calculation, could be guilty of ſuch a weakneſs, is ſurpriſing. Yet the orator made the reformation of the kalendar the ſubject of ſeveral ſevere jeſts. As one chanced to ſay in his company, that the next morning the *Lyra* would riſe, *Yes*, replied *Cicero*, *by* Cæſar's *order*, inſinuating thereby, that the dictator pretended to ſubject even the celeſtial bodies to his power.
b But *Cæſar*, who knew better than *Cicero*, what advantages would accrue to poſterity from ſo uſeful an undertaking, and what glory to himſelf, thought it beneath him to take any notice of ſuch low jeſts [c].

The two ſons of Pompey *in* Spain.

WHILE *Cæſar* was thus employed at *Rome* in works of peace, the two ſons of *Pompey*, having aſſembled beyond the *Pyrenees* ſuch of their father's party as had eſcaped from the battles of *Pharſalia* and *Thapſus*, made themſelves maſters of great part of *Spain*. The *Spaniards*, who had formerly ſerved under their father, flocked to them from all parts; inſomuch, that they ſoon ſaw themſelves at the head of a very numerous army, compoſed partly of *Romans*, and partly of the natives of the country. They had likewiſe experienced officers, and among the reſt *Labienus*, who had
c learnt the art of war under *Cæſar* himſelf, and had on many occaſions given ſignal proofs both of his courage and the wiſdom of his conduct. *Cæſar* had indeed after the conqueſt of *Africa* diſpatched firſt *Caius Didius* into *Spain*, to oppoſe the progreſs of the two young generals in that country, and after him *Q. Fabius Maximus* and *Q. Pædius*, two of his lieutenants, with ſuch a body of troops, as he thought ſufficient to keep the *Spaniards* in awe. But the republican party, being favoured by the natives, had gained the aſcendant over them, made themſelves maſters of ſeveral cities, and obliged the *Cæſareans* to ſhut themſelves up in their ſtrong-holds. The dictator's preſence was therefore neceſſary; and accordingly he reſolved to go in perſon, and put a ſtop to their further progreſs. But, before he left *Rome*, he aſſembled the comitia,

[c] PLUT. in CIC. & Cæſare.

and introduced the uſe of the ſolar year, conſiſting of the time in which the ſun goes through the *Zodiac*, and comes about again to the ſame point, whence his courſe began. *2dly*, Having, according to the beſt obſervations of thoſe times, concluded this revolution to be made in three hundred and ſixty-five days and ſix hours; of theſe he made his ſolar year to conſiſt. *3dly*, Theſe three hundred and ſixty-five days he diſtributed into twelve artificial; inſtead of lunar, months before in uſe, ſome of them conſiſting of thirty-one days, ſome of thirty, and one, that is, *February*, of twenty eight. *4thly*, The ſix hours over and above in four years making a day, he made every fifth year to conſiſt of three hundred and ſixty-ſix days, and this is what we call the *Leap Year*. *5thly*, This day he added between the *23d* and *24th* day of *February*, in the ſame place in the *Roman* kalender, where formerly the intercalary month *Mercidinus* had been inſerted. As this addition was made by putting the latter of thoſe days, which was called *Sextus Kalendas*, twice in the kalendar, the year was thence called by the *Latins Annus Biſſextilis*, the *Biſſextile Year*. But we, inſtead of putting the *24th* day of *February* twice in the biſſextile or leap year, number on the days, ſo as to make the month conſiſt of twenty-nine. *6thly*, *Cæſar* began this year on the kalends or firſt day of *January*, becauſe on that day the annual magiſtrates of *Rome* entered on their offices. *7thly*, The firſt of *January* he then fixed to the winter ſolſtice; but it has now over-run that time ſeveral days, by reaſon that the *Julian* ſolar year is eleven minutes longer than the natural ſolar year. *8thly*, To bring this reformation into practice, beſides the month *Mercidinus*, which was inſerted in *February*, as uſual, *Cæſar* added to this preſent year two months more, which he put in between the months of *November* and *December*; ſo that this year thereby conſiſted of four hundred and forty-five days, *viz.* three hundred and fifty-five days for the common *Roman* year, twenty-three for the month *Mercidinus*, and ſixty-ſeven for the other months added between *November* and *December*; ſo that this year, which was the longeſt the *Romans* had ever had, putting their affairs out of their uſual order, was called by them the year of confuſion. In the ſettling of this point *Cæſar* made uſe of the aſſiſtance of *Soſigenes*, an aſtronomer of *Alexandria*, for the aſtronomical calculations, and of *Flavius* a ſcribe, for the forming and digeſting of them into a kalendar, according to the *Roman* manner, that is, in diſtributing the days of each month into their *kalends*, *ides*, and *nones*, and fixing the feſtivals, and other ſolemn times, to the days on which they were to be obſerved. But the pontifices, who had been the authors of the old confuſion, not well underſtanding the new computation, inſtead of interpoſing the leap day after every fourth year in the beginning of the fifth, put it in after the third in the beginning of the fourth, which diſorder was continued for thirty-ſix years following; by which means twelve years having been made leap years inſtead of nine, the error was at length perceived. Hereupon *Auguſtus*, who ſucceeded *Julius Cæſar*, to bring matters into the right courſe again, ordered, that for the twelve years next enſueing no leap year ſhould be made: whereby the three ſupernumerary days, which had been erroneouſly caſt in, being again dropped, this way of computing has been obſerved ever ſince without any alteration, except that made by *Gregory* XIII. which we have mentioned above.

Cæsar *chosen consul the fourth year.*

comitiâ, and having caused himself to be chosen consul the fourth time, as dictator he appointed *M. Æmilius Lepidus*, whom the tribes had given him for his collegue, his general of the horse. All the inferior offices were filled with his friends and creatures, no one daring to oppose the election of such as he thought fit to recommend to the assembled tribes; for though he pretended to allow them the liberty of chusing whom they pleased, yet to each tribe in particular he wrote in the following terms: Cæsar *recommends such a person to such a tribe, and begs they would oblige him so far as to chuse him.* This recommendation from *Cæsar* was in reality an order, which no one had courage enough to dispute or oppose; so that all the power and authority of the republic being lodged in the hands of such persons as were intirely addicted to him, he had no reason to apprehend the least disturbance in the capital during his absence. Having thus settled matters, *Cæsar* took his leave of *Cleopatra*, whom he had invited to *Rome*, and kept in his own house during her abode in that city, and setting out for *Spain* about the beginning of this year, which was the first *Julian* year, he arrived in twenty-four days in the province of *Bætica*. There he assembled what troops were quartered in that and the neighbouring provinces, and, putting himself at their head, marched without loss of time towards *Corduba*, hoping to surprize *Sextus*, the younger of the two *Pompeys*, who was then quartered in that city. But he, having timely notice of *Cæsar*'s arrival and design, immediately dispatched an express to his brother *Cneius*, who was then besieging the city of *Ulla*, acquainting him with the danger that threatened him, and intreating him to break up the siege, and hasten with all his forces to his assistance. *Cneius* had reduced the place to the last extremity, and was then preparing for a general assault; but the unexpected arrival of the dictator, and the danger his brother was in, made him drop the enterprise and fly to *Corduba*. *Cæsar*, having upon his arrival attempted in vain to draw him to a battle, decamped in the night, and went to invest the city of *Ategua*, about sixteen miles from *Corduba*, which the republican party had made their place of arms. Thither *Cneius* followed him, and incamped on some hills at a small distance from *Cæsar*'s intrenchments, with a design to cut off his communication with the neighhouring country, and by that means oblige him to raise the siege. But the dictator, notwithstanding the many and almost unsurmountable difficulties he had to struggle with, pursued his point with a constancy and resolution peculiar to himself. The besieged defended themselves with incredible bravery; but being at length reduced to the utmost extremity, the garison, which consisted mostly of *Romans*, resolved to cut the throats of all the inhabitants, set fire to the city, and attempt by a general sally to force the enemy's lines, and retire to *Cneius*'s camp which was in sight of the city. The cruel massacre was put in execution; but the garison, after having attempted in vain to make their way through *Cæsar*'s camp, were driven back into the town with great slaughter. At length *L. Minutius Flaccus*, who commanded in the city and had distinguished himself, during the siege, in a most eminent manner, surrendered the place upon honourable terms, and put *Cæsar* in possession of the few magazines which the flames had spared. From *Ategua Cæsar* marched to *Bursavolis*, which he surprised, and put great numbers of the inhabitants to the sword, for having cruelly massacred such of their countrymen as had advised them to surrender. After the reduction of these two places, *Cæsar* marched to find out the enemy, and force them to a general engagement. They were encamped in the neighbourhood of *Ucubis*, now *Lucubi*, according to *Mariana*, in the kingdom of *Grenade*. *Cæsar* posted himself at a small distance from the enemy's camp, which gave occasion to daily skirmishes, in one of which *Cæsar*'s cavalry was put to the rout, and defeated with great slaughter. *Pompey* was so elated with this advantage, that he resolved to put the whole to the issue of a general action. He even wrote to his friends, that *Cæsar* had with him only raw and unexperienced soldiers, that he apprehended he would never venture an engagement so long as he could avoid it, but that he would find means to force him to it. In order to this, he marched towards the city of *Hispalis*, now *Seville*, and from thence advanced into the plains of *Munda* (S), and incamped there. *Cæsar* was no sooner informed of the enemy's motions, than he decamped, and after two days easy march appeared with his army in the same plain where *Pompey* was incamped. As the enemy were very impatient

He sets out for Spain.

Invests the city of Ategua.

And makes himself master of it and other places.

Pompey *incamps in the plain of* Munda.

Cæsar *follows him thither.*

(S) The city of *Munda* is placed by the antient geographers in the province of *Bætica*, about twenty miles from *Malaga* in an agreeable and fruitful plain watered by a small river, or rather a rivulet. It was in former times a place of great note, but is at present, as *Mariana* informs us, a sorry village known by its antient name.

a impatient to come to an engagement, the very next morning they drew up their army by break of day; but had the precaution to poſt themſelves advantagiouſly on a riſing ground, whereof one ſide was defended by the city of *Munda*, and the other by a ſmall river, which watered the plain, and by a marſh; ſo that the enemy could not attack them but in front. *Cæſar* likewiſe drew up his troops with great art, and, having advanced a little way from his camp, ordered his troops to halt, expecting the enemy would abandon their advantagious poſt and come to meet him. But, as they did not ſtir, *Cæſar* made as if he intended to fortify himſelf in that poſt, which induced the young general, who looked upon this as a ſign of fear, to advance into the plain, and attack the enemy before they could ſecure themſelves with any works.

b *Pompey*'s army was by far the moſt numerous; for it conſiſted of thirteen legions, ſix hundred horſe, and an incredible number of auxiliaries, among whom were all the forces of *Bocchus* king of *Mauritania*, commanded by his two ſons, both youths of great valour and bravery. *Cæſar* had eighty cohorts, three legions, *viz.* the third, the fifth, and the tenth, and a body of eight thouſand horſe. As the enemy drew near, *Cæſar* betrayed a great deal of uneaſineſs and concern, as if he were doubtful of the ſucceſs, knowing he was to engage men no ways inferior in valour and experience to his own, and commanded by officers, who had on many occaſions given ſignal proofs of their bravery and conduct. *Cneius*, the elder of the two brothers, was generally looked upon as an able commander, and *Labienus* eſteemed ſcarce inferior to *Cæſar* himſelf. However, the dictator, deſirous to put an end to the civil war, either by

c his own death or that of his rivals, gave the ſignal for the battle, and fell upon the enemy with his uſual vigour and reſolution. At the firſt onſet, which was dreadful, the auxiliaries on both ſides betook themſelves to flight, leaving the *Romans* to decide their quarrel by themſelves. Then the legionaries engaged with a fury hardly to be expreſſed; *Cæſar*'s men being encouraged by the hopes of putting an end to all their labours by this battle, and thoſe of *Pompey* exerting themſelves out of neceſſity and deſpair, ſince moſt of them expected no quarter, as having been formerly pardoned when defeated under *Afranius* and *Petreius*. Never was victory more obſtinately diſputed. *Cæſar*'s men, who had been always uſed to conquer, found themſelves ſo

d vigorouſly charged by the enemy's legionaries, that they began to give ground; and though they did not turn their backs, yet it was manifeſt that ſhame alone kept them in their poſts. All authors agree, that *Cæſar* had never been in ſo great danger; and he himſelf, when he came back to his camp, told his friends, that he had often fought for victory, but this was the firſt time he had ever fought for life. Thinking himſelf abandoned by fortune, which had hitherto favoured him, he had ſome thoughts of ſtabbing himſelf with his own ſword, and by a voluntary death preventing the diſgrace of a defeat. But returning ſoon to himſelf, and concluding it would be more to his reputation to fall by the enemy's hand at the head of his troops, than, in a fit of deſpair, by his own, he diſmounted from his horſe, and ſnatching a buckler from

e one of his legionaries, he threw himſelf, like a man in deſpair, into the midſt of the enemy; crying out to his men, *Are you not aſhamed to deliver your general into the hands of boys?* At theſe words the ſoldiers of the tenth legion, animated by the example of their general, fell upon the enemy with freſh vigour, and made a dreadful havock of them. But, in ſpite of their utmoſt efforts, *Pompey*'s men ſtill kept their ground, and, though greatly fatigued, returned the charge with equal vigour. Then the *Cæſareans* began to deſpair of victory, and the dictator, running through the ranks of his diſheartened legionaries, had much ado to keep them together. The battle had already laſted from the riſing to the ſetting of the ſun, without any conſiderable advantage on either ſide. At length a mere accident decided the diſpute in favour of the dictator.

f *Bogud*, a petty king of *Mauritania*, of whom we have ſpoke above, had joined *Cæſar* ſoon after his arrival in *Spain* with ſome ſquadrons of *Numidian* horſe; but in the very beginning of the battle, being terrified at the ſhouting of the ſoldiers intermingled with groans and the claſhing of their arms, he had abandoned his poſt, and retired with the auxiliaries under his command to a riſing ground at a ſmall diſtance from the enemy's camp. There he continued the whole day an idle ſpectator of the battle that was fought in the plain. But towards the evening, partly out of ſhame, and partly out of compaſſion on his friend *Cæſar*, he reſolved to fall upon *Pompey*'s camp, and accordingly flew thither with all the forces he had with him. *Labienus*, appriſed of his deſign haſtened after him, to the defence of the camp; which *Cæſar* obſerving,

g cried to his legionaries, *Courage, fellow-ſoldiers, the victory at length is ours*; Labienus *flies.*

The battle of Munda. *Year after the flood* 2959. *Before Chriſt* 40. *Of* Rome 708.

Cæſar *in great diſtreſs.*

Cæſar *gains the day by a ſtratagem, and forces the enemy's camp.*

flies. This artifice had the deſired effect: *Cæſar*'s men, believing that *Labienus* was truly fled, made a laſt effort, and charged the wing he commanded ſo briskly, that after a moſt obſtinate diſpute they put them to flight. Though the enemy's left wing was thus intirely defeated, the right, where the elder *Pompey* commanded, ſtill kept their ground for ſome time. *Pompey*, diſmounting from his horſe, fought on foot like a private man in the firſt line, till, moſt of his legionaries being killed, he was forced to ſave himſelf by flight from falling into the enemy's hands. Part of his troops fled back to their camp, and part took ſhelter in the city of *Munda*. The camp was immediately attacked and taken ſword in hand; and as for the city, *Cæſar* without loſs of time drew a line of circumvallation round it. Such was the ever-memorable battle of *Munda*, which gave the finiſhing ſtroke to the *Roman* republic, and raiſed *Cæſar* to the higheſt pitch of power and glory, no one daring from this time diſpute his authority. This victory was gained on the ſixteenth of the kalends of *April*, that is, according to our way of counting, on the ſeventeenth day of *March*, when the *Dionyſian* feſtival, or the *Liberalia*, were celebrated at *Rome* (T), the very day, as *Plutarch* obſerves, in which *Pompey the Great* four years before had ſet out for the war. In this action *Pompey* loſt thirty thouſand men, among whom were the famous *Labienus*, *Attius Varus*, and three thouſand *Roman* knights. Seventeen officers of diſtinction were taken, and all the enemy's eagles and enſigns together with *Pompey*'s faſces, which he had aſſumed as governor of *Spain*. On *Cæſar*'s ſide only a thouſand men were killed and five hundred wounded [d].

Beſieges Munda.

The battle being over, *Cæſar* in the firſt place completed his lines about *Munda*, uſing, inſtead of earth, the dead bodies of the enemy, which covered the whole plain, and raiſing them up in heaps, ſo as to equal the height of the walls. This ſight filled *Cæſar* with horror, who thereupon committed the carrying on of the ſiege to *Fabius Maximus*, one of his lieutenants, and, having cauſed the bodies of *Attius Varus* and *Labienus* to be honourably interred, abandoned the plain of *Munda*, and marched towards *Corduba*, expecting to find there the heads of the contrary party, who had diſappeared after the battle. But he was diſappointed; for the elder *Pompey* fled with a hundred and fifty horſe from the field of battle towards his navy, which lay at *Carteia*, a city about a hundred and ſeventy miles diſtant from *Corduba*. The inhabitants opened their gates to him; but were no ſooner informed of the ſucceſs of the battle at *Munda*, than they ſent deputies to *Cæſar*, acquainting him, that they had ſecured *Pompey*. But, as a good number of the inhabitants ſtill remained in *Pompey*'s intereſt, the place was divided into two factions, which carried their animoſities ſo far as to engage each other in the ſtreets, and fill the city with blood and ſlaughter. In one of theſe tumultuary actions *Pompey* himſelf received ſeveral wounds; but having nevertheleſs, after a warm diſpute, made himſelf maſter of one of the gates, he eſcaped to his fleet, and, hoiſting ſail, put to ſea with thirty galleys. But *Didius*, who commanded *Cæſar*'s fleet at *Gades*, upon notice of his weighing anchor, immediately put to ſea after him, having firſt taken on board a conſiderable body of horſe as well as foot, in caſe there ſhould be occaſion to purſue the enemy by land. After four days ſail he came up with their galleys, and ſurpriſing them, while both the ſoldiers and mariners were employed aſhore in procuring neceſſary proviſions, which they had not had time to take in at *Carteia*, he burnt ſeveral of them, took the reſt, and by that means cut off the enemy's retreat by ſea. *Pompey*, ſeeing himſelf thus unexpectedly deprived of his fleet, endeavoured to ſave himſelf by flight croſs the mountains. But, as

The elder Pompey *flies to his fleet.*

Which is deſtroyed by Didius, Cæſar's *admiral.*

[d] Plut. in Cæſ. Appian. bell. civil. l. ii, Auth. comment. de bell. Hiſpaniaſi.

(T) *Plutarch* tells us, that this battle was won on the *Dionyſian* feſtival, τῇ τῶν Διονυσίων ἑορτῇ, ſays that writer; which paſſages, as madam *Dacier* rightly obſerves, moſt interpreters have groſly miſtaken. The old *Latin* verſion, ſays ſhe, has it thus: *hanc victoriam obtinuit ſaturnalibus*, this victory was gained on the feſtival of *Saturn*. The *Dionyſia* and *Saturnalia* were two very different feſtivals. Others, who have tranſlated it into the modern languages, have rendered it by *the feaſt of the* Bacchanals. How could *Cæſar* gain a victory on the day of a feſtival, which had been aboliſhed a hundred and forty-one years before, and ſuppreſſed throughout all *Italy* by an order of the ſenate, on account of its abominations, as we are informed by *Livy* (43)? *Plutarch* by the *Dionyſia* means that feaſt which is called by the *Romans Liberalia*, and ſtands in their kalendar againſt the 17th of *March*. *Liberalia*, ſays *Feſtus*, *Liberi Feſta, quæ apud Græcos dicuntur Dionyſia*. As *Liber* and *Dionyſius* are two names of *Bacchus*, this is what has miſled thoſe interpreters, and made them believe, though very abſurdly, that the feaſt, called *Liberalia*, was the ſame with the *Bacchanalia*. Thus far the learned madam *Dacier*.

(43) *Liv. l.* xxxix.

a as he had been dangerouſly wounded at *Carteia* in his ſhoulder and left leg, and beſides had now the misfortune, as all things ſeemed to conſpire againſt him, to put his ancle out of joint, which obliged him to be carried in a litter, the enemy's horſe, who had been put on board for that particular ſervice, ſoon came up with him. Upon their approach, the unfortunate *Roman* diſcovering a caſtle on a ſteep hill at a ſmall diſtance, retired thither with the few troops that attended him. The *Cæſareans*, under the command of *Ceſennius Lento*, immediately attacked the place, hoping to carry it by aſſault, but were repulſed by a ſhower of darts, and purſued in their retreat with great ſlaughter. Hereupon *Didius* began to beſiege the caſtle in a regular manner, and to draw a line of circumvallation round it; which ſo terrified *Pompey*'s men, that they b reſolved to quit the place and abandon their leader, who was not in a condition to follow them, to the mercy of the enemy. Accordingly they made a ſally, but were for the moſt part cut off in their retreat, *Pompey* retired with the reſt, but not being able to keep pace with them by reaſon of his wounds, he concealed himſelf in a cave, where he was betrayed by ſome of his own ſoldiers, and delivered up to the *Cæſareans*, who immediately put him to death. Thus periſhed the elder *Pompey*, after having exerted his utmoſt efforts to revenge the death of his father, and ſave his country from impending ruin. He had never before commanded in chief; but nevertheleſs, in this firſt eſſay as we may call it, performed ſuch wonders, as forced *Cæſar* to own, that he had never encountered a more formidable enemy. As for the younger brother, ſome c writers tell us that he was not preſent at the battle of *Munda*, but remained in *Corduba* to defend that important place in caſe of any misfortune; others ſay, that he retired to *Corduba* after the action. However that be, he was no ſooner acquainted with the melancholy news of the defeat of his brother, than he divided what money he had among the cavalry who attended him, and giving out, that he was going to meet *Cæſar* and treat with him about an accommodation, he left the city, fled in diſguiſe to *Celtiberia*, and, joining the banditti of that country, concealed himſelf ſo well, that *Cæſar* could never diſcover him [e].

Pompey flies to a caſtle.

Where he is beſieged and killed.

The fate of the younger Pompey.

Cæſar *marches to* Corduba.

BUT, to return to *Cæſar*: The battle being over and the lines about *Munda* com- pleted; he marched to *Corduba*, which was defended by a body of troops that had d eſcaped the ſlaughter, under the command of one *Scapula*, a zealous republican. Upon *Cæſar*'s approach, *Scapula* armed all the ſlaves and vagabonds, who were very numerous in that great city, and, leaving the thirteenth legion in the place, marched out at the head of that undiſciplined multitude, and poſſeſſed himſelf of a bridge. As *Cæſar*'s army drew near, the rabble inſulted them, asking them, whether they deſigned to fly, as if they had been the army defeated. But *Cæſar*, not thinking it adviſeable to force the poſt, deſpiſed their bravadoes, and taking a long compaſs, paſſed the river without oppoſition, and appeared before *Corduba*. Hereupon *Scapula*, giving all up for loſt, retired into the city, and calling together his friends, gave them a ſumptuous entertainment; which being ended, he put on his beſt apparel, e diſtributed what money he had among his attendants, and then aſcending a funeral pile, which he had prepared, he ordered one of his catamites to diſpatch him, while another put fire to the pile, which ſoon reduced the body to aſhes. Upon *Scapula*'s death the city was divided into two factions; ſome were for ſurrendering, others for ſtanding a ſiege; but the former prevailing, deputies were ſent to *Cæſar*, who got poſſeſſion of one of the gates. Hereupon the thirteenth legion, which had been always greatly attached to *Pompey*, began to ſet fire to the houſes, chuſing rather to periſh with the city, than fall into the hands of the conqueror. This occaſioned a bloody battle between them and the *Cæſareans*, in which moſt of the legionaries, with about twelve thouſand of the inhabitants were killed upon the ſpot. *Cæſar*, f having thus made himſelf maſter of *Corduba*, at that time the capital of *Bætica*, marched from thence to *Hiſpalis*, now *Seville*. On his march he was met by *Ceſennius*, who gave him an account of the tragical end of the elder *Pompey*, and at the ſame time preſented to him the young *Roman*'s head, which, ſome writers ſay [f], he expoſed to public view, while the other tell us, that he cauſed it to be honourably interred [g]. As he drew near *Hiſpalis*, he was met by deputies from the city, who acquainted him with the diviſions that reigned in the place, and intreated him to ſend with them a detachment and an experienced commander, to keep the adverſe party in awe. *Cæſar* readily complied with their requeſt, and granted them *Caninius Rebilius* with ſome manipuli,

Makes great ſlaughter of the enemy, and poſſeſſes himſelf of the place.

[e] Auth. bell. Hiſpan. APPIAN. bell. civil. l. ii. VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. SUET. in Julio. DIO. l. xliv.
[f] Auth. bell. Hiſpan. c. 6. [g] APPIAN. bell. civil. l. ii.

Hiſpalis *receives a* Cæſarean *gariſon.*

manipuli, who entered the town without oppoſition. But, in the mean time, *Pompey*'s friends privately diſpatched one *Philo*, a zealous aſſerter of their party, into *Luſitania*, where he was well known, to beg aſſiſtance of *Cæcilius Niger*, who ſtill ſupported *Pompey*'s intereſt there at the head of a conſiderable number of the natives. *Philo* ſoon returned with a numerous body of *Luſitanians*, and, being let into the city in the night, fell unexpectedly on the *Cæſareans*, and cut them all off to a man. Hereupon *Cæſar* immediately inveſted the town; but, in drawing the lines of circumvallation, left ſeveral open places for the *Luſitanians* to make their eſcape, leſt deſpair ſhould prompt them to ſet fire to the houſes and demoliſh the walls. At the ſame time he placed ſquadrons of horſe on all the roads that led from the city, ordering them to conceal themſelves till the *Luſitanians* appeared, and then, falling upon them, give them no quarter. They held out a long time with great obſtinacy and reſolution; but at length made a ſally, and got ſafe beyond *Cæſar*'s lines through the paſſages that had been left open for that purpoſe. But while they thought themſelves out of danger, they were all on a ſudden attacked by the *Cæſarean* cavalry, and put to the ſword, not one of them eſcaping the general ſlaughter. *Cæſar*, having thus recovered *Hiſpalis*, marched towards *Aſta* (U), the inhabitants of which city ſent embaſſadors to meet him, and deliver him the keys of their town. There he received the melancholy news of the death of *Didius* his admiral, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf on all occaſions in a very eminent manner. After he had deſtroyed *Pompey*'s fleet, as we have related above, he cauſed his veſſels to be hauled on ſhore to be refitted, and, in the mean time, retired to a neighbouring caſtle, where he was unexpectedly attacked by a body of *Luſitanians*, who had eſcaped from the battle of *Munda*. The *Roman* admiral defended the place with great bravery; but the *Luſitanians* having ſet fire to his ſhips, he made a ſally, and marched in good order to the ſea-ſide, hoping to repulſe the enemy and preſerve his navy. While his men were buſy in extinguiſhing the flames, a body of *Luſitanians*, who had concealed themſelves among the buſhes, ſtarting up, attacked him in the rear, and cut off his retreat to the caſtle, while two other numerous bodies fell upon him, the one in flank, the other in front. *Didius*, thus inveſted on all ſides, behaved with ſignal bravery; but was, in ſpite of his utmoſt efforts, overpowered, and with moſt of his men cut in pieces. *Cæſar*'s concern for the loſs of ſo brave an officer was in great meaſure allayed, by the agreeable news he received at the ſame time of the ſurrender of *Munda*, after a long and cloſe ſiege. When the beſieged ſaw themſelves reduced to the utmoſt extremity, they deſerted in great numbers to *Cæſar*, by whom they were kindly received, and incorporated among his troops. But, before they came over, it was agreed between them and their friends in the city, that upon a certain ſignal the latter ſhould make a vigorous ſally, while the deſerters did what execution they could in the camp. This plot being very ſeaſonably diſcovered the night before it was to be put in execution, the private men were by *Fabius*'s orders decimated, and all the officers executed without diſtinction. Soon after, the beſieged made a ſally with a deſign to force their way through the enemy's works; but moſt of them having loſt their lives in the attempt, *Fabius* at length carried the place by aſſault. From *Munda* he marched ſtraight to *Urſaon*, a place equally fortified by art and nature, laid ſiege to it, and obliged the inhabitants to receive the yoke, after they had for ſome time defended the place with incredible bravery. And now *Cæſar*, having reduced all the places which had declared for *Pompey*, and exacted immenſe contributions from the *Spaniards* under pretence of puniſhing their rebellion, retired to *Hiſpalis*; whence, to give new marks of his eſteem for *Cicero*, he wrote a conſolatory letter to him on occaſion of the death of his beloved daughter *Tullia*, who died at *Rome* in childbed, while her husband *P. Cornelius Dolabella* was attending *Cæſar* in *Spain*. This letter, as appears from *Cicero*'s works, was wrote the day before the kalends of *May*; and a few days after *Cæſar* left *Hiſpalis*, and marched with the beſt part of his army to *New Carthage*; where he was met by deputies from moſt cities of *Spain*, with whom he ſettled the affairs of the two *Spaniſh* provinces, and then imbarqued for *Rome*, having finiſhed in ſeven months an expedition, which few generals would have completed in as many years [h].

Cæſar *recovers* Hiſpalis.

The fleet of Didius *burnt, and he killed.*

Munda *taken.*

And Urſaon.

Cæſar

[h] Auth. bell. Hiſpan. Dio. Vell. Patercul. ibid. Cic. ad Atticum, l. xiii. epiſt. 20.

(U) *Aſta*, which *Pliny* honours with the title of *Regia*, was about ſixteen miles diſtance from *Gades*, according to *Antoninus*'s itinerary, and ſituated on the ocean. This city is mentioned by *Pomponius Mela*, and alſo by *Ptolemy*. *Martin de Roa* is of opinion, that it ſtood where the preſent city of *Xeres della Frontera* ſtands; but others pretend to diſcover its ruins between *Xeres* and *Tribuxena*.

a *Cæſar* reached *Rome* in the beginning of *October*, and entered the city in triumph, which diſpleaſed the *Romans* beyond any thing he had yet done. They could not brook his triumphing over the calamities of his country, and his rejoicing for an advantage, which ahought rather to have deplored, and for which no better apology could be made, than that he was abſolutely compelled to it. What made his triumph look ſtill more diſtaſteful was, that he had never before acquainted the ſenate by any letter or expreſs of the victories he had obtained in the courſe of the civil wars; but ſeemed rather to be aſhamed of the action, than to claim any glory that might ariſe to him from it. *Cæſar*, not contented with having triumphed himſelf, beſtowed the ſame honour on two of his lieutenants, *Q. Fabius Maximus* and *Q. Pedius*, but with
b this difference, that the repreſentations of the cities, rivers, *&c.* carried before *Cæſar*, were of ivory; whereas thoſe that were made uſe of in the triumphs of his lieutenants were of common wood; which made a humorous *Greek*, by name *Chryſippus*, ſay, by way of raillery, that the ſtatues carried before *Fabius* and *Pedius* were only the caſes of thoſe which *Cæſar* had diſplayed in his triumph[1]. However, the *Romans*, taking the ſame ſide with fortune, began to heap new honours upon the conqueror, and thoſe greater than any they had yet beſtowed. *Cicero* indeed propoſed in the ſenate the conferring of ſuch honours on him, as were in ſome meaſure within the bounds of modeſty; but others, ſtriving who ſhould deſerve moſt, carried them ſo high, that they made *Cæſar* odious even to the moſt indifferent and moderate ſort of men. They
c made him dictator for life, ſubjected all magiſtrates, even the tribunes of the people, to his power, decreed, that he alone ſhould levy troops, command armies, declare war, make peace, take charge of the public money, and that all inferior magiſtrates ſhould oblige themſelves by oath to obſerve whatever decrees he ſhould think fit to enact. Among other titles, that of *imperator* was given him, not in that ſenſe in which it had been formerly beſtowed on generals after ſome ſignal victory, but as it imported the greateſt power and authority in the commonwealth. From him was derived the name of *imperator* or *emperor*, and likewiſe that of *Cæſar* to his ſucceſſors; and this was the beginning of the imperial ſtate of *Rome*, though it was not ſettled till ſome years after. His enemies are thought to have had ſome ſhare in the extraordi-
d nary honours conferred on him, as well as his flatterers, ſince they took from thence an opportunity of calumniating him, and alienating from him the minds of ſuch as were friends to the ancient form of government. On the other hand, *Cæſar* made it his whole ſtudy to gain the affections even of the moſt inveterate enemies. He not only pardoned all thoſe who had borne arms againſt him, but on ſeveral of them beſtowed honours and offices; inſomuch, that the ſenate and the people, to teſtify their grati tude to him for the mild uſe he made of his power, decreed a temple to *clemency*. As the people ſtill retained an affection for *Pompey*, he ordered all the ſtatues of that great man, which had been thrown down, to be ſet up again; upon which *Cicero* ſaid, that by raiſing *Pompey*'s ſtatues he had fixed his own. To gain the confidence of the ſenate
e and the republican party, contrary to the advice of his beſt friends, he diſmiſſed his guards, ſaying, it was better to ſuffer death once, than to live always in fear of it. As he looked upon the affections of the people as his beſt and ſureſt guard, he did all that lay in his power to oblige them, entertaining them frequently with public feaſts and ſhews, and diſtributing corn among the poorer ſort of people. To gratify his army, he ſent out colonies to ſeveral places, of which the moſt remarkable were *Carthage* and *Corinth* (W). As for the nobility, he attached moſt of them to his intereſt by raiſing them to the chief offices in the ſtate, and truſting them with the government of the many provinces that were then ſubject to *Rome*. In ſhort, he ingratiated himſelf with all orders of men, by his gentle deportment and winning behaviour, ſo as to work in
f them a chearful and willing ſubmiſſion. Though he had been inveſted with the conſular dignity for ten years, yet he named others to that eminent poſt in the republic, appointing *Q. Fabius Maximus* and *C. Trebonius* conſuls for the remaining part of that year. Nay, he carried his pretended obſervance of the ancient cuſtoms and laws ſo far, that the conſul *Fabius Maximus* happening to die ſuddenly on the very day before the expiration of his office, he named *Caninius Rebilius* to be conſul for the remaining hours only, that is, till ſix in the evening, when the calends of *January* began. As the

Cæſar *returns to* Rome.

His triumph offends the Romans.

Created dictator *for life.*

And imperator *or* emperor.

His clemency and obliging behaviour.

[1] Dio, l. xliii. Appian. Quintilian. l. vi. c. 4. Plut. in Cæſ.

(W) It may be ſaid, there was ſomething ſingular in the fate of theſe two cities; for as they had been both deſtroyed at the ſame time, ſo were they now at the ſame time rebuilt and repeopled,

the *Romans* were all haſtening to pay their compliments, as was uſual, to the new a conſul, *Let us make haſte*, ſaid *Cicero*, by way of raillery, *leſt he be gone out of his office before we get to his houſe* (X). As the dictator had many friends to gratify, he increaſed the prætors to ſixteen, and the quæſtors to forty; he created ſix new ædiles, and increaſed the number of the other curule magiſtrates in proportion. But as there ſtill remained many unrewarded, who had ſerved him with great fidelity, he allotted them places in the ſenate, by which means the number of the ſenators roſe from three hundred to nine hundred. This gave great offence to the conſcript fathers, the more, becauſe among thoſe, whom the dictator raiſed to that high ſtation, were many common ſoldiers, ſons of freed-men, foreigners lately admitted to the *Roman* citizenſhip, *Gauls*, *Spaniards*, &c. *Cæſar* having thus debaſed the ſenate, began to look b upon them with contempt, and conſider them no otherwiſe than his vaſſals and creatures. Of this he gave not long after a ſignal inſtance. The ſenate, having paſſed a decree, conferring on him ſome extravagant honours, went in a body to preſent him with it, as he was ſitting on the roſtra adminiſtering juſtice. Though the conſuls, prætors, and all the curule magiſtrates then in *Rome* attended the ſenate, yet the dictator received them with all the pride and haughtineſs of a ſovereign, without ſo much as condeſcending to riſe to them. We are told by *Plutarch*, that he offered to ſtand up to the ſenate; but that *Cornelius Balbus*, one of his friends, or rather flatterers, hindered him: *Remember*, ſaid he, *you are* Cæſar, *and ſuffer them to pay you that reſpect which is due to your dignity*. However that be, his carriage offended, not c only the conſcript fathers, but the people too, the latter thinking the affront on the ſenate equally reflected on the whole republic. *Cæſar*, ſenſible of the falſe ſtep he had taken, immediately retired home, and cauſed a report to be ſpread abroad by his emiſſaries, that his ſitting had been cauſed by the diſtemper to which he was ſubject, *viz.* the falling ſickneſs, which, he ſaid, diſcompoſed the ſenſes of thoſe who were affected with it, if they talked much ſtanding. Not long after he gave a freſh occaſion of reſentment by affronting the tribunes. While *Cæſar* was one day ſitting in a golden chair upon the roſtra, to view the ceremony of the *lupercalia*, *Marc Antony*, who was then *Cæſar*'s collegue in the conſulſhip, after having run up and down the d city naked, as was uſual during that ſolemnity (Y), came into the forum, and falling down before *Cæſar*, preſented him with a diadem, wreathed with laurel. Upon this a ſmall ſhout was raiſed by ſome who had been placed near the dictator for that purpoſe; but when *Cæſar* refuſed it, he was applauded by the whole multitude. *Antony* offered the crown again, and, upon the dictator's ſecond refuſal, all, who were preſent, teſtified their ſatisfaction anew with loud acclamations. Then *Cæſar*, finding it would not take, roſe up, and ordered the crown to be carried into the capitol, ſaying, that *Jupiter* alone was king of the *Romans*. The next morning *Cæſar*'s ſtatues were found with royal diadems on their heads; but *Flavius* and *Marullus*, two tribunes of the people, went preſently, and not only pulled them off, but cauſed thoſe to be e apprehended and committed to priſon, who the day before had applauded *Antony*, while he attempted to put the royal diadem on *Cæſar*'s head. The people followed their tribunes with loud acclamations, comparing them to the famous *Brutus*, the founder of the republic. This *Cæſar* highly reſented, diſplaced the two tribunes, and while he inveighed againſt them in a public ſpeech, he abuſed and ridiculed on that occaſion the people, calling them *bruti* and *Cumæi*, that is, *beaſts* and *fools* (Z). A few days after

Increaſes the number of the magiſtrates and ſenators.

He offends the ſenate.

And the people.

(X) There was no end of *Cicero*'s witticiſms on that occaſion; *We have had a very vigilant conſul*, ſaid he; *for he has not ſhut his eyes during the whole time of his conſulate.* Caninius *was a conſul of ſuch ſtrictneſs and ſeverity, that not one among us dined, ſupped, or ſlept during his conſulſhip.* Caninius *has indeed been conſul, but we may well aſk under what conſul he has been conſul*, &c.

(Y) The *lupercalia* were, as we have obſerved elſewhere, at their firſt inſtitution, peculiar to the ſhepherds, and of the ſame nature with the *Arcadian Lycæa*. The young patricians, and ſome of the magiſtrates, uſed to run that day up and down the city naked, ſtriking all they met with leathern thongs by way of ſport. Women of the firſt rank placed themſelves in the way, and held out their hands to the laſh, out of an opinion, that it procured an eaſy labour to thoſe who were with child, and made thoſe conceive who were barren.

(Z) The *Cumæi*, as madam *Dacier* obſerves, were noted for their ſtupidity; σκόπλεται δ' εἰς ἀναισθησίαν ἡ Κυμὴ Cumæ *is ſtupid to a proverb*, ſays *Strabo* (44); and he gives us theſe reaſons for it. The firſt, that they were three hundred years before they thought of laying a duty on merchandize imported into their harbours and before they found that they inhabited a maritime city. The ſecond, that having mortaged their porticoes for a certain ſum of money, and failing to pay it at the time named in the contract, their creditors would not allow them to walk under them. But when the rains began to fall, thoſe creditors, being touched with compaſſion, cauſed

(44) *Strabo, l.* xiii.

a after, as he was returning from *Alba* to *Rome*, ſome of his friends ſaluted him, as he entered the city, by the title of king; but he, finding the people diſreliſhed it, ſeemed to reſent it himſelf, and anſwered aloud, *My title is* Cæſar, *not king*. This affectation of being king gave the common people the firſt occaſion to quarrel with him, and proved a ſpecious pretence, for thoſe who had been his ſecret enemies all along, to conſpire againſt him. The zealous republicans, deteſting his ambition, began to form private cabals, and conſult among themſelves about the proper meaſures for delivering *Rome* from the yoke ſhe groaned under. The chief of the conſpirators was *C. Caſſius*, a ſincere friend to his country, and at the ſame time an enemy to *Cæſar* on a private account, the dictator having a few months before beſtowed the firſt and

A conſpiracy formed againſt him.

b moſt honourable prætorſhip on *Brutus*, though he could not help owning, that *Caſſius* had the beſt claim to it. *Caſſius* therefore, partly out of zeal for the good of his country, and partly out of a ſpirit of revenge, formed firſt with himſelf the plan of the conſpiracy, and then imparted it to a few, whom he knew to be ſecret enemies both to the tyrant and tyranny. As *Brutus* was highly eſteemed both by the people and ſenate, *Caſſius* looked upon him as the moſt proper perſon for carrying on the conſpiracy. He was thought to be deſcended by his father's ſide from the famous *Junius Brutus*, who drove out the *Tarquins* (A), and by his mother's ſide from the *Servilii*, one of the moſt illuſtrious families of *Rome*; but what, in *Plutarch*'s opinion, was more than all the reſt, he was both nephew and ſon-in law to *Cato* of *Utica*. He was

c a moſt zealous republican, and fully convinced, that the common-wealth could be no longer maintained without the death of the dictator. But the honours and favours he had received at *Cæſar*'s hands reſtrained him from uſing violent meaſures. He had not only been pardoned himſelf, and obtained the ſame grace for many of his friends, after the battle of *Pharſalia*; but was one in whom *Cæſar* had a particular confidence. He had at that time the moſt honourable prætorſhip, was named for the conſulſhip four years after, and deſigned in all appearance by *Cæſar* for his ſucceſſor. For being once accuſed as engaged in a conſpiracy againſt him, *Cæſar* would not hearken to the accuſation, ſaying, that *Brutus* was not ſo ambitious, but he could wait with patience till he was taken off by a natural death. *Caſſius* therefore, who had already formed

Caſſius *endeavours to draw* Brutus *into the conſpiracy.*

d the deſign of aſſaſſinating *Cæſar*, being on one hand deſirous of drawing into the plot a man of ſo great credit as *Brutus*; but on the other not daring to diſcourſe the matter with him openly, laid in the night-time papers about his chair, where he uſed to ſit as prætor and determine cauſes, with ſentences to this import; *You are aſleep*, Brutus; *you are no longer* Brutus; and under the ſtatue of the famous *Junius Brutus* he wrote the following words; *Would to heaven thou wert alive, or ſome of thy deſcendants reſembled thee. Caſſius*, perceiving that theſe ſentences made a deep impreſſion on his mind, firſt employed his wife *Junia*, who was ſiſter to *Brutus*, to revive in the breaſt of her brother thoſe generous ſentiments, which were peculiar to their family; and afterwards reſolved at all adventures to diſcover to him his deſign, not doubting but

e he ſhould be able to draw one into the plot, who, though he did not hate the tyrant, was a declared enemy to tyranny. Accordingly, as the ſenate was to meet a few days after in order to deliberate, as was ſaid, about giving *Cæſar* the title of king, *Caſſius* took this occaſion to pay a viſit to *Brutus*, and aſk him whether he deſigned to be preſent in the ſenate on the calends of *March*, when *Cæſar*'s friends were to propoſe the giving him the title of king. *Brutus* anſwered, that he deſigned to abſent himſelf that day. *But ſuppoſe you are called thither*, replied *Caſſius*. *Then*, ſaid *Brutus*, *I ſhould think it my duty to ſpeak and uſe my utmoſt endeavours againſt ſuch unwarrantable proceedings*,

cauſed it to be publiſhed, that the *Cumæans* might, if they pleaſed, take ſhelter under their own porticoes; which gave occaſion to this raillery, *The* Cumæans *had not the ſenſe to know that they had a right to ſtand under their own porticoes when it rained, till they were informed of it by the voice of the crier.*

(A) *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus* and *Dion Caſſius* aſſure us, that *Marcus Brutus* was not deſcended from the famous *Junius Brutus*. The *Junian* family was, according to them, divided into two branches, the one patrician, the other plebeian. The former ended in *Brutus* himſelf, after he had ſacrificed his two ſons to the ſafety of his country. The other flouriſhed many ages after, and furniſhed *Rome* with many heroes, among the reſt with *Marcus Brutus*, of whom we are ſpeaking in this place. As he bore the ſame name with the firſt conſul, and was of the ſame family, the common people believed him to be deſcended from the firſt *Brutus*. *Plutarch* himſelf, upon the authority of *Poſidonius* the philoſopher, was of the ſame opinion, and will have *Brutus* to be ſprung from a third ſon of *Junius Brutus*, who was but a child, when his two brothers were executed by their father's command. Some writers, the more to debaſe *Brutus* who acted a chief part in the conſpiracy, pretend, that he was come of a mean family, which had been raiſed to honours and offices in the republic but a few years before.

Caſſius's *ſpeech to* Brutus.

ings, nay, and to die rather than outlive the liberty of my country. *Ah*! replyed *Caſſius*, *what generous* Roman *would ſuffer you to die for his liberty? You are not acquainted with yourſelf*, Brutus, *if you imagine, that thoſe papers, which were thrown into your tribunal, came from any but the moſt illuſtrious and braveſt men of* Rome. *From other prætors they demanded games, ſhew's gladiators*, &c. *but from you, whoſe very name is dreadful to tyrants, they expect the ruin and downfal of arbitrary power, being ready to expoſe themſelves to the utmoſt dangers in expectation of your auſpicious aid.* Theſe words made ſuch a deep impreſſion on *Brutus*, that, notwithſtanding the many favours he had received at the dictator's hands, he entered into all *Caſſius*'s meaſures, and from that time took upon himſelf the whole management of the conſpiracy. The name of *Brutus* ſoon engaged a great many illuſtrious citizens in the conſpiracy, among whom were C. *Trebonius*, *Servius Sulpicius Galba*, the two *Servilius Caſcas*, *Publius Caius*, *Decimus Brutus Albinus*, *Tullius Cimber*, and *Lucius Minucius Bacilius*. Theſe had all ſerved under *Cæſar* from the very beginning of the civil wars, and were looked upon by him as his moſt truſty friends. It was more eaſy to draw into the conſpiracy thoſe who had always ſhewn an utter averſion to *Cæſar*'s uſurpation. Among theſe were *M. Junius Brutus*, *L. Caſſius*, brother to *C. Caſſius*, *Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus*, *P. Turullius*, *C. Attilius*, *L. Petronius*, *C. Cornelius Cinna*, *Caſſius Parmenſis*, *L.* and *C. Cæcilius*, *Rubrius Ruga*, *M. Spurius*, *P. Sextius Naſo*, *Pontius Aquila*, *Antiſtius Labeo*, and many others, to the number of ſixty, whoſe names have not been tranſmitted to us. As for *Cicero*, though he was known to be at the bottom a zealous republican, yet as he was naturally timorous and greatly addicted to *Cæſar*, who had heaped innumerable favours upon him, *Brutus*, did not think it adviſeable to truſt him with the ſecret. The conſpirators would fain have engaged the famous *Statilius*, who affected to imitate *Cato*, and would have laid violent hands on himſelf after the defeat of *Pompey*'s party in *Africa*, had he not been prevented by *Apollonides* and *Demetrius*, as we have related above. *Brutus* in order to diſcover his true ſentiments, aſked him in a private converſation, which of the two evils was the greateſt? *To bear tamely the yoke of a tyrant, or to run the riſque of a civil war by ſhaking it off?* To this queſtion *Statilius* anſwered without heſitation, that he had rather patiently ſuffer the oppreſſions of an arbitrary maſter, than the cruelties and diſorders which generally attend civil diſſenſions. *Brutus* likewiſe endeavoured to engage in the conſpiracy *Favonius*, a philoſopher of great reputation, and, in order to ſound him, propoſed the ſame queſtion to him, when *Favonius* declared, that, in his opinion, a civil war was worſe than the moſt unjuſt tyranny. Upon this, *Brutus* gave over all thoughts of gaining *Statilius* and *Favonius*. In the mean time, *Cæſar*'s enemies made it their whole buſineſs to ſtir up the common people againſt him, by ſpreading among the multitude a thouſand falſe reports, *viz.* that he deſigned to fix the ſeat of his empire in *Egypt* or *Phrygia*, and to tranſport thither all the riches of *Italy*, abandoning *Rome* to the mercy of his creatures and favourites. *Cæſar*, in hearing theſe groundleſs reports, began to ſuſpect, that ſome plot was privately carrying on againſt him; his friends believing that *Marc Antony* and *Dolabella* were concerned in it, adviſed him not to truſt them, but to be upon his guard and watch them narrowly. *Cæſar* anſwered, that he was not afraid of thoſe plump jolly fellows, but rather of pale lean men, ſuch as *Caſſius* and *Brutus*. However, as he too eaſily gave credit to his flatterers, among whom were ſome of the conſpirators, telling him, that, after he had put an end to the civil war, the commonwealth was more concerned than himſelf in his preſervation, he neglected the neceſſery precautions for his ſafety, and was more intent on making the due preparations for putting in execution the vaſt deſigns he had formed, than in guarding himſelf againſt the attempts of his domeſtic enemies. For he had reſolved to make war upon the *Parthians*, and, after having revenged the death of *Craſſus* and the *Romans* ſlain with him at the battle of *Carrahæ*, to paſs through *Hyrcania*, thence to march by the *Caſpian* ſea to mount *Caucaſus*, till he came into *Scythia*; then to over-run all the countries between *Scythia* and *Germany*, and *Germany* itſelf, whence he deſigned to return through *Gaul* into *Italy*, deſcribing the ſpacious circle of his intended empire, and bounding it on every ſide by the ſea. He had already ordered ſixteen legions and ten thouſand horſe to march towards *Brunduſium*, and was himſelf to follow them in a few days. But his friends, who were deſirous to ſee him honoured with the title of king before he left *Rome*, gave out, that the books of the *Sibyls* declared, that the *Parthians* could never be overcome by the *Romans*, unleſs they fought under the conduct of a king. *Aurelius Cotta*, one of *Cæſar*'s creatures, who had the ſacred volumes in his keeping, was to make this report

Brutus *takes upon him the chief management of the conſpiracy.*

Brutus *endeavours in vain to engage* Statilius *and* Favonius.

Cæſar's *vaſt deſigns.*

a report out of them to the ſenate, and to propoſe, that *Cæſar* ſhould only be ſtyled dictator in *Italy*; but that he ſhould be acknowledged as king, and take upon him that title, with reſpect to all foreign nations ſubject to the *Roman* republic. The ſenate was appointed to meet for this purpoſe on the ides of *March*, and that day the conſpirators fixed upon as the moſt proper for putting their deſign in execution, ſince *Cæſar* would not fail coming to the ſenate on ſuch an occaſion, and it was ſafer to fall upon him there, moſt of the ſenators being privately enemies to him, than in any other place, where the populace might divert the blow. All the ancient hiſtorians are full of prodigies and apparitions, which, in their opinion, were manifeſt preſages of *Cæſar*'s tragical death. They tell us, that men were ſeen in the air all on fire, encountering

b each other; that a prodigious flame ſeemed to iſſue from the hand of a ſoldier's ſervant, inſomuch, that thoſe who ſaw it thought he muſt be burnt, but nevertheleſs he received no hurt; that as *Cæſar* was ſacrificing, the victim was found without a heart; that *Spurina*, a famous augur, bid him beware of the ides of *March*, for that he was then threatened with ſome great danger. They add, that when the day was come, *Cæſar*, as he went to the ſenate, meeting the augur, ſaid to him by way of raillery, *The ides of* March *are come.* *They are come*, anſwered calmly the augur, *but they are not paſt.* The night before the plot was put in execution, he ſupped with *M. Lepidus*; and the diſcourſe turning upon the kind of death which ſeemed beſt, *Cæſar*, buſy as he was in ſigning ſome letters, before any of the company had time to deliver his opinion,

c cried out, *Of all deaths a ſudden one is the beſt.* After ſupper he retired to his own houſe, where both he and his wife *Calpurnia* paſſed the night in great care and uneaſineſs. He was ſcarce fallen aſleep, when the doors and windows of the apartment where he lay flew open. Being ſtartled at the noiſe and the light, which broke all on a ſudden into his room, he ſat up in his bed, when by the moonſhine he perceived *Calpurnia* faſt aſleep, but heard her utter in her dream ſome inarticulate words mixed with groans. She dreamt at that time, that the pinacle (B), which the ſenate had allowed to be raiſed on *Cæſar*'s houſe, by way of ornament and grandeur, was fallen down; and alſo fancied, that ſhe was weeping over *Cæſar*, and holding him all covered over with wounds and blood in her arms. When it was day, ſhe begged of

d *Cæſar* that he would not ſtir out, but adjourn the ſenate to another time; and that, if he ſlighted her dreams, he would be pleaſed to conſult the gods by ſacrifices, and other kinds of divination. He complied with her requeſt; ſacrifices were offered early in the morning; and, according to the report of the prieſts, all the victims proved inauſpicious. *Cæſar* was not a man to be eaſily intimidated; he had braved death on a thouſand occaſions, and gained many victories, among the reſt that of *Munda*, when the auſpices threatened him with utter deſtruction. But, however, as he had never before diſcovered in *Calpurnia* any kind of ſuperſtition, he now began to look upon her fears and apprehenſions as inſpirations from heaven, and forebodings, which ought not always to be neglected. As *Marc Antony* was then with him, being

e come, according to his cuſtom, early in the morning, to attend his levee, he had ſome thoughts of ſending him with orders to the ſenate not to aſſemble that day. But as moſt of his troops were already embarqued, and he himſelf was to leave *Rome* in four days, he could not come to any fixed reſolution, but remained in ſuſpenſe, till the ſenate began to aſſemble in the appointed place, which was a great hall built by *Pompey* near his theatre [k].

Several prodigies preceding Cæſar's *death.*

Cæſar *is alarmed.*

WHILE *Cæſar* was thus deliberating with himſelf, whether he ſhould ſuffer the ſenate to aſſemble that day, or adjourn their meeting to another, *Brutus* was buſy in adminiſtering juſtice in the forum, he being *prætor urbanus* for the preſent year. We

f are told, that he heard thoſe who pleaded before him, pronounced ſentence, and diſpatched the cauſes, that were brought to his tribunal, with as much care, equity, and application, as if he had no other buſineſs in hand. Though he had taken with him, when he went out of his houſe, a dagger, and had it then concealed under his

The conſtancy and intrepidity of Brutus.

[k] PLUT. in Cæſ. & Bruto. APPIAN. bell. civil. l. ii, DIO, l. xliv. SUET. in Julio, &c.

(B) The pinacle, as madam *Dacier* obſerves, was a ſort of ornament uſually placed on the top of temples. The *Greeks* called it ἀετὸς ἀετώμα, and the *Latins faſtigium*. Private perſons were not allowed to raiſe ſuch ornaments on the tops of their houſes without the conſent of the ſenate, who had the ſuperintendency of every thing relating to the public. Thus, as a token of honour, the ſenate accorded to *Poplicola* to have the doors of his houſe open towards the ſtreet inſtead of opening inwards. The pinacles were commonly adorned with ſtatues of the gods, figures of victory, and ſuch other decorations as were ſuitable to the rank and quality of thoſe to whom the privilege of erecting them was granted.

his robe, with a firm resolution of plunging it into *Cæsar*'s breast before he returned a
home; yet he did not betray on his tribunal the least concern, but acquitted himself
of his office with his usual calmness and tranquillity. One, whom he had condemned
in a certain sum, refused to pay it, crying out, that he appealed to *Cæsar*; when
Brutus casting his eyes on the conspirators, *Cæsar*, said he, *how powerful soever,
shall not prevent me from seeing such sentences put in execution, as are agreeable to the laws
of* Rome. However, several accidents intervened, which did not a little terrify
Brutus and the other conspirators, and had almost defeated their best concerted mea-
sures. While *Brutus* was hearing causes in the forum with his usual attention and pati-
ence, news was brought him, that his wife *Porcia* lay at the point of death. She
was the daughter of *Cato*, and the only person, not concerned in the conspiracy, to b
whom *Brutus* had revealed it. He strove as much as possible, when abroad, to keep
his uneasiness of mind to himself; but at home, and especially in the night-time,
he was not the same man, but sometimes all on a sudden started out of his bed, and
at other times was so taken up with unquiet thoughts, and so perplexed in his mind,
that *Porcia* concluded, he had some dangerous and difficult enterprise in agitation.
As she was addicted to the study of philosophy, fond of her husband to a great de-
The courage of Porcia, *wife to* Brutus. gree, and full of courage and prudence, she resolved not to inquire into *Brutus*'s secrets,
till she had tried whether she had courage and resolution enough to conceal them even
in the midst of torments. With this view she dismissed all her attendants, and taking
a knife, gave herself a deep gash in the thigh, which threw her into a violent c
fever. *Brutus*, who was then at home, flew immediately to her apartment, when she
in the height of her pain addressed him thus: "I am, O *Brutus*, the daughter of *Cato*,
" and was given to you in marriage, not to partake only in the common civilities of
" bed and board, but to bear a share in your good, as well as your evil, fortunes.
" When I look upon you, I find no reason to repent the match; but from me, what
" evidence of my love, what satisfaction can you receive, if I am not allowed to share
" with you in bearing your hidden griefs, nor admitted to any of your counsels, that
" require secrecy and trust? I am well apprised, that women are commonly thought
" to be of too weak a nature to be trusted with secrets; but certainly, *Brutus*, a
" virtuous birth and education, and frequent conversing with men of honour, are of d
" some force to the forming of our manners, and the strengthening of our natural
" weakness. I am the daughter of *Cato* and the wife of *Brutus*, in which two great
" titles I did not place much confidence, till I tried myself, and found, that even
" against grief itself and pain I am invincible." Having thus spoke, she shewed
Brutus *discovers to her the conspiracy.* him her wound, and related to him the trial she had made of her own constancy.
Brutus, touched with this affecting speech, could not help discovering the whole plot
to her without reserve; which when he had done, he lifted up his hands to heaven,
and begged the assistance of the gods in his enterprize, that he might live to be a hus-
band worthy of such a wife as *Porcia* (C). But with all her resolution, when the day
came, on which the design was to be put in execution, she was extremely disturbed e
with the expectation of the event, and, not being able to bear the greatness of her
cares, she could scarce keep within doors. At every little noise she heard, she started
up, and, running into the street, asked those who came from the forum, what
Brutus was doing? At length, after having expected a long time, being overcome
by her fears and doubts, she fell into a swoon. Whereupon her women making a
great outcry, many of the neighbours ran to *Brutus*'s house to know what was the
matter, and the report was soon spread abroad, that *Porcia* was dying, though she
recovered in a little time, and came to herself again. This news pierced *Brutus*'s
Constancy and resolution of Brutus. heart; yet he was not so carried away by his private grief, as to neglect the public f
concern. He came down immediately from his tribunal, but, instead of going home,
went to *Pompey*'s porch, adjoining to the hall, where the senators were to assemble,
and there waited with the other conspirators the coming of *Cæsar* to the senate. But,
as he did not appear, though the day was far spent, being detained at home by his
wife

(C) *Valerius Maximus* is the only author, who supposes, that *Porcia* was acquainted with her hus-
band's design before she wounded herself. Accord-
ing to him, *Brutus* discovered to her the whole plot
the night before it was to be put in execution.
Whereupon *Porcia* the next morning gave herself
a dangerous wound with a razor; at which *Brutus*
being greatly alarmed, *Porcia* told him, while he
was expressing his concern in the most tender terms,
that she had wounded herself to make a trial of her
constancy and courage, being determined to lay
violent hands on herself, in case the success of his
enterprize did not answer his expectation.

a wife and the augurs, they were all under the greateſt uneaſineſs, and aſcribed his delay to the diſcovery of the plot. They were confirmed in their ſuſpicion by ſeveral accidents, which were thrown in their way by mere chance. While they were thus waiting for *Cæſar*, a citizen, coming up to *Caſca*, one of the conſpirators, and taking him by the hand, *You concealed*, ſaid he, *the ſecret from me, but* Brutus *has told me the whole.* At which words *Caſca* being greatly alarmed, the other ſaid ſmiling, *How came you*, Caſca, *to be ſo rich on a ſudden as to ſtand for the ædileſhip?* Theſe words reſtored, we may ſay, *Caſca* to life again; for he looked upon himſelf as loſt, and, deceived by the ambiguity of the reproach, was upon the point of diſcovering the ſecret, in hopes of gaining his friend by that means. The ſenator *Popilius Lænas* gave

Several accidents diſturb the conſpirators.

b room for new ſuſpicions; for after having ſaluted *Brutus* and *Caſſius* very obligingly, he accoſted them, and whiſpered them ſoftly in the ear; *My wiſhes are with you; may you accompliſh what you deſign; but I adviſe you to make no delay, for the thing is now no ſecret.* Having thus ſpoke, he left them in the utmoſt conſternation. *Decimus Brutus*, ſurnamed *Albinus*, one in whom *Cæſar* had ſuch confidence, that he had made him his ſecond heir, being no leſs alarmed at theſe words than the reſt of the conſpirators, reſolved to go in perſon to *Cæſar*'s houſe, to inform himſelf there of what kept him ſo long from coming to the ſenate. Accordingly, with the approbation of *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, he flew thither, and being immediately admitted into the dictator's apartment, he aſked him with his uſual familiarity, what kept him ſo long from

c appearing in the ſenate. *Cæſar*, who looked upon him as one of his beſt friends, imparted to him in confidence what his wife had dreamed the night before, and what the augurs had told him. Hereupon *Decimus*, fearing leſt he ſhould put off the ſenate to another day, and the buſineſs might in the mean time get wind, turned into ridicule both *Calpurnia*'s dreams and the divinations of the ſoothſayers, telling *Cæſar*, that he would be much to blame, if he gave the ſenate ſuch juſt grounds to complain; *For they are*, ſaid he, *met upon your own ſummons, and are ready to vote unanimouſly, that you ſhould be declared king of all the provinces out of* Italy, *and be allowed to wear a diadem in any other place. Now, if any one ſhould be ſent to tell them, that they muſt break up for the preſent, and meet again when* Calpurnia *ſhall chance to have better*

d *dreams, what will your enemies ſay? or who will with any patience hear your friends pretending to juſtify you, and maintaining, that this is not an inſtance of downright ſervitude on one ſide, and bare-faced tyranny on the other? But if you are ſo far prepoſſeſſed with groundleſs fears as really to think this an unlucky day, it will be more decent for you to go to the ſenate yourſelf, and adjourn it in perſon.* Having thus ſpoke, he took *Cæſar* by the hand, and dragged him, in a manner, out of his houſe. He was not gone far from his door, when an unknown ſlave made towards him; but not being able to get near him by reaſon of the croud, he went into his houſe, and put himſelf into the hands of *Calpurnia*, begging her to ſecúre him till *Cæſar* returned, becauſe he had matters of the utmoſt importance to communicate to him. Soon after one *Artemidorus*, a

e native of the iſland of *Cnidus*, by profeſſion a rhetorician, and intimately acquainted with moſt of the conſpirators, put into *Cæſar*'s hand a paper, containing the heads of what he had to diſcover to him. *Artemidorus* had obſerved, that *Cæſar*, as he received any papers, immediately delivered them to ſome of his officers, who attended him; and therefore coming as near to him as he could, he cryed out, *Read this*, Cæſar, *quickly; for it contains affairs of the greateſt importance, and ſuch as concern you nearly.* Some writers tell us, that *Artemidorus*, not being able to come near *Cæſar* by reaſon of the throng, gave this note to another, who preſented it to him. However that be, *Cæſar* attempted ſeveral times to read it; but being diverted by the croud of thoſe who came to ſpeak to him, he kept it in his hand by itſelf, till he came into the ſenate. When

f he was got to the door of the great hall, where the conſcript fathers were aſſembled, *Popilius Lænas*, who, but a little before, had wiſhed *Brutus* and *Caſſius* good ſucceſs in their undertaking, coming up to him, diſcourſed a great while with him in private, *Cæſar* ſtanding ſtill all the time, and ſeeming to be very attentive. The conſpirators, not being able to hear what he ſaid, but gueſſing from what they were conſcious of, that this conference was a diſcovery of their treaſon, were ſtrangely dejected; and, looking upon one another, laid their hands on the daggers they had concealed under their robes, and were drawing them with a deſign to ſtab themſelves, if the plot was diſcovered; but judging from *Lænas*'s looks and geſtures, which they narrowly watched, and from the calmneſs and unconcern that appeared in *Cæſar*'s coun-

g tenance, that the conſpiracy was not the ſubject of their conference, they took courage, and

DecimusBrutus *prevails upon* Cæſar *to go to the ſenate.*

Artemidorus *delivers a paper to* Cæſar, *containing the diſcovery of the plot.*

The conſpirators alarmed.

and were ſoon after delivered from all their fears. For *Lænas* in retiring was obſerved a to kiſs *Cæſar*'s hand, which was a plain indication that he had been petitioning, and not accuſing. *Cæſar* having diſmiſſed *Lænas*, entered the hall, where the ſenators were aſſembled. This was one of the many edifices which *Pompey* had raiſed for the uſe of the public; whence *Plutarch* concludes, that ſome deity guided the action, and brought *Cæſar* thither to revenge upon him the death of *Pompey*. Upon *Cæſar*'s entering the hall, the ſenate ſtood up in reſpect to him. Of the conſpirators, ſome ſtood behind the chair, which was placed for the dictator in the middle of the hall; others went to meet him, pretending to join their prayers with thoſe of *Metellus Cimber*, in behalf of his brother who was baniſhed. In the mean time, *Trebonius* (D) drew *Marc Antony*, who was faithful to *Cæſar* and a man of great ſtrength and reſolution, b towards the door, and entertained him in the porch with a long diſcourſe contrived for that purpoſe. When the dictator was ſeated, the conſpirators, crouding round him, renewed their ſupplications in favour of *Cimber*'s brother, and taking him by the hand, kiſſed it, in appearance, with great reſpect. But the dictator rejected their petition, and upon their urging him farther and growing very importunate, he firſt reprimanded them ſeverely, and afterwards, ſtarting up, puſhed them from him. Hereupon *Cimber*, laying hold of the dictator's robe with both hands, pulled it off from his ſhoulders, which was the ſignal agreed on to fall upon him. In that inſtant *Servilius Caſca*, who ſtood behind him, drawing his dagger, gave him the firſt wound in the neck, which was not mortal, nor dangerous, as coming from one, who at the c beginning of ſuch a bold action was probably very much diſturbed; ſo that his ſtrength as well as his courage might fail him. *Cæſar* immediately, turning about, ſeized *Caſca* by the hand which held the dagger, both of them crying out at the ſame time, *Cæſar* in *Latin*, *wicked* Caſca, *what doſt thou mean?* and *Caſca* calling to his brother in *Greek* to come and help him. Thoſe who were not privy to the deſign were ſtruck with ſuch horror at the attempt, that they could neither fly, nor aſſiſt *Cæſar*, nay, nor utter a ſingle word. But the conſpirators, who came prepared, inclоſed him on all ſides with their naked daggers in their hands, ſo that which way ſoever he turned, he met with blows, and ſaw their daggers levelled at his face and eyes. *Caſſius*, having firſt turned his face to a ſtatue, which the republic had erected to *Pom-* d *pey* in the hall, and ſilently implored the aſſiſtance of that hero, flew at *Cæſar* with the rage of a madman, and gave him a deep wound on the head, encouraging the others to follow his example and rid *Rome* of her tyrant. Hereupon they all preſſed upon him; but, as each of them was eager to plunge his dagger in his body, and have the glory of diſpatching him, they wounded one another, *Brutus* in particular received a wound on the hand from *Caſſius*, and moſt of them were ſtained either with *Cæſar*'s blood or their own. The Hero, though thus baited on all ſides, to uſe *Plutarch*'s expreſſion, like a wild beaſt taken in a toil, fought and defended himſelf in the beſt manner he could, till, looking round about him to ſee if he could make his eſcape, he perceived *Brutus* with his dagger in his hand. This ſight ſtung him to the heart, e ſo that he ſtruggled no more; but crying out, *What! my ſon*, Brutus, *and you too?* he covered his face with his robe, and quietly ſurrendered himſelf. Then the conſpirators, puſhing him either by chance, or, as ſome ſay, by deſign, to the pedeſtal, on which *Pompey*'s ſtatue ſtood, which by that means was ſprinkled with his blood, diſpatched him there with twenty-five wounds, the ſenate looking on with horror and amazement, but not one of them daring to lend him the leaſt aſſiſtance. We are told, that as he found himſelf fainting away and ready to drop down, he wrapt the ſkirts of his garment round his knees, that he might fall with more decency[1].

The conſpirators croud round Cæſar *in the ſenate-houſe.*

And fall upon him.

The circumſtances of his death.

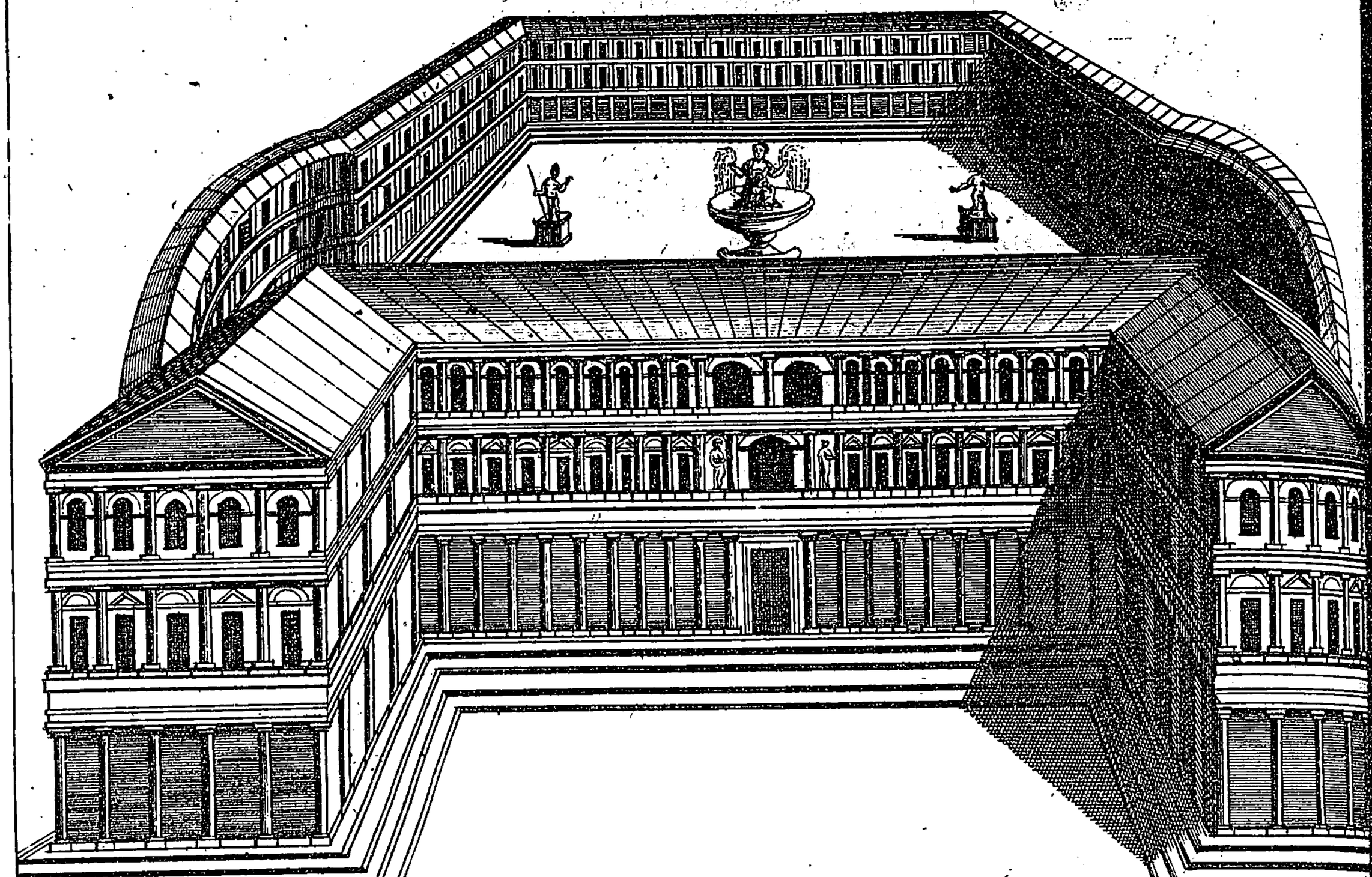
He is killed. Year of the flood 2960. *Before Chriſt* 39. *of* Rome 709.

Thus

[1] Plut. in Cæſ. & Bruto. Flor. l. iv. c. 2. Suet. in Julio. c. 81. 88. 91. Appian. l. ii. p. 522. Cic. l. ii. de divin.

(D) *Plutarch* in the life of *Cæſar* tells us, that *Antony* was detained without by *Brutus Albinus*; and in the life of *Brutus*, that he was kept in talk by *C. Trebonius*. How could he be guilty of ſo manifeſt a contradiction in the relation of an action ſo conſiderable and notorious? He was certainly miſtaken in the life of *Cæſar*, and in that of *Brutus* hits upon the truth; ſince all the hiſtorians, who mention this action, agree, that *Trebonius* entertained *Antony* at the door. *Cicero*, who is more to be relied on than all the hiſtorians put together, ſays in expreſs terms in his ſecond *Philippic*, addreſſing his ſpeech to *Antony* himſelf; *Cum interficeretur Cæſar, tum te a Trebonio vidimus ſevocari*; and in the 13th. *Sceleratum Trebonium? quo ſcelere? niſi quod te idibus Martiis a debita tibi peſte ſeduxit*; intimating, that *Antony* deſerved the ſame doom with *Cæſar*.

THE PALACE OF JULIUS CÆSAR



The AMPHITHEATER of CLAUDIUS CÆSAR in the CAMPUS MAR

P Simms Sculpt

a THUS died in the fifty-ſixth year of his age the greateſt warrior that *Rome*, or perhaps the world, ever ſaw, after he had fought with ſucceſs fifty pitched battles, taken by aſſault above a thouſand towns, and ſlain, if *Pliny* is to be credited[m], eleven hundred ninety-two thouſand men. He was, without doubt, a perſon of extraordinary parts and wonderful abilities, in all the arts both of war and civil government, and of equal diligence and application in the uſe of them. He was beloved and revered by the people, honoured and adored by his friends, and eſteemed and admired even by his enemies. But as his ambition, which knew no bounds, prompted him to inthral his country, and uſurp a deſpotic and arbitrary power over thoſe who were as free as himſelf, he met in the end with that doom which all tyrants and uſurpers deſerve.
b If the ſtate had been deemed irretrieveable and an uſurper a neceſſary evil, *Rome* could not have had a better than *Cæſar*. But as *Brutus*, *Cicero*, and the beſt and ableſt *Romans* judged otherwiſe, the dictator's power and dominion was downright uſurpation, and conſequently every *Roman* was warranted by all the laws of *Rome* to put him to death.

[m] PLIN. l. vii. c. 25.

CHAP. XIV.

The hiſtory of Rome, *from the death of* Cæſar *to the firſt conſulate of* Octavianus.

c WHEN *Cæſar* was diſpatched, *Brutus*, ſtepping forth into the middle of the ſenate houſe, offered to give an account to the conſcript fathers of the motives of their undertaking, and to exhort them to approve an action, which had reſtored liberty to their country. But they all flew out of doors in the utmoſt conſternation, and carried terror and confuſion into all quarters of the city. So great was the throng at the door of the hall and in the porch, that ſome of the ſenators were ſtifled in the croud, and others dangerouſly wounded, by running blindly in that general diſtraction againſt the naked daggers of the conſpirators. The news of *Cæſar*'s death being in a trice ſpread all over the city, the friends of the deceaſed retired in all haſte to their houſes, and there ſhut themſelves up, without knowing what they had to hope or
d fear from ſo tragical an event. The artificers, ſhutting their ſhops, ran in that ſudden ſurprize, ſome to ſee the body of the deceaſed, others up and down the ſtreets to inform themſelves of the circumſtances of ſo bold an attempt. In the mean time, *Brutus* and the other conſpirators marched in a body from the ſenate-houſe all over the city, with their daggers yet bloody in their hands, not like perſons who thought of eſcapeing, but with an air of confidence and aſſurance. Some perſons of diſtinction, who had not been privy to the conſpiracy, joined them with their drawn ſwords, being deſirous to ſhare in the honour of the action, as if they had borne part in it. Of this number were *C. Octavius*, *P. Lentulus Spinther*, *Favonius*, *Patiſcus*, *L. Statius Murcus*, who had ſerved under *Cæſar* in quality of lieutenant againſt the ſons of *Pompey* in
e *Spain*, *A. Aquinius*, and ſeveral others, who afterwards paid dear for their vanity, being cut off by *Antony* and young *Octavianus*. As they marched along, they proclaimed in the ſtreets, that they had killed the king of *Rome* and the tyrant of their country. They were preceded by a herald, who carried on the point of a lance a cap, the ſymbol of liberty among the *Romans*. As they marched along, they called to the people to reſume their antient liberty, and complimented ſuch perſons of rank as came in their way. When they arrived at the comitium, *Brutus*, holding up his bloody dagger, cryed out, Cicero, *we have revenged the republic*. This he did, as ſome writers

Rome *in great conſternation upon* Cæſar's *death.*

The conſpirators invite the people to reſume their antient liberty.

conjecture, either to engage that famous orator in the common cauſe, or to make the people believe, that he, who had formerly guarded his country againſt the wicked attempts of *Catiline*, bore a part in delivering it from the tyranny of *Cæſar*. However that be, the people did not join them; but, alarmed at the death of the dictator, ran up and down the city; ſome bewailing the loſs of one who had ſupported them with his largeſſes, and others laying hold of the preſent general diſtraction to plunder the houſes of their fellow-citizens. They were no more thoſe antient *Romans*, to whom liberty was more dear than life itſelf. They were become effeminate, debauched, and accuſtomed to live by the price of their votes, which they ſold to the beſt bidder. *Brutus* therefore, with his followers, thought it adviſeable to retire to the capitol, whither they were attended by a body of gladiators belonging to *Decimus Brutus* *Albinus*. The next day, as no-body was injured by the conſpirators either in his goods or perſon, the ſenators and many of the people took courage, and went up to the conſpirators in the capitol. *Brutus* made an harangue to them, very popular and adapted to the preſent ſtate of affairs. When he had done ſpeaking, they applauded his oration, and invited him with one voice to come down into the city. Hereupon the conſpirators deſcended with confidence into the forum, *Brutus* being attended and guarded by many perſons of the moſt eminent quality in *Rome*, while the other conſpirators went promiſcuouſly mingled with the crowd. He no ſooner appeared on the roſtra, than the rabble, though conſiſting of a confuſed mixture and all diſpoſed to raiſe a tumult, were ſtruck with reverence, and hearkened to him with ſilence and attention. He acquainted them in a very affecting harangue with the motives that had prompted them to put *Cæſar* to death, and ſolemnly proteſted, that neither he nor his companions had any thing elſe in view, but the delivering of *Rome* from a tyrannical yoke, and the reſtoring of their country to her former condition; but the populace, more afraid of poverty than ſubjection, expreſſed by their melancholy looks, that they were highly diſpleaſed at the action; and that they reverenced *Brutus*, but at the ſame time pitied *Cæſar*. Hereupon the conſpirators thought fit to withdraw again to the capitol, where *Brutus*, who expected to be beſieged, diſmiſſed ſeveral perſons of diſtinction, who had attended him thither, not thinking it juſt, that thoſe who had no hand in the action ſhould ſhare in the danger [m].

His death attended with great diſturbances in the city.

Brutus *harangues the people.*

But returns with his followers to the capitol.

As *Cæſar* had deſigned to ſet out in a few days on his intended expedition againſt the *Parthians*, he had reſigned his conſulſhip to *P. Cornelius Dolabella*, a young man of twenty-five years of age, who had married *Tullia* the daughter of *Cicero*. The new conſul, out of reſpect to *Cæſar*, waited for his departure to enter upon his office; but he no ſooner heard the news of his death, than he appeared with his lictors and faſces, without the conſent either of the ſenate or people. As this was an open acknowledgement of the dictator's power, no one doubted but he would join his friends againſt *Brutus* and the other conſpirators; but he, to the great ſurprize of all, after ſo unwarrantable a ſtep, immediately went up to the capitol with all the pomp of a conſul; and there, congratulating *Brutus* and his followers on the ſucceſs of their glorious undertaking, declared, that he would ſupport them to the utmoſt of his power. From the capitol he returned to the forum, where he made a harangue to the multitude, exhorting them to join the deliverers of their country; and, after having caſt out many bitter reflections on *Cæſar*, and beſtowed the higheſt elogiums on *Brutus*, he went ſo far as to propoſe a law, enacting, that for the future the *ides* of March ſhould be celebrated with the ſame ſolemnity, as the day on which *Rome* was built. *The day*, ſaid he, *in which* Rome *recovered her liberty by the death of a tyrant, ought to be deemed by all true* Romans *as happy a day, as that in which the city was firſt built. To the latter ſhe owes her being, to the former her liberty; and what is being itſelf without liberty?* But the indigent populace, whom the dictator had ſupported with his liberal preſents, were ſo far from being moved by his ſpeech to approve of his death, that on the contrary they would have torn the conſul in pieces, had he not, by a timely retreat, ſaved himſelf in the capitol. However, the menaces, which the multitude threw out on this occaſion againſt the dictator's enemies, did not deter *L. Cornelius Cinna* from renouncing his party in a moſt ſolemn manner. *Cæſar* had married to his firſt wife *Cornelia* the ſiſter of *Cinna*, and on that account had always favoured him in a particular manner. He had raiſed him this year to the prætorſhip, and promiſed him the conſulate. But *Cinna* was in his heart a well-wiſher to his country and

Dolabella *takes upon him the conſular dignity, and declares for* Brutus.

[m] Plut. Dio Cass. Appian. ibid.

a and an enemy to tyranny; and therefore, upon *Cæsar*'s death, he not only sided openly with the conspirators, but going into the forum, with all the ensigns of his dignity, pronounced there an invective against his brother-in-law, styling him tyrant, usurper, oppressor of his country, *&c.* When he had done speaking, he stripped himself, in presence of the people, of all the ornaments of his dignity, crying out, *These I received of* Cæsar, *against the known laws of* Rome; *and now I resign them to the* Roman *people, who alone have a right to dispose of them.* But even this generous and disinterested proceeding was highly resented by the vile populace, and *Cinna* obliged to abscond, for fear of feeling the effects of their blind fury [n].

The generous and disinterested behaviour of L. Cornelius Cinna.

In the mean time, *Antony* and *Lepidus*, who were intirely addicted to *Cæsar*, and
b had concealed themselves for fear of being involved in his ruin, hearing how the people stood affected, appeared again in public. When the conspirators first consulted about the execution of their design, they were all, except *Brutus*, of opinion, that *Antony* should be cut off with *Cæsar*; for they looked upon him as a dangerous person, on account of his unbounded ambition and the powerful interest he had among the soldiery; but *Brutus*, whose intentions were upright and sincere, would by no means hearken to their advice, saying, That an action undertaken in defence of the laws and of justice ought be free even from all appearance of injustice. Besides, he gave them hopes, that a great change might be worked in *Antony*. I do not despair, said he, but such a lover of glory as *Antony*, stirred up with emulation of our great
c attempt, will lay hold of this occasion to be joint restorer with us of the liberty of his country. Thus the generous *Brutus* saved *Antony*'s life; but he, instead of answering the brave patriot's expectation, upon the first news of *Cæsar*'s death, fled in the disguise of a slave, and concealed himself, till he was informed, that the populace were disposed to revenge his death. Then he appeared again with all the majesty and splendor of a consul, being this year *Cæsar*'s collegue in that dignity, and managed matters with such address, that he paved the way for that triumvirate, which gave the finishing blow to the republic, and reduced *Rome* to a lasting monarchy. The first step he took was, to order *Lepidus* to march into the city a legion, which he com-
d manded in the neighbourhood, and to incamp in the field of *Mars*. This alarmed the conspirators in the capitol, who thereupon sent deputies to *Antony* and *Lepidus*, desiring them to consider the sad consequences of a division in so critical a conjuncture, and remonstrating, that no hatred to *Cæsar*'s person had armed them against him, but only the love which every good citizen ought to have for his country; that the state was already so drained by civil wars, that any new disturbances must prove fatal to it; that they believed them too generous to let any particular views transport them to the prejudice of the public, *&c.* Both *Antony* and *Lepidus*, under pretence of revenging *Cæsar*'s death, aimed at the sovereign power themselves, and fought it in the ruin of those brave men, who stood up in defence of their oppressed country; but, as *Decimus Brutus* was already set out from *Rome* to put himself at the head of an army
e of veterans in *Cisalpine Gaul*, which province had been allotted him by *Cæsar*, they both dissembled even their design of revenging *Cæsar*'s death, and, to gain time, returned the following answer, That they were ready to sacrifice their private regards to the public good, and suffer the senate to be assembled, that they might govern themselves by the advice of so many illustrious and discerning persons as composed that venerable body. Accordingly *Antony*, as consul, appointed the senate to meet early the next morning in the temple of *Tellus*, near his own house, and, in the mean time, placed guards all over the city, to keep the unruly multitude from raising disturbances, and likewise ordered all *Cæsar*'s money and papers to be conveyed to his house.
f Next morning by break of day, the conscript fathers assembled pursuant to their summons; and never did that august body meet on so important and nice an occasion. They came to decide, whether *Cæsar* had been an usurper, or a lawful magistrate; and whether those who had killed him deserved punishments, or rewards. As none of the conspirators appeared in the senate, not daring to expose themselves to the fury of the rabble, the debates were carried on with more calmness and temper than could have been expected in a matter of such consequence. Most of the conscript fathers were inclined to favour the conspirators; but nevertheless divided among themselves in their opinions. Some were for declaring them *the deliverers, the saviours of their country, and allotting them, as such, ample rewards.* Others were for approving

Antony *saved by* Brutus.

Lepidus *is ordered by* Antony *to march a legion into the city.*

Antony *assembles the senate,*

Different opinions of the conscript fathers.

[n] Appian. bell. civil. l. ii. Vell. Paterc. l. ii. c. 58.

approving the action, without appointing any rewards to the authors of it, since no- a
body demanded them. Some thought it was sufficient to bury in oblivion what was
past, without bestowing either praises or rewards on the authors of *Cæsar*'s death.
Some of *Cæsar*'s friends declared boldly, that the action was odious and detestable;
but that they were nevertheless ready to concur in such measures as should be judged
necessary for the safety of those who had committed it, out of a due regard to so many
illustrious families. After several different overtures, it was at length concluded by
a great majority, that, before the conspirators were declared guilty or innocent, this
question should be put, *Whether* Cæsar *was a tyrant, or a lawful magistrate?* since on
the decision of this depended that of all other questions relating to the conspirators.
Antony, foreseeing that this question would be decided to the disadvantage of his b
party, warded off the blow with an address and dexterity, which will seem incredible
to those who judge of his abilities from what they read of him in *Cicero*'s letters and
Antony's *address.* speeches. *Have you well weighed with yourselves, conscript fathers,* said he, *the conse-*
quences that must attend the decision of this question? If you declare the late dictator a
tyrant, all his acts will be of course void and null; and who can conceive what confusion and
disorders will hence ensue, not in this metropolis only, but in all the states and kingdoms subject
to Rome? *The republic will be without lawful magistrates, the provinces without gover-*
nors, the armies without commanders, &c. *since we have been all invested in our offices,*
commands, and governments by Cæsar. *If we pronounce* Cæsar *a tyrant and usurper, we*
must lay down those honours, since we can no longer think them lawfully conferred upon us. c
If Cæsar *is an usurper, his body must, pursuant to the ordinances of our ancestors, be igno-*
miniously dragged through the streets and thrown into the Tiber. *What disturbances and*
tumults will not this produce among the populace, who adore him as a god? You are going,
conscript fathers, to plunge the republic, nay, the whole world, which is filled with Cæsar's
glory, into a bloody war and eternal disorders. *Antony*'s words made a deep impression
on the assembly, which was again divided into different opinions. Such as had not
been nominated by *Cæsar* to any civil or military employments, still insisted on his
being declared an usurper and tyrant; but all the present magistrates, and those whom
Cæsar had appointed to succeed them (E), were for dropping the question relating to
him, and only decreeing, that no-body should be prosecuted on account of his death. d
Among the latter was the consul *Dolabella*, who, as he had not yet attained the age
required by the laws of *Rome* for the consular dignity, was well apprised, that, if he
once parted with it, the people would not be easily induced to restore him, in defi-
ance of the laws, to that post. However, several prætors were prevailed upon by the
friends of the conspirators, that is, by the zealous republicans, to strip themselves of
their robes and publicly resign the offices, to which *Cæsar*, by his authority alone,
had raised them. The division, which reigned in the senate, was likely to have
involved the republic anew in a civil war, when *Cicero*, by an excellent speech, which
has been transmitted to us, not in the language in which he spoke it, but in *Greek* [o],
prevailed upon the conscript fathers to drop the question relating to *Cæsar*, viz. e
Whether he was a tyrant, or no; and to pass an act of oblivion for what was past.
An act of oblivion passed, and Cæsar's *acts confirmed.* Accordingly a general amnesty was proclaimed, and at the same time it was decreed,
contrary to the opinion of *Cicero* and the most zealous patriots, That not the least
thing should be altered, which *Cæsar* had enacted during his government. This was,
in a manner, declaring him at the same time both innocent and guilty, since it was
inconsistent to confirm what he had done during his dictatorship, and at the same time
decree, that those who had put him to death should not be prosecuted. *Cicero*, in
one of his letters to *Atticus*, expresses himself on this subject thus; *The tyrant is no*
more; *but the tyranny still subsists. We express great joy at his death, and at the same*
time confirm all his ordinances [p].

This

[o] Dio. l. xliv. [p] Cic. Philip. 1. Vell. Paterc. l. ii. c. 58. Plut. in Cic. Brut. & Cæs. Appian. l. ii. Dio, l. xliv.

(E) *Cæsar*, foreseeing that his intended expedition against the *Parthians*, a brave and warlike nation, would prevent him from returning to *Rome* for some time, had appointed consuls, as *Cicero* informs us, for the two following years, *viz.* *Aulus Hirtius* and *Caius Vibius Pansa* for the first year after his departure, and *Decimus Brutus* with *Lucius Munatius Plancus* for the second. According to *Dion Cassius*, he had named consuls for the three following years; according to *Appian* for five, and according to *Suetonius* for many years. But the authority of *Cicero* ought to be of more weight than that of any historian, since he writes of such transactions as happened in his time, and in which he bore, generally speaking, no small share.

a THIS act of oblivion brought matters to a more peaceable poſture. *Antony* and *Lepidus* were ſtill reſolved to purſue their revenge on the conſpirators, hoping to raiſe themſelves by their deſtruction to the ſame poſt which *Cæſar* had held; but, as they were afraid of each other, and both of *Decimus Brutus*, governor of *Ciſalpine Gaul*, they artfully concealed their ambitious deſigns, and cauſed the act of oblivion to be publiſhed in all the quarters of the city. As the conſpirators ſtill kept in their aſylum, for fear of ſome ſudden tumult, *Antony* and *Lepidus* ſent their children to the capitol as hoſtages for their ſecurity; and then *Brutus*, *Caſſius*, and their followers came down into the city. The ſame night, in token of a perfect reconciliation, *Antony* invited *Caſſius* to ſupper, as *Lepidus* did *Brutus*. As *Antony* liked joking, he aſked
b *Caſſius*, *Whether he had a dagger concealed under his robe? Yes*, anſwered *Caſſius*, who was naturally choleric and ſullen, *and a ſharp one too, for any who ſhall dare to aſpire at the ſovereign power*. This anſwer put a ſtop to any further jeſts. And now nobody doubted, but the republic would ſoon be reſtored to her former tranquillity. Even the populace began to look upon the conſpirators as the deliverers of their country, and honour them with the title of *tyrannicides*. This tranquillity did no-ways ſuit *Antony*'s ambitious views. He therefore ſoon found means to put the whole city in an uproar, and to incenſe the multitude anew againſt thoſe, whom they had deſervedly begun to look upon as worthy of the greateſt honours and rewards. *Cæſar*, on the ides of *September* of the preceding year, had made his will in his houſe at *La-*
c *ricum*, and appointed his father-in-law *Calpurnius Piſo* to ſee it executed. To him *Marc Antony* applied, and preſſed him to produce the will, that it might be publicly read, being well appriſed, that this would produce new diſturbances, and have a great effect on the inconſtant multitude. On the other hand, the dictator's enemies endeavoured to perſuade *Piſo* to ſuppreſs it; but he, being ſupported by *Antony*, openly declared, that nothing ſhould divert him from diſcharging the truſt *Cæſar* had repoſed in him. The affair was at length brought before the ſenate, where it occaſioned freſh diſputes. *Antony* and *Piſo* warmly inſiſted on having the will read, and the body of the deceaſed dictator honourably interred. Thoſe, ſaid *Piſo*, who boaſt of having killed a tyrant, treat us themſelves in a moſt tyrannical manner. They
d are willing, that whatever *Cæſar* has done in their behalf ſhould be ratified, and at the ſame time demand, that his laſt diſpoſitions be ſuppreſſed. As to *Cæſar*'s funeral, you may order what you think fit; but as to his will, which he has depoſited in my hands, I am reſolved to read it before the whole people. The affair was long debated by both parties and with great warmth, *Caſſius* violently oppoſing the propoſal of *Antony* and *Piſo*, which, if complied with, he foreſaw, would revive the affections of the people and cauſe freſh troubles; but *Brutus* at length yielded, and it was decreed, That *Cæſar*'s will ſhould be opened, his funeral rites performed at the expence of the public, and he worſhipped as a god. This was an unpardonable overſight in *Brutus*, and *Caſſius* loudly complained of his too eaſy con-
e deſcenſion and unſeaſonable humanity; and indeed with a great deal of reaſon: for the reading of the will, and the public honours decreed to the deceaſed, proved fatal, both to the avengers of the republic and the republic itſelf. The will being produced was read in the preſence of the people; and there it was found, that he had appointed his three great-nephews his heirs, *C. Octavius*, *Lucius Pinarius*, and *Quintus Pedius*. To *Octavius*, the grandſon of his ſiſter *Julia*, he left three-fourths of his eſtate, and the remaining part to the other two. He alſo ordained, that young *Octavius*, his principal heir, ſhould take his name, and be adopted into the *Julian* family; and that if any of his great-nephews ſhould die or renounce his inheritance, *Decimus Brutus* and *M. Antony* ſhould be ſubſtituted in their room. Several of the
f conſpirators were appointed guardians to his children, in caſe he ſhould have any; and *Decimus Brutus*, for whom he had a particular affection, was named to ſucceed *Octavius*, in caſe he ſhould die without iſſue male, and to be adopted into the *Julian* family. By the ſame will he bequeathed to the *Roman* people his fine gardens beyond the *Tyber*, and to each individual citizen the ſum of ſeventy-five *Attic* drachmas, or three hundred ſeſterces. Theſe laſt tokens of *Cæſar*'s good-will revived the affection of the people for him, and provoked them anew againſt *Brutus* and his followers, on whom they no longer beſtowed the glorious name of *tyrannicides*, but that of *aſſaſſins*, threatening to treat them in the ſame manner as they had treated the dictator their common benefactor. *Brutus*, perceiving this change, mounted the roſtra
g in quality of prætor, and, with the following ſpeech, endeavoured to appeaſe the

Brutus *and his followers come down into the city.*

Piſo *and* Antony *are for having* Cæſar's *will read.*

Cæſar's *will.*

Diſturbances occaſioned by the reading of it.

Brutus's *speech to the people.*

inraged populace. "Great pains have been taken, *said he*, to prejudice you against a
" us as disturbers of the public tranquility. We are accused at the same time of cruelty,
" ingratitude, and perfidiousness. It is pretended, that we have violated the oaths, which
" tied us to *Cæsar*. What oaths, immortal gods! Had *Cæsar* any lawful power to re-
" quire them? Did he not extort them with his sword at our throats? Do you look
" upon forced engagements as really binding? Can forced oaths oblige us to submit
" to a tyrant? Has not *Cæsar* acted as such ever since *Pompey*'s death? He has dis-
" posed of the great charges and principal employments, without your advice, or that
" of the senate. The public money, the revenues of the provinces, were conveyed
" into his coffers. All the orders in the republic were forced to submit to his law-
" less and arbitrary will. There is not one *Roman* throughout the empire, whom b
" he did not injure in the highest degree; for he robbed him of his liberty, which
" is the greatest blessing of mankind. When he seemed to be rendering his coun-
" try the most important services by his successful undertakings, at that very time
" was he laying his schemes how to bring her into subjection. He made war on
" foreign enemies, only that he might know how to subdue and enslave his fellow-
" subjects. It is said, that he was meditating great things for the republic when he
" was cut off. He might indeed have gathered empty laurels for himself by more
" wars at the expence of the republic; but what advantage would have redounded
" to us from his victories? Every accession of power must, by raising his tyranny
" higher, have sunk us lower and strengthened our chains. Had he left us any c
" hopes of his laying down one day the power he had usurped, we should have
" bore the yoke with patience; but the name of *perpetual dictator* threatened us
" with eternal slavery. He treated the very name of liberty and the republic with
" contempt. He ridiculed *Sylla* for resigning his usurped authority, and manifestly
" shewed, that he had nothing in his head or heart, but absolute rule, a diadem,
" the title of king, and controlling the world according to his lust. It is said, that
" his person was sacred and inviolable; but did not he the first violate that respect
" which is due to sacred persons? Did he not depose two of our tribunes, and even
" condemn them to banishment, for no other reason, but because they took from
" his statues the royal diadem?" Then turning to the old legionaries, who had for d
the most part, received lands of *Cæsar* by way of reward for their long services.
" As for you, brave veterans, said he, when you first entered into the service, was
" it to *Cæsar*, or to the republic, you engaged your fidelity by the military oath?
" You have fought under *Cæsar*; but was it for him you fought? You have con-
" quered; and your victories ought to be amply rewarded. We are resolved to al-
" low you the rewards which *Cæsar* had promised you. The commonwealth will
" not suffer you to be losers by his death. Those who have already received in-
" heritances, shall be confirmed in the possession of them; and such as have not
" yet been rewarded, shall be satisfied for their services out of the first money that
" comes into the public treasury. This I promise in the name of the republic; e
" and my word shall be sacred and inviolable in every thing but the supporting of
" tyranny [q]". This speech which was no *frivolous apology*, as some assertors of ab-
solute power are pleased to call it [r], appeased both the people and soldiery; but
Antony and *Piso* soon found means to inflame them anew with fury and sorrow, two
gross passions, which do not reason, but feel. They caused the body of *Cæsar*
(F) to be brought forth with a great deal of pomp, being carried on the shoul-
ders of men, who were all in office and of the most illustrious families in *Rome*.
They had raised a kind of stage in the forum over-against the rostra, and on the
stage a small temple of gilt wood, after the model of that of *Venus*, *Cæsar*'s pre-
tended mother. In this temple was a bed of ivory, richly adorned with curtains f
of cloth of gold and of purple. On the bed was laid the body of the deceased,
the robe in which he was killed being hung up by it. All *Rome* crouded to see the
mangled body of their deceased hero, whose loss they bewailed anew with many sighs
and tears. Those chiefly, who had served under him in most of his wars, were
incon-

The body of Cæsar *brought forth with great pomp.*

[q] Appian. l. ii. Dio, l. xliv. [r] Cartou and Rouille, Vol. XVII. p. 404.

(F) We are told by some historians, that the conspirators designed at first to throw the dead body of the dictator into the *Tyber*, in order to remove that object of compassion out of the sight of the populace; but being prevented from putting their design in execution by the tumult which happened in the senate, they left it in the senate-house, from whence it was privately conveyed in a litter to his house by three of his slaves, who took care to have it embalmed, not doubting, but the senate or people would, in due time, order it to be interred with all pomp and magnificence.

a inconſolable, and with loud cries demanded vengeance. Then *Antony*, to fire them ſtill more, aſcended the roſtra (G), and took upon him to pronounce his funeral oration, inlarging on every topic which could move compaſſion. He enumerated the many victories he had gained, the innumerable conqueſts he had made, the various nations he had ſubdued, *&c.* Then he took notice of all the titles of honour which the republic had conferred upon him, his dictatorſhip, his being ſeveral times honoured with the conſulate, the cenſorſhip, the dignity of pontifex maximus, and above all, with the glorious name of *the father of his country*. From thence he paſſed to his virtues, crying up his courage, his eloquence, his humanity, generoſity, clemency even to his enemies, *&c.* After this, he repeated the oath which the people
b of *Rome* had taken to him, and by which they had ſworn, that his perſon ſhould be ſacred and inviolable, and that they would defend him at the hazard of their own lives. *Antony*, perceiving the people to be infinitely affected with what he ſaid in commendation of *Cæſar*, to ſtir them up yet further to compaſſion, or rather to madneſs, unfolded the bloody garment of *Cæſar*, ſhewed them in how many places it was pierced, and expoſed to their view the number of his wounds. Hereupon *Antony*, ſeeing rage mixed with grief painted in every one's face, reſumed his diſcourſe, and turning to the capitol, *Great* Jupiter, ſaid he, *and ye gods, protectors of the* Roman *empire, I call you to witneſs, that I was determined to revenge his death, and fulfil my obligations; but the decree of the conſcript fathers has tied my hands. Am I guilty of*
c *ſacrilege and perjury?* At theſe words the mob made great outcries, and nothing was heard but, *Vengeance, vengeance.* The ſenators were highly provoked againſt *Antony*, for thus firing the multitude with new fury; which he obſerving from their countenances and fearing to diſoblige them, in order to reconcile to him that auguſt body, and, in ſome degree, qualify what he had ſaid, concluded thus: *Yes, the gods themſelves abſolve me from the obligation of my oath. What has been done ought to be forgot; ſince it is the crime of ſome evil demons, enemies to* Rome, *rather than of men; and nothing ought now to be thought of, but honouring the memory of the illuſtrious deceaſed, and placing him among the immortal gods* [f].

Antony had ſcarce done ſpeaking, when one of the ſpectators, flying, as ſeized with
d ſome fury, from the midſt of the crowd and mounting the ſtage, laid hold of *Cæſar*'s robe, and diſplaying it again to the multitude, *There is the ſpoil of a hero*, he cried, *beloved of the gods and reverenced by the world even to adoration.* Theſe words interrupted with frequent ſighs, uttered with a mournful tone, and accompanied with great outcries and ſtrange poſtures of ſorrow, occaſioned a general commotion. At the ſame time, appeared all on a ſudden an image of *Cæſar* in wax, which moved by ſprings, and ſhewed the twenty-three wounds which he had received on his face and other parts of his body. This ſight tranſported the populace even to madneſs: the forum reſounded with ſighs mixt with menaces and curſes againſt the authors of his death, whom they ſtyled *aſſaſſins*, *parricides*, &c. *worthy of the moſt cruel puniſh-*
e *ments.* Their fury was ſo great, that they would defer no longer the ſolemnities of the funeral; but tearing to pieces the benches and chairs of the magiſtrates, who held their courts in that place, and carrying away the counters and tables from the adjoining ſhops, raiſed with them a funeral pile, and, placing *Cæſar*'s body upon it, ſet it on fire; ſo that the body, the bed, and the temple were conſumed in a moment. When the fire firſt began to flame out, the old ſoldiers, who had ſerved under the deceaſed, threw into the flames all the military rewards which he had given them. Many women of diſtinction, to teſtify their grief and honour the memory of the deceaſed, threw into the fire their jewels, their childrens ornaments and robes, and whatever they had of value about them. The incenſed multitude, whoſe blind
f fury knows no bounds, flocking in like madmen, in ſpite of the guards placed round the pile, ſnatched the flaming brands out of the fire, and ran to burn the houſes of the conſpirators; but they, having before-hand got together a great number of their friends

Antony inflames *the populace by his funeral oration.*

Various artifices uſed to ſtir up the multitude.

Cæſar's *body burnt.*

[f] Dio. Appian. Suet. ibid.

(G) *Suetonius* is the only writer among the ancients, who tells us, that *Antony* pronounced no funeral oration. *The conſul*, ſays that hiſtorian, *made no oration, as was uſual, in commendation of the deceaſed. He only ordered a herald to read aloud the decree of the ſenate, placing* Cæſar *among the gods, and ordering divine honours to be paid him.* Antony *ſpoke only a few words in praiſe of the illuſtrious deceaſed.* It is ſurpriſing, that *Suetonius* ſhould be ignorant of ſo remarkable an incident, related at length by all other hiſtorians, and, what is more by *Cicero*, who, in his ſecond *Philippic*, reproaches *Antony* with it in moſt bitter terms.

friends and domeſtics, eaſily repulſed a diſorderly mob, that had no other arms but a their grief and fury. As they were returning from the conſpirators houſes, they met one *Cinna* (H), who had been always greatly attached to *Cæſar*'s party; but miſtaking him for another of the ſame name, who was concerned in the conſpiracy, fell upon him and tore him to pieces on the ſpot. *Brutus* and his party were ſo alarmed at theſe proceedings, that they thought it adviſeable to retire from the city; and accordingly they privately withdrew to *Antium*, with a deſign to return again as ſoon as the fury of the people was abated, which, they hoped, would be ſoon, ſince the ſenate had eſpouſed their cauſe. All the ſtrangers in *Rome* mourned after the cuſtom of their reſpective countries, eſpecially the *Jews*, who watched ſeveral nights at the place where his body had been burnt (I). At laſt divine honours were given him, b and an altar erected by the populace in the ſame place, which was ever after looked upon as ſacred, his great nephew *Octavius* having cauſed a temple to be erected there, and a pillar of jaſper twenty foot high, with this inſcription, *To the father of his country*.[f].

The fate of one Cinna.

Brutus *and his followers retire from* Rome.

The conſpirators and the conſcript fathers were equally offended at the artful ſpeech of *Antony*. They complained, that, contrary to the decree of the ſenate and his own word, by which it was agreed to bury all that had paſſed in oblivion, he had ſo pathetically inlarged on the praiſes of *Cæſar*, with no other view but to ſtir up the rage of the people. *Antony* therefore, finding he had diſcovered himſelf too ſoon, and being well appriſed, that it was in the power of the ſenate to croſs his deſigns, c reſolved to regain their favour, or at leaſt to blind them for a while, by inflicting ſevere puniſhments on the authors of the diſturbances, which were daily raiſed in all the quarters of the city. One *Amatius*, paſſing himſelf upon the multitude for the grandſon of *Marius*, and giving out that it was incumbent upon him to revenge the death of *Cæſar* his kinſman, committed every-where great diſorders, being backed by a numerous mob, whom the reputation of his pretended grandfather drew after him. But *Antony*, to make his court to the ſenate, cauſed him to be ſeized, and put to death, without any further trial. As the people flocked daily in crowds to the altar, which they had erected to *Cæſar*, *Antony* cauſed it to be demoliſhed. This provoked the mutineers, who thereupon aſſembled the next day in great numbers, d in order to rebuild the altar; but *Dolabella*, with the conſent of his collegue, fell upon them at the head of ſome legionaries, and cut ſeveral of them in pieces. Thoſe who eſcaped the ſwords of the legionaries, were proſecuted by the two conſuls, and puniſhed with the utmoſt rigor, as diſturbers of the public tranquillity. The ſlaves were all crucified, and ſuch as were of free condition thrown down from the top of the *Tarpeian* rock. Such vigorous proceedings ſtruck the unruly multitude with terror, and for a while reſtored the city to its former tranquillity. After this, *Antony*, having aſſembled the ſenate, aſſured the conſcript fathers, that thenceforth his whole attention ſhould be how to re-unite the people's minds, divided on this fatal occaſion, and to prevent the calamities of a civil war. At the ſame time, to gain the fathers intirely, e he propoſed the recalling of *Sextus Pompeius*, ſon to *Pompey the Great*, who, ever ſince the

Antony *endeavours to gain the ſenate.*

Puniſhes Amatius *and other rioters.*

Propoſes the recalling of Sextus Pompeius.

[f] Plut. Appian. Dio. Suet. ibid.

(H) We are told, that *Cinna*, of whom mention is made here, had the night before an odd dream. He fancied that *Cæſar* invited him to ſupper, and that upon his refuſing to comply with the invitation, the dictator preſſed him very earneſtly, and at length taking him by the hand, led him into a dark place. After this viſion, he was ſeized with a fever; but nevertheleſs in the morning, hearing that *Cæſar*'s body was to be interred, and being aſhamed not to be preſent at the ſolemnity, he went into the forum, out of reſpect to the memory of his friend, tho' his dream gave him no ſmall apprehenſion. One of the rabble, whom *Antony*'s ſpeech had ſtirred up and inraged, ſeeing him there, aſked another, Who he was; and having learnt his name, told it to another. It was preſently reported, that he was one of the conſpirators, or what is moſt probable, that he was that *Cinna*, who had a little before, in a ſpeech to the people, inveighed againſt *Cæſar*, and this was enough for the furious multitude to tear him to pieces.

(I) No people received more ſignal favours at *Cæſar*'s hands than the *Jewiſh* nation. He reſtored *Hyrcanus*, the ſon of *Alexander* to the ſovereignty of *Judæa*, and ſecured the crown to him and his family by a decree, which he cauſed to be engraved on tables of braſs in *Greek* and *Latin*, and to be hung up in the capitol at *Rome*, and in the temples of *Tyre*, *Sidon*, and *Askalon* in *Phœnice*: he remitted great part of the tributes, which the *Jews* paid annually to the republic; in acknowledgment of the aſſiſtance he had from the *Jewiſh* nation in the war of *Alexandria*: before he left that city, he confirmed all the privileges they enjoyed there, and ordered a pillar to be erected, whereon, by his command, all theſe privileges were engraved, and alſo his decree confirming them (45).

(45) *Joſeph. antiq. l.* xiv. *c.* 17.

a the battle of *Munda*, had concealed himſelf in *Celtiberia*. He was even of opinion, that the loſs of his paternal eſtate, which had been confiſcated by *Cæſar* and divided among his creatures, ſhould be made good to him at the expence of the public, and that the ſupreme command of all the naval forces of the republic ſhould be conferred upon him, in the ſame unlimited manner as his father had enjoyed it before him. This propoſal was heard with ſurprize, and received with general applauſe. Some aſcribed this change in *Antony* to his fear of the conſpirators; others ſuſpected, that he was deſirous of engaging the ſenate in his favour againſt young *Octavius*, the dictator's heir, who was on his journey from *Greece* to *Rome*. All the ſenators, however, beſtowed on him the greateſt commendations, which were ſo much the ſincerer, as b the reſtoration of young *Pompey* ſeemed to be an implicit condemnation of *Cæſar*'s memory. *Cicero* himſelf, deceived by this falſe appearance of zeal, highly commended *Antony*'s conduct, firſt in the ſenate, and afterwards in a letter he wrote to him, which the conſul kept, and in due time made public by way of anſwer to the orator's bitter invectives.

THE conſcript fathers were highly pleaſed with ſuch a conduct in a conſul and a friend of *Cæſar*; but the populace, extremely provoked at his thus changing ſides, reproached him with ingratitude to the memory of his benefactor. *Antony* failed not to make himſelf a merit with the ſenate of this averſion. He even pretended to be afraid, leſt the inraged multitude ſhould make ſome attempt upon his life, and, as c if he were not ſafe, demanded a guard of the ſenate to ſecure himſelf againſt the rabble, who, he ſaid, threatened him with deſtruction. The conſcript fathers could not well reject his requeſt, ſince he had incurred the hatred of the people for the intereſt of the ſenate. They allowed him therefore a guard for the ſecurity of his perſon; but *Antony*, under this pretence, choſe ſix thouſand old legionaries, who had ſerved with him under *Cæſar*, and paſſionately longed to revenge the death of their general. The ſenate was alarmed to ſee the conſul walk the ſtreets of *Rome* always attended with ſuch a number of armed men. Even his friends remonſtrated to him, that ſuch an extraordinary attendance made him ſuſpected and odious in a free ſtate. *Antony* promiſed to disband them, as ſoon as he thought himſelf out of danger; d and, in the mean time, to remove the ſuſpicion they might entertain of his aſpiring to ſucceed *Cæſar* in the dictatorſhip, he propoſed a law abrogating that dignity for ever, and got it paſſed in the aſſembly of the people. This calmed for a while the fears of the conſcript fathers: but *Antony* ſoon gave them freſh motives of jealouſy; for having gained over to his intereſt *Cæſar*'s ſecretary, whom ſome call *Faberius*, others *Tabirius*, and by his means made himſelf maſter of all his papers, he appointed what officers he pleaſed, brought whom he thought fit into the ſenate, recalled ſome from exile, freed others out of priſon, *&c.* and all this as ordered ſo by *Cæſar*, whoſe acts had been declared void by the ſenate. The *Romans*, by way of raillery, called thoſe new magiſtrates and ſenators *Charonites*, becauſe, if obliged to prove their patents, e they muſt have had recourſe to the regiſters of the dead, that is, of thoſe who had paſſed the river *Styx* in *Charon*'s bark. They were alſo ſtyled *Orcini*, an epithet given to ſuch ſlaves as were enfranchiſed by their maſters will made on their death-bed. *Antony*, having by this artifice introduced many of his own creatures into the ſenate, began to act with great independency, knowing he had nothing to fear either from the conſcript fathers or the populace, ſince he had now a ſtrong party in the ſenate, and was guarded by a numerous body of choſen troops againſt the inſults and attempts of the multitude. Beſides, the whole authority of the government was, we may ſay, in his hands. He was himſelf conſul, one of his brothers, *Lucius Antonius*, was tribune of the people, and the other, *C. Antonius*, prætor; ſo that, without taking upon f him the title either of king or dictator, it may be ſaid, that he governed *Rome* with an abſolute ſway [t]. As for *Lepidus*, *Antony* attached that powerful *Roman* to his intereſt, by procuring for him the dignity of pontifex maximus, vacant by the death of *Cæſar*, and betrothing his daughter *Antonia* to young *Lepidus* his ſon.

Is allowed a guard.

He is ſuſpected by the ſenate.

His falſehood and double-dealing in concert with Cæſar's ſecretary.

IN the mean time, ſome of the conſpirators returned to *Rome*, while others continued at *Antium*. Among the latter was *M. Brutus*, who, upon intelligence that many of the old ſoldiers, who had ſerved under *Cæſar*, of whom they had received lands, lay in wait for him, and by ſmall parties had ſtolen into the city, would not expoſe himſelf to unneceſſary dangers. However, in his abſence, moſt magnificent ſhews were exhibited

[t] APPIAN. l. iii. & viii. DIO, l. xliv. PLUT. in Bruto. CIC. in epiſt. paſſim, & in Philippicis.

Magnificent ſports exhibited by Brutus.

exhibited to the people at his expence, he being then prætor; for having bought up a great number of wild beaſts of all ſorts, he gave poſitive orders, that not one of them ſhould be diſpoſed of or ſaved; but that they ſhould be all uſed in thoſe ſhews. He even went in perſon as far as *Naples* to engage a conſiderable number of comedians, and wrote to *Cicero* and his other friends, begging them by no means to omit honouring his ſhews with their preſence [n]. *Cæſar* had, before his death, allotted provinces to the chief men among the conſpirators, *viz.* *Macedon* to *M. Brutus*, *Syria* to *Caſſius*, *Aſia* to *Trebonius*, *Bithynia* to *Cimber*, and *Ciſalpine Gaul* to *Decimus Brutus*. Some authors write, that theſe provinces were given them by the ſenate. However that be, they ſtill continued in or near the capital, to watch *Antony*'s ſteps, who now manifeſtly aſpired, notwithſtanding all his former proteſtations, at the ſovereign power.

Octavius's *origin.*

Such was the poſture of affairs, when news was brought, that young *Octavius*, *Cæſar*'s great-nephew and adopted ſon, was coming to take poſſeſſion of his inheritance. He was the ſon of *Caius Octavius* of the ſenatorial order, who had deen prætor of *Macedon*, and of *Accia*, daughter to *Julia Cæſar*'s ſiſter. The *Octavian* family was divided into two branches, *viz.* the *Cneii* and the *Caii*. The former were early diſtinguiſhed at *Rome* with the firſt honours of the republic; but the latter, from whom *Cæſar*'s adopted ſon was deſcended, were but ſimple knights at the time of the ſecond *Punic* war. *Octavius*'s great-grandfather ſerved in *Sicily* in quality of legionary tribune, and his grandfather bore the firſt employments in *Velitræ*, his native city. His mother *Accia*, or *Atia*, was the daughter of *Julia* and *M. Accius Balbus*, whoſe family, as appears from ſeveral ancient inſcriptions, had been, long before the birth of *Octavius*, one of the moſt conſpicuous of *Aricia*, an ancient city of *Latium* (K). *Octavius* was born in the conſulate of *Cicero* and *Caius Antonius*, that is, in the year of *Rome* 690. His father *Caius Octavius* dying when he was but four years old, his mother *Accia* married again, and took to her ſecond husband *Lucius Marcius Philippus*, deſcended from thoſe *Philippi*, who ſignalized themſelves in the *Macedonian* wars. From his infancy he bore the ſurname of *Thurinus*, borrowed, as *Suetonius* conjectures, from his father, who drove the remains of *Catiline*'s army from the neighbourhood of *Thurium*, a city of *Great Greece*, and was from thence ſtyled *Thurinus*. *Accia* his mother and *Philippus* his father-in-law took care to have him educated and inſtructed by the beſt maſters then in *Rome*; and he is ſaid to have ſo profited by their inſtructions, that at nine years old he harangued the people with wonderful intrepidity, and pronounced the funeral oration of his grandmother *Julia* when he was not quite twelve. All the writers of his age tell us, that from his infancy he gave glareing proofs of an exalted mind, capable of managing the moſt difficult enterprizes. His extraordinary parts, ſay they, joined to the majeſty of his mein and comelineſs of his perſon, influenced in his favour all who knew, or only beheld, him. Above the reſt

His education.

[n] Plut. in Bruto.

(K) *Marc Antony* reproached *Octavius* with the meanneſs and obſcurity of his anceſtors. According to him, *Octavius*'s great-grandfather, on the father's ſide, was a freed-man, and by profeſſion a rope-maker in the territory of *Thurium*, and his grand father a banker. On the mother's ſide, *Antony* derived his pedigree from a perfumer, who afterwards turned baker in the city of *Aricia*. *Caſſius Parmenſis*, in a letter he wrote to *Octavius* before the battle of *Actium*, told him, that he owed his birth to a money-changer and a woman brought up in the mills of *Aricia*. But theſe calumnies are learnedly rejected by *Joſeph Rocco Volpi*, an *Italian* jeſuit, in his account of the antiquities of ancient *Latium*, where he proves from ſeveral ancient inſcriptions, that the *Octavian* family, before their migration to *Rome*, which happened, according to him, in the reign of *Tarquinius Priſcus*, had borne the firſt employments in the republic of *Velitræ*, now *Velletri*. As to the *Atian* family, he ſhews, that, for ſeveral ages before the birth of *Octavius*, it had been one of the moſt conſpicuous of *Aricia*. *Virgil* indeed derives the *Atian* family from *Atys*, the companion of *Iulus*, ſon to *Æneas*.

Alter Atys, genus unde Atii duxere Latini,
Parvus Atys, pueroque puer dilectus Iulo (46).

Many writers, and among the reſt *F. Volpi*, are of opinion, that *Octavius* was brought up in the town of *Ulubræ*, ſituated in the diſtrict of *Velitræ*; for *Suetonius* tells us, that he was educated *in avito ſuburbano prope Velitras*; and that, as ſoon as he ſpoke, he commanded the frogs that were croaking to be ſilent, and from that time, adds he, *neganturibi coaxare*. From this paſſage they infer, that *Octavius* was brought up in a place near *Velitræ*, which abounded with frogs, and conſequently at *Ulubræ*, which was in the territory of *Velitræ*; and, as it was ſituated in the midſt of the *Pomptine* marſhes, muſt of courſe have been well ſtocked with frogs (47). Hence it is, that *Tully* calls the inhabitants of this town *frogs*, becauſe, like frogs, they lived in the midſt of marſhes (48.)

(46) *Æneid. l.* v. *ver.* 569, 570. (47) *Suet. in Octav.* (48) *Cic. epiſt. fam. l.* vii. *ep.* 18.

a reſt, *Julius Cæſar*, his great uncle, was ſo taken with his prudent conduct and a certain maturity of judgment, which young *Octavius* diſcovered from his tender years, that he cheriſhed him, with all the tenderneſs of a father, and very early formed the deſign of adopting him, in caſe he had no children of his own. He deſigned to take him with him into *Spain*, when he went thither to make war on the ſons of *Pompey*, that he might have an opportunity of inſtructing him in the military art; but his mother *Accia*, alarmed at a ſlight indiſpoſition, with which he was ſeized when upon the point of departing, kept him in *Rome* till that war was near ended, the battle of *Munda* being fought before he reached *Spain*. He intended to carry him with him to the *Parthian* war, and with this view ſent him before to *Apollonia*, on the other
b ſide of the *Adriatic*, to wait for him there, and in the mean time improve his talent for eloquence under the famous rhetorician *Apollodorus* of *Pergamus*. He had been ſix months in *Apollonia*, when he received the news of his uncle's tragical death, which moſt ſenſibly afflicted him. At firſt he knew not whether the whole ſenate was privy to his death, or whether he had fallen by a conſpiracy of his private enemies; but, a few days after, he was informed that ſixty ſenators of the moſt illuſtrious families in *Rome* had been in the plot; that even thoſe who had no ſhare in it, did, however, ſecretly favour the conſpirators, whom they looked upon as the deliverers of their country; that this party was very powerful; that *Antony*, *Lepidus*, and the other friends of his great-uncle, under pretence of avenging his death, aimed at nothing
c elſe but to eſtabliſh their own power; that the city was filled with troubles and commotions occaſioned by the animoſity of different parties. *&c.* At the ſame time he received letters from his mother and father-in-law, and his other friends and relations, adviſing him to forbear for the preſent declaring either his pretenſions or reſentment, ſince there could be no ſafety for him, but in an obſcure and private life. Some of his friends went even ſo far as to adviſe him to renounce *Cæſar*'s adoption, leſt he ſhould be involved in the ſame fate with his uncle. Others would fain have perſuaded him to ſeek for ſhelter among the troops in *Macedon*, which had, for the moſt part, ſerved under *Cæſar*, and were appointed to attend him in his expedition againſt the *Parthians*. But *Octavius*, rejecting the timorous counſels of his friends, reſolved to paſs
d over into *Italy* without delay, to inform himſelf on the ſpot of the ſituation of affairs. Accordingly he went on board a ſmall veſſel, and, paſſing the *Adriatic* ſea, landed at *Lupia*, now known by the name of *La Rocca*, between *Brunduſium* and *Hydruntum*. The former of theſe two cities was the uſual place of landing for thoſe who came from the eaſt; but *Octavius* thought it adviſable not to ſhew himſelf there, the place being full of ſoldiers, till he had, by means of ſome dexterous perſons, ſounded the diſpoſitions of both the inhabitants and gariſon. The latter no ſooner heard of the arrival of their late general's ſon, than they went out in a body to meet him, and introduced him in a kind of a triumph into the city. *Octavius* thanked them for their attachment and reſpect to the memory of his uncle, and, after having offered
e a ſolemn ſacrifice to the gods, declared himſelf *Cæſar*'s heir and ſon by adoption, calling himſelf no longer *Caius Octavius*, but *Caius Julius Cæſar Octavianus* (L); and by the latter name we ſhall diſtinguiſh him, following therein moſt of the ancients, till he acquires that of *Auguſtus*, which was given him by the ſenate after the victory he gained over *Antony* at *Actium*. His thus taking the name of *Cæſar*, and declaring himſelf his heir, in ſo critical a conjuncture, was, no doubt, a bold ſtep in a youth ſcarce eighteen years old; the more, becauſe it was againſt the advice of all his friends and relations: but, from his firſt ſetting out, fortune ſeemed to eſpouſe his cauſe; and indeed his riſe ſeems to us more owing to fortune, that is, to ſeaſonable conjunctures, and to the great reputation of his uncle, whoſe memory was adored by the ſoldiery and populace, than to any extraordinary parts of his own. All the writers of his time, whether hiſtorians or poets, men of great wit, but notorious flatterers, repreſent him as the greateſt commander, the ableſt ſtateſman, and the moſt accompliſhed prince, the world ever ſaw; but whether he deſerved the praiſes, which they ſo laviſhly beſtowed upon him, and for which they were amply rewarded, is a queſtion which

The regard Cæſar *had for him.*

Is informed at Apollonia *of his uncle's death.*

Rejects the advice of his friends und relations, and ſets out for Italy.

Declares himſelf Cæſar's *heir.*

(L) Adopted perſons aſſumed all the three names of him who adopted them; but, as a mark of their proper deſcent, added at the end either their former *nomen* or *cognomen*; the firſt exactly the ſame as before, for inſtance, *Q. Servilius Cæpio Agalo Brutus*, the name of *M. Junius Brutus* when adopted by *Q. Servilius Cæpio Agalo*. The other was added with ſome ſlight alteration, as in the caſe before us, *Octavius* calling himſelf, after his adoptive father, *C. Julius Cæſar*, and changing the *cognomen Octavius* into *Octavianus*, declaring himſelf thereby to be of the *Octavian* family.

How ſupplied with arms, money, &c.

which muſt be decided by facts. But to proceed: the gariſon of *Brunduſium*, which was very numerous and conſiſted for the moſt part of brave veterans, whom *Cæſar* intended to lead againſt the *Parthians*, not only offered their ſervice to *Octavianus*, but put him in poſſeſſion of all the military ſtores and proviſions, which *Cæſar* had prepared for his *Parthian* expedition and conveyed to *Brunduſium*, in order to be tranſported from thence into the eaſt. At the ſame time, *Octavianus* had the good luck to intercept the tributes, which were ſent annually to *Rome* from the provinces on the other ſide of the ſea, and likewiſe the proviſions and money deſigned for the ſupport and payment of the troops of the republic in *Macedon*. Theſe *Octavianus* ſeized for his own uſe, which was, according to the laws of *Rome*, a capital crime, and would have been puniſhed with death in leſs turbulent times; but *Octavianus*, young as he was, had already reſolved to make himſelf maſter of the republic, under the ſpecious pretence of revenging his uncle's death. Being thus ſupplied at once with men, money, arms, and proviſions, he ſet out from *Brunduſium*, and took his rout through *Campania* to *Rome*. On the fourteenth of the calends of *May* he arrived at *Naples*, and the next day went to viſit *Cicero* at his country-houſe in the neighbourdood of *Cumæ*, whither the orator had retired for fear of *Antony*, who now governed *Rome* with an abſolute ſway. Of this viſit *Cicero* himſelf makes mention in one of his epiſtles to *Atticus* [w]. *Octavianus* wanted a man of *Cicero*'s eloquence and authority to ſupport his intereſt in the ſenate, and *Cicero* one of *Octavianus*'s credit among the troops to ſcreen him againſt the attempts of *Antony*, with whom he had quarrelled. It was therefore agreed between them, that *Cicero* ſhould aſſiſt *Octavianus* with his eloquence, both in the ſenate and with the people, and that *Octavianus*, on the other hand, ſhould defend *Cicero* againſt all his enemies eſpecially *M. Antony* (M). From *Cumæ Octavianus* purſued his journey to *Rome*, being joined, as he paſſed through *Campania*, by the moſt conſiderable of his uncle's friends, his relations, free-men, and even his ſlaves. The veterans likewiſe, to whom *Cæſar*, after the civil war, had given lands in *Italy*, haſtened from all parts to offer their ſervice to his adopted ſon. As he drew near *Rome*, moſt of the magiſtrates, the officers of the army, and the people came out in throngs to meet him. Of all the friends and creatures of the dictator, *Antony* alone neglected to pay him the leaſt reſpect; nay, he did not ſo much as deign to ſend any of his ſervants or attendants to compliment him in his name; but of this young *Octavianus* took no notice, being unwilling, on ſo trifling an account, to diſoblige one, with whom he had affairs of much greater moment to tranſact. His friends indeed could not forbear publicly condemning the pride and ingratitude of *Antony*; but *Octavianus*, with a ſeeming good temper, excuſed him on account of his great age and the prerogatives of the conſular dignity. *It behoves me, who am but a young man, and in a private ſtation*, ſaid he, *to wait the firſt on one who is my ſenior, and in the higheſt poſt of the republic.* Accordingly he reſolved to make him a viſit the next morning; but, as he deſigned to have his adoption firſt ratified by the prætor, according to the *Roman* cuſtom, he deſires his friends to meet him early the next morning in the forum, with as many attendants as they could get together, in order to aſſiſt at that ceremony. His friends and relations, with numerous crowds of clients and attendants. accompanied him early in the morning, purſuant to his requeſt, into the forum, where he proved before *Caius*, the brother

Viſits Cicero.

Agreement between Cicero *and* Octavianus.

[w] Cic ad Attic. l. xiv. ep. 10.

(M) We are told by *Plutatch*, that *Cicero* had long had a tender regard for young *Octavius*, which, if that writer is to be credited, was occaſioned by the following dream: While *Pompey* and *Cæſar* were yet alive, ſays *Plutarch*, *Cicero*, in a dream, ſeemed to ſummon the ſons of the ſenators into the capitol, as if *Jupiter* deſigned to declare one of them the ſovereign of *Rome*. The citizens, haſtening thither out of curioſity, ſurounded the temple; and the youths, ſitting in their purple robes, kept a profound ſilence. On a ſudden the doors opened, and the youths ariſing paſſed one by one before the god, who reviewed them all one after another, and diſmiſſed them; at which they ſeemed much diſpleaſed: but when it came to *Octavius*'s turn to be reviewed, *Jupiter*, ſtretching forth his hand, ſaid aloud, *This*, O Romans! *this young man, when he ſhall become maſter of* Rome, *ſhall put an end to all your cruel wars*. The ſame author adds, that *Cicero*, by this viſion had framed a perfect idea of the youth, and preſerved it in his mind, tho' he did not know him. The next day, as he was going down into the *campus Martius*, he met the boys returning from their exerciſes, and the firſt he ſaw was young *Octavius*, juſt as he had appeared to him in his dream. Being greatly ſurpriſed at this, he aſked him who he was; and hearing he was the grandſon of *Julia*, *Cæſar*'s ſiſter, from that time he ſaluted him where-ever he met him, and ſhewed on all occaſions a particular regard for him. But we do not find one word of this in all *Cicero*'s works; and yet it is not to be preſumed, that he would have concealed ſo ſignificant a dream from his friend *Atticus*.

a brother of *Antony*, at that time *prætor urbanus* or city prætor, his adoption, declared with the uſual ceremonies his acceptance of the ſame, and cauſed this his acceptance to be regiſtered by the public ſcribes or notaries. From the forum *Octavianus* went ſtrait to *Pompey*'s gardens, where *Antony* then reſided, he having appropriated them to himſelf upon that great man's death. The conſul made him wait a great while at the gate, to let him know, by that affected diſregard, how much he was above him, and what degree of authority he deſigned to maintain over him. At length he admitted him into his apartment, and received him with great politeneſs and civility. *Octavianus* ſpoke firſt. He began with returning thanks to *Antony* for his attachment to the memory of his father, and the panegyric he made at his funeral. Then he modeſtly complained of his having ſuffered a pardon to paſs in favour of the b conſpirators, whom he might have puniſhed with as much ſeverity, and as arbitrarily, as he had done the impoſtor *Amatius*. He reminded him in a very handſome manner of *Cæſar*'s friendſhip to him, and of the many good offices he had done him. He conjured him, by the memory of his friend and benefactor, to aſſiſt him in revenging his death, at leaſt not to oppoſe him in ſo laudable an undertaking. In the cloſe of his ſpeech he gave *Antony* to underſtand, that he was reſolved to pay immediately the legacies which his father had left to the people and ſoldiery; and therefore deſired him to deliver up to him, as *Cæſar*'s chief heir, the money which he had cauſed to be conveyed from *Cæſar*'s houſe to his own; *But as that*, ſaid he, *will hardly be ſufc ficient to diſcharge all my obligations, I ſhall be highly obliged to you, if you will either lend me ſome of your own, or procure me ſome at intereſt from the quæſtors, that I may pay off what ſhall remain due to thoſe whom my father has remembered in his will. As for his moveables, I am willing you ſhould keep them, as marks of his affection; but for the ready money I have preſent occaſion, and therefore hope you will order it, without delay, to be delivered to me.* *Antony*, amazed at the young man's boldneſs, and piqued at what he ſaid in the cloſe of his ſpeech relating to his father's money, which, according to *Plutarch*, amounted to no leſs than four thouſand talents, told him with an air of authority, That he was very much miſtaken, if he fancied, that *Cæſar* had left him heir of the *Roman* empire, as well as of his name and fortune; that his death ought d to have taught his adopted ſon, that the conſtitution of the commonwealth allowed neither of hereditary nor elective ſovereigns; and that therefore he ought not to demand reaſons of a *Roman* conſul for what he had done in the government of the commonwealth. As for the obligations, which he pretended to owe him on account of the honours which he had procured for his father's memory, he willingly acquitted him of them all, ſince what he had done was without any regard to him, and only deſigned for the good of his country. However, added he, to me alone you are indebted for his name and his eſtate; for had *Cæſar* been treated like an uſurper, which I alone prevented, there had been neither will, inheritance, nor adoption: but I ſecured to him the honours due to his memory, and by that means his name and e eſtate to you, even at the hazard of my own life. 'Tis true, I have ſuffered ſome decrees to paſs in the ſenate favourable to the conſpirators; but I have been prompted thereunto by reaſons, which one of your age is not capable of diſcerning. As to *Cæſar*'s money, which you demand, it does not amount to ſo great a ſum as you imagine; beſides, as it belonged to the commonwealth, from which your father took it, it has been, in great part, ſhared among the magiſtrates ſince his death, who are to lay it out according to the exigencies of the ſtate. As for what remains, I am ready to put it into your hands; but give me leave to adviſe you, young man, not to lay it out in largeſſes and gratifications: employ it rather in ſending back to their reſpective colonies that ſhoal of followers, who attended you hither. The populace f is a monſter that will never be ſatified, and will always requite the good offices of their fellow-citizens with the baſeſt ingratitude. As you are converſant in the *Grecian* hiſtory, you muſt know, that the favourites of the people are, generally ſpeaking, ſhort-lived, and that the popular affection is more inconſtant than the waves of the ocean [x].

Octavianus, highly offended at this ſpeech, took his leave of *Antony*, repeating ſeveral times, as he went out of the door, the name of *Cæſar*. He was well appriſed, that the conſul kept his father's money and eſtate from him, with no other view but to diſable him from purchaſing the favour of the people. He therefore reſolved to expoſe

Octavianus proves his adoption.

His ſpeech to Antony at their firſt interview.

Antony's reply.

[x] Liv. l. cxvii. Appian. l. iii p. 531, 533. Dion, l. xlv. Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 60. Suet. in Octavio. Cic. epiſt ad Attic. 10 & 13. l. xiv. Oros. l. vi. c. 10.

expoſe to public ſale all the houſes and lands that belonged to the dictator, declaring, a
that he had not accepted his inheritance, had it not been to prevent *Antony* from depriving ſo many families of the effects of *Cæſar*'s bounty towards them; but the
Antony's artifice. conſul, to put a ſtop to the ſale, prevailed upon ſome private citizens to claim the lands, as the eſtates of their anceſtors, which the dictator had appropriated to himſelf during the civil war. At the ſame time the quæſtors and other officers of the revenue, at the inſtigation of the conſul, claimed part of thoſe lands, as having been confiſcated for the uſe of the public. Hereupon *Octavianus*, foreſeeing the affair would be drawn out to a great length, inſtantly put up to ſale his own patrimony, with the eſtates of his mother and father-in-law, who willingly parted with them to promote his deſigns, and aſſiſt him in purchaſing the favour of the people. With b
Octavianus gains the favour of the people. the money accruing from theſe ſales he paid part of his father's legacies; which affected generoſity ſo charmed the populace, who expected more favours from him, that they all declared in his favour, and broke out into bitter invectives againſt *Antony*, for with-holding from him his father's eſtate. A few days after, a new diſpute aroſe between *Antony* and *Octavianus*, on occaſion of the public ſhews, which *Crotonius* exhibited during his ædileſhip. The ſenate had decreed, as we have related above, in *Cæſar*'s life-time, that at all public ſhews a gilt chair and a crown of gold ſhould be placed for him even after his death, to make the memory of that great man immortal. Purſuant to this decree, *Octavianus* failed not to ſend the chair and crown; but the ædile, gained over by *Antony*, refuſed to admit them. Hereupon the affair c
being carried before the conſul, *Antony* anſwered coldly, That he would refer it to the ſenate; *And I*, anſwered *Octavianus* haughtily, *will go and place my father's chair where it ought to ſtand, while you are conſulting the conſcript fathers.* *Antony*, provoked at the young man's boldneſs, threatened to ſend him to priſon, if he offered to bring forth his father's chair and crown, either at the games of *Crotonius*, or at thoſe which he himſelf was to exhibit in honour of the dictator before the temple of *Venus*. *Octa-*
Falls out with Antony. *vianus*, perceiving that this prohibition was ill received by the people, reſolved to turn it to his advantage; and accordingly going into the forum, complained there to the multitude of the injury done to the memory of his father, addreſſing himſelf to *Antony*, as if he had been preſent: *Why ſhould your hatred to me*, ſaid he, *extend to* Cæſar, d
who deſerved ſo well of you? Why do you endeavour to prevent me from paying thoſe honours to the memory of my father, which you yourſelf procured, and the ſenate decreed, for him? Sacrifice me, if you pleaſe, to your revenge; but do not thus revile the Manes of a great man, to whom you owe your preſent dignity. Suffer me at leaſt, O Antony, *to diſcharge thoſe legacies, which he has left to his fellow-citizens; I freely abandon to your inſatiable avarice all the reſt. I ſhall think myſelf rich enough, if I can but do juſtice to his memory, by diſtributing among the people what he has left them by his will.* This diſcourſe incenſed the populace againſt *Antony*; every one deteſted his ingratitude; even his own guards, who had all ſerved under *Cæſar*, threatened to abandon him, if he continued to perſecute the ſon of their general. Hereupon *Antony*, finding it behoved him to diſ- e
ſemble, notwithſtanding his paſſion againſt young *Octavianus*, anſwered, That he preſerved a tender regard for the memory of *Cæſar*, and had alſo a great value for his ſon; but that as the young man, proud of the name of *Cæſar*, pretended to put himſelf upon the level with a conſul, he thought himſelf obliged to make him ſenſible of the difference there was between a private citizen and the chief magiſtrate of the republic; but that he was ready to forget all that was paſt, provided *Octavianus* would, for the future, pay him that reſpect and deference, to which his office and age intitled
They are reconciled. him. This explanation was, at the requeſt of the officers, followed by an interview, in which, after mutual proteſtations of friendſhip, they promiſed to aſſiſt each other in revenging *Cæſar*'s death and proſecuting the authors of it [x]. f

In this pretended reconciliation with *Octavianus*, *Antony* had his private views. As the conſular year was near expiring, he hoped, by the intereſt of *Octavianus*, to procure for himſelf the province of *Ciſalpine Gaul*, which had been given to *Decimus Brutus* by the dictator, and confirmed to him after his death by a decree of the ſenate. As he knew the importance of that government with reſpect to all *Italy*, he remonſtrated to *Octavianus*, that ſince he was generouſly diſpoſed to revenge the death of his father, he ought not to ſuffer one of his aſſaſſins to enjoy a command at the very gates of *Rome*. *Octavianus* fell into the ſnare, and promiſed to aſſiſt him with all his intereſt.

[x] Plut. Dio. Appian. ibid.

a intereſt. Hereupon the affair was brought before the ſenate, where it met with great oppoſition, the conſcript fathers looking upon the cauſe of the conſpirators as the ſame with that of liberty. Beſides, they could not turn *Brutus* out of the province which *Cæſar* had allotted him, without reverſing the decree by which they had confirmed all his acts. The propoſal was therefore rejected by a great majority; nay, there were not wanting ſome, who, well appriſed of *Antony*'s ambitious views, propoſed declaring that province a free ſtate, rather than truſting the government of it to one, who would make uſe of it as a place of arms, and from thence awe the capital; but as that province ſeemed very convenient for his deſigns, *Antony* had recourſe to the people, whoſe tribunes he had bribed; and the undiſcerning multi- b tude, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of the ſenate, granted him the government he deſired. On this occaſion *Octavianus* employed all his intereſt in favour of *Antony*, and it was chiefly by his intrigues and under-hand management, that the conſul carried his point. The conſcript fathers immediately diſpatched a meſſenger to *Brutus*, acquainting him with what had paſſed, and adviſing him not to deliver up the province to *Antony*; but to fortify himſelf there, and keep out the conſul, if neceſſary, by force of arms [x].

Antony obtains of the people the province of Ciſalpine Gaul.

THE friends of *Cæſar* triumphed on account of the reconciliation between *Octavianus* and *Antony*; but, as the intereſts of the two rivals were ſo widely oppoſite, each of them aſpiring at the ſame power which *Cæſar* had enjoyed, it was impoſſible they c ſhould continue long united. *Antony*, thinking himſelf now maſter of *Italy*, began to thwart *Octavianus*'s meaſures and regard him leſs; nay, he commanded him, under ſevere penalties, to forbear bribing the populace with his largeſſes: and becauſe *Octavianus*, by the great intereſt he had among the people, was likely to get *Flaminius*, one of his creatures, named to the tribunate, *Antony* employed all his credit and authority with the multitude to poſtpone the election. Thus the hatred and averſion of the two rivals were kindled anew. *Antony* never mentioned *Octavianus*, but with the epithets of *a raſh, turbulent* and *ſeditious young man*; while *Octavianus*, on the other hand, left no ſtone unturned to ſtir up the reſentment of the people againſt *Antony*. The ſenate was overjoyed at this diviſion; but *Antony*'s guards and d the late dictator's friends did not fail to remonſtrate to him anew the dangerous conſequences of their diſagreement, and to exhort *Antony* to be reconciled again to the ſon of their general: *Both your ſafety and ours*, ſaid they, *depends upon the undoing of the conſpirators. If their party prevails, we muſt expect to be proſcribed, as the miniſters and accomplices of an uſurper. Nothing can ſupport our party but your union with young* Octavianus. *Aſſiſt him therefore in his generous deſign of revenging* Cæſar's *death. Let it not be ſaid, that the dictator's beſt friend croſſes his ſon, in the proſecution of thoſe who have baſely and treacherouſly murdered his father.* *Antony* was no leſs deſirous of deſtroying the conſpirators than his ſoldiers and officers: but he could not brook it ſhould be owing to *Octavianus*. He was afraid, that, under pretence e of revenging *Cæſar*'s death, he might ſeize on the ſovereign power, after having ruined the republican party. This was the ſecret motive that prompted him to oppoſe *Octavianus*, whom he ſaw greatly beloved both by the ſoldiery and people. However, as it much concerned him not to diſoblige the officers and legionaries, who had followed him ſince the dictator's death, he undertook to juſtify his conduct to them in the following harangue, which is related at length by *Appian* [y], and unravels all the myſteries of his wicked policy. After having given them an account of the diſturbances that happened in the city upon the firſt news of *Cæſar*'s death, he goes on thus:

A new breach between Antony *and* Octavianus.

Antony endeavours to juſtify his conduct.

" The general cry was, that the republic was reſtored, and the ſenate ſeemed diſ-
" poſed to decree a reward for the aſſaſſins, as the authors of liberty. If this had
f " been effected, *Cæſar* had been declared a tyrant, and we all involved in the ſame ſen-
" tence as his accomplices; but I alone ſtood up againſt all the conſpirators, their rela-
" lations, their friends, and, I may ſay, againſt the ſenate itſelf. Their adherents fore-
" ſeeing, that, if *Cæſar* was not declared a tyrant, the conſpirators might be puniſhed,
" were very ſanguine for having his memory branded with infamy. As both parties
" defended their opinions with obſtinacy, I thought it adviſeable to propoſe a general
" pardon for the conſpirators, rather than a reward. The conſcript fathers approved
" of my propoſal, and, thinking the conſpirators ſecure, were eaſily prevailed upon to
" drop the queſtion relating to *Cæſar*. Thus I preſerved the glory of his name intire,

ſaved

[x] PLUT. DIO. APPIAN, ibid.

[y] APPIAN. l. iii. c. 9.

" ſaved his eſtate and goods from being forfeited, and prevented that adoption from a
" being cancelled, which now makes *Octavianus* ſo daring. He enjoys the fruit of
" my cares. To get his father's will confirmed, I conſented to a pardon in favour
" of the conſpirators; but you muſt not infer from thence, that my deſign was to ſecure
" their lives: I only reprieved them. It was not my fault if they were not all tore to
" pieces on the day of *Cæſar*'s obſequies. Under pretence of deploring *Cæſar*'s death, I
" incenſed the people againſt them, and obliged them to quit *Rome*. I have oppoſed all
" the meaſures of the ſenate tending to their ſafety. I have obtained of the people, not-
" withſtanding the oppoſition of the conſcript fathers, the province of *Ciſalpine Gaul*,
" whence, with your aſſiſtance, I deſign to drive *Decimus Brutus*. In ſhort, I am de-
" termined at all adventures to revenge your general's death, and uſe my utmoſt endea- b
" vours to compaſs the total ruin of all who have had any hand in his murder. Such
" has hitherto been my conduct, ſuch are at preſent my deſigns, which I was unwilling
" to conceal from you, who are to aſſiſt me in the execution of them." This ſpeech

Is reconciled anew to Octavianus.

ſatisfied his officers; yet they inſiſted on his being reconciled anew to *Octavianus*, with whom, at their requeſt, he had a ſecond interview in the capitol, which ended in mutual engagements and promiſes to aſſiſt each other, as the former had done; but notwithſtanding their pretended reconciliation, they parted juſt as ſincere friends as they were before. *Octavianus* was willing, that *Antony*, as his father's creature, ſhould aſſiſt him in revenging *Cæſar*'s death; but would not put him at the head of a party, which, after the defeat of the conſpirators, would be maſter of the republic. On the c other hand, *Antony*, quite indifferent about the revenging of *Cæſar*'s death, only pretended to be in earneſt, to ingratiate himſelf with the ſoldiery and populace. The ſovereign power was what he aimed at, and whoever traverſed him in the purſuit of it, whether *Octavianus*, *Brutus*, or *Caſſius*, was equally odious to him.

And now *Antony*, the more to attach his collegue *Cornelius Dolabella* to his intereſt, and at the ſame time to weaken the party of the conſpirators, perſuaded him to demand the government of *Syria*, which had been allotted by *Cæſar* to *Caſſius*, and the command of the army which the dictator had deſigned to lead againſt the *Parthians*. The ſenate, highly offended at ſuch an unſeaſonable demand, remonſtrated to him, that it was an inſult both upon the memory of *Cæſar*, who had given that govern- d ment to *Caſſius*, and upon them, who had, by a ſpecial decree, confirmed all his ordinances; but *Dolabella*, who was now wholly addicted to *Antony*, anſwered, That *Caſſius* had firſt tranſgreſſed the ordinances of *Cæſar*; and that a traitor, who had imbrued his hands in the blood of his friend and benefactor, ought to not have any ſhare in his favours. As the ſenate continued inflexible, the affair was brought before the people, who readily granted the government of *Syria* to *Dolabella*, in hopes of ſeeing a ſpeedy vengeance taken of the dictator's enemies, without conſidering, that their death would be immediately followed with the loſs of their own liberty. *Antony*, taking advantage of the preſent diſpoſition of the people, prevailed upon them at the ſame time to confer on his brother *Caius Antonius* the government of *Macedon* and *Illyricum*, which had been given to *M. Brutus*. By theſe new promotions *Brutus* and *Caſſius* were deprived of their governments; but the ſenate, who placed all their hopes in theſe brave patriots, and were equally jealous of *Octavianus* and *Antony*, procured other provinces for them, *viz*, *Cyrene* and *Crete* for *Caſſius*, and *Bithynia* for *Brutus* [a].

The government of Syria *conferred on* Dolabella, *and that of* Macedon *and* Illyricum *on* C. Antonius.

c

As the reconciliation of *Antony* and *Octavianus* was forced and no-ways ſincere, their pretended friendſhip was but ſhort-lived. A few days after they had mutually engaged in the capitol to aſſiſt each other, *Antony* cauſed ſome of his guards to be put under arreſt, giving out, that they had been corrupted by *Octavianus* to murder him. This point has never been well cleared up. Some writers are of opinion, that it was f only a fetch of *Antony*'s to eſtrange the minds of the people from his rival. Others ſeem inclined to believe, that *Octavianus* had really formed ſuch a deſign, and that he was put upon it by the conſcript fathers, with whom he was at that time upon very good terms. *Cicero*, tho' a friend to *Octavianus*, does not queſtion the fact; but endeavours to turn it to the glory of *Octavianus*, as if he ought to be highly commended for attempting to deliver the republic from ſo cruel an enemy. There were not wanting ſome among the zealous republicans, who imagined, that the whole was agreed on before-hand between the heads of the two parties, that they might have a plauſible

A new breach between Antony *and* Octavianus.

[a] Dio, l. xlv. Liv, l. cxvii. Appian. l. iii. p. 543—546.

a plauſible pretence to raiſe troops for the accompliſhment of their private deſigns; but their enſuing conduct ſufficiently ſhewed, that each of them ſought the others deſtruction, and aſpired to remain alone at the head of the party, which was oppoſite to that of the conſpirators. With this view they began now both to raiſe forces. *Antony* ſent orders to his brother *Caius*, for whom he had procured the government of *Macedon*, to bring over into *Italy* four of the legions that were quartered in that province. He flattered himſelf, that *Lepidus*, who was now in *Spain* at the head of four legions, and *Plancus*, who commanded three more in *Tranſalpine Gaul*, would declare for him. On the other hand, *Octavianus*, fearing to be ſurpriſed and cruſhed by his enemy, haſtened into *Campania*, where he drew together ten thouſand brave vete-
b rans, who had ſerved under *Cæſar*, and had been rewarded by him for their ſervice with lands in that part of *Italy*. To theſe the name of *Evocati* was firſt given, becauſe after they had ſerved their legal time, and received the rewards due to their valour, they were again invited into the army. He likewiſe found means to corrupt with large preſents and gain over two of *Antony*'s legions, the *Martial* and the fourth. Having thus raiſed an army of his own authority, without being inveſted either with a military title or any magiſtracy, which gave him right to head the forces of the republic, eſpecially againſt a conſul, he marched ſtraight to *Rome*; but thought it adviſeable to halt at the temple of *Mars*, about two miles from the city, till he obtained the con-
ſent of the people for his entry. *Canutius*, a tribune of the people, in an harangue
c to the multitude, aſſured them, that young *Octavianus* had no other view, in entering *Rome* with ſo numerous a guard, but to protect them and himſelf from the inſults and dangerous attempts of the cruel and ambitious conſul. The populace, always ſhort in their foreſight, believed their tribune, and ſuffered *Octavianus* to enter the city with all his forces. *Antony* was then at *Brunduſium*, whither he had gone to appeaſe a tumult, which ſome mutineers had raiſed among the *Macedonian* legions; but as he was hourly expected back, both with his own guards and the other legions which had remained faithful to him, no-body doubted, but a civil war would ſoon be kindled within the very walls of *Rome*. In this perſuaſion ſome ſided with *Antony*, others with *Octavianus*; but the moſt diſcerning among the ſenators declared for neither,
d affecting to ſtand neuter, and, in the mean time, ſtirring up under-hand the heads of the two parties againſt each other, not without hopes of ſeeing them both undone by their mutual hatred [b]. *Cicero*, out of the averſion he bore to *Antony*, ſided with *Octavianus*, whom he had aſſiſted with his advice ever ſince his firſt arrival in *Italy*, omitting no occaſion to diſcredit his rival *Antony* both with the ſenate and people, as plainly appears from thoſe inimitable declamations which have reached us, and are known by the name of *Philippics*, a name borrowed from the orations which *Demoſthenes* wrote againſt *Philip* the father of *Alexander*. *M. Brutus*, who was ſtill in the neighbourhood of *Rome*, wrote ſeveral letters to *Cicero*, wherein he complained of his conduct in very ſharp terms, telling him, That, notwithſtanding his boaſted love of liberty, he was
e very ſenſible he could endure a tyrant; that it was manifeſt, from his courting *Octavianus*, that he did not intend liberty for his country, but a bountiful maſter for himſelf; but our forefathers, ſaid *Brutus*, could not brook even an eaſy and gentle ſlavery. As for my own part, ſays he in one of his letters, I am not reſolved whether I ſhall make war or peace; but as to one point I am fixed and ſettled, which is, never to be a ſlave. I wonder, that you, ſays he in writing to *Cicero*, ſhould fear the danger of a civil war, and not be much more afraid of a diſhonourable and infamous peace. All you can promiſe yourſelf from deſtroying the tyranny of *Antony* is, to make *Octavianus* the tyrant. Such were the ſentiments of that noble and truly generous ſpirit [c]!

f But to return to *Antony*: after he had appeaſed the tumult, which had been raiſed among his troops at *Brunduſium* by the emiſſaries of *Octavianus*, and diſcharged ſuch of the officers as he diſtruſted, he ordered his legions to march to *Ariminum*; but took himſelf his rout towards *Rome*, which he entered at the head of a thouſand well-armed legionaries; but the very next day he left the city, and went to *Alba*, in hopes of regaining the two legions which had revolted from him, and were quartered in that city; but they ſhutting the gates againſt him, he haſtened from thence to *Tibur*, where he had lodged great ſtore of ammunition and proviſions, with a deſign to drive *Decimus Brutus* out of *Ciſalpine Gaul*. At *Tibur* he was joined by the tenth legion

They both arm.

Octavianus *enters* Rome *with a numerous body of men.*

Cicero *favours* Octavianus.

Brutus *complains of his conduct.*

[b] Appian. Dio, Vel. Paterc. ibid. Cic. in epiſt. ad Attic. & famil. paſſ. [c] Plut. in Bruto & Cic.

legion, lately arrived from *Macedon*; by several senators, and a great number of *Roman* knights, who came to offer him their service. Many veterans likewise, who had formerly served under him, flocked to him from all parts of *Italy*; so that he began his march towards *Ariminum* at the head of five legions, and a considerable body of *Roman* knights. *Octavianus* was in the mean time at *Alba*, with the two legions that had abandoned *Antony*, one of new-raised soldiers, and two of such veterans as had served under his father. From this place he wrote to the senate, complaining of the inconstancy of some members of that august body, who, after the most solemn protestations of friendship to him, had basely abandoned his party and joined that of his rival. At the same time, he offered to march with all his forces against *Antony*, as a common enemy. The senate commended the young general's zeal, but adjourned all deliberations on so weighty an affair, till the election of new consuls. But the soldiers pressed him to take upon him the title of proprætor, without waiting till the senate or consuls conferred it upon him, and in that quality to head them against *Antony*. *Octavianus* well knew that this would give great umbrage to the senate, whose favour he designed to court till he had got rid of *Antony*; and therefore he refused the title, with which his legionaries were willing to honour him. When his most intimate friends, whom he used to consult in all affairs of moment, remonstrated to him, that his troops would scruple to obey a citizen without any title or magistracy, he acquainted them with the reasons which induced him to refuse the title offered him by the army. The senate, said he, has declared for me, not out of friendship to me, but because they are afraid of *Antony*: their design is to make use of me to destroy him, and afterwards to destroy me by the hands of those who have assassinated my father; but this is not a proper time to let them understand, that I have penetrated so far into the mysteries of their policy, which I should certainly do, if I accepted of those honours which the army offers me: this they would look upon as an incroachment upon their authority, and hate me as much as they do *Antony*. Let us therefore dissemble for a while; my pretended respect and submission to them will engage them to confer on me a dignity which, they know, my soldiers are disposed to give me in spite of them. And indeed the conscript fathers, deceived by his seeming modesty, conferred on him that very title which he had lately refused; nay, at the motion of *Cicero*, desirous of having in him a powerful and hearty protector against *Antony*, they ordered a statue to be erected to him, gave him a place in the senate, and enabled him to hold the consulate ten years sooner than was allowed by law. Thus was the timorous orator securing a protector to himself at the expence of the public safety [d].

Antony marches his troops towards Ariminum.

Octavianus's affected modesty and private views.

In the mean time, *Antony* from his camp at *Ariminum* dispatched a messenger to *Decimus Brutus*, acquainting him with the decree of the people, which deprived him of the government of *Cisalpine Gaul*, and conferred it on himself. To the decree of the people *Brutus* opposed that of the senate, confirming all the acts of *Cæsar*. After several messages and deputations, *Antony* at length threatened to have him declared an enemy to the republic, if within a limited time he did not resign to him the government of a province, which had been allotted to him by the *Roman* people. *Brutus*, without being in the least frightened by his threats, returned answer, that he had been appointed governor of *Cisalpine Gaul* by a decree of the senate, and would not quit his province, till those who had placed him in it thought fit to recall him. Hereupon the consul, breaking into the province at the head of a numerous army, made himself master of several cities, and even laid siege to *Mutina*, now *Modena*, whither *Brutus* had retired with a troop of gladiators and three legions, two of which he had formerly commanded under *Cæsar*. The siege of *Mutina* was looked upon by the senate as a declaration of war; but they postponed all deliberations on so important a subject, till the new consuls entered upon their office. These were *Caius Vibius Pansa* and *Aulus Hirtius*, who had both served under *Cæsar*, and were great friends to *Cicero*. *Hirtius* was the author of that relation of the *Alexandrian* and *African* wars, which is annexed to *Cæsar*'s commentaries. They no sooner entered upon their office, than they assembled the senate, and, after having set forth in a very pathetic speech the evils with which the republic was threatened, they proposed the two following questions to the consideration of the conscript fathers, *viz.* what rewards the two legions deserved, that had abandoned *Antony* to side with *Octavianus*, and what expedients

Antony invades the province of Cisalpine Gaul, *and lays siege to* Mutina.

[d] Appian. Dio, Plut. ibid. & Cic. passim. in epist. & Philippic. 1, & 2.

a expedients they judged proper to be taken in order to bring *Antony* to renounce his pretenſions to the province of *Ciſalpine Gaul?* It was unanimouſly reſolved, that the two legions ſhould be rewarded, and the conſuls were impowered to confer on them what rewards they thought proper. As for *Antony*, ſome were of opinion, that a deputation ſhould be ſent to him, intreating him in the name of the ſenate to raiſe the ſiege of *Mutina* and abandon that province. But *Cicero*, in a ſpeech, which has reached us, *viz.* his fifth *Philippic*, ſhewed, it was beneath the dignity of the *Roman* people to treat with a revolted citizen, and that negotiations would only give him time to ſtrengthen himſelf in the province he had uſurped; he was therefore of opinion, and promoted his opinion with great warmth and eloquence, that war
b ſhould be forthwith proclaimed againſt him, as a common enemy. His ſpeech was filled with moſt bitter invectives againſt *Antony* and the higheſt commendations of *Octavianus*; which ſeems to confirm the truth of what *M. Brutus* wrote to his friend *Atticus*, viz. that *Cicero* did not, in ſiding with young *Cæſar*, intend to deliver his country from tyranny, but to procure a bountiful maſter to himſelf. Others are of opinion, that *Cicero*, deceived by the affected modeſty and feigned proteſtations of the young politician, really believed, that he had nothing elſe in view but to guard himſelf and the republic againſt the ambitious attempts of *Antony*. However that be, after warm debates, which laſted three days, *Cicero*, who bore great ſway in the ſenate, prevailed upon the conſcript fathers to paſs a decree, commanding *Antony* to
c raiſe the ſiege of *Mutina* without delay, to quit the province of *Ciſalpine Gaul*, and marching his troops over the *Rubicon*, which parted *Gaul* from *Italy*, to wait on the banks of that river for further commands from the ſenate. All this he was ordered under pain of being declared an enemy to his country. But *Antony*, who had a numerous army under his command, and could not perſuade himſelf, that *Octavianus* would imploy his forces againſt him in favour of one of the conſpirators, paid no manner of reſpect either to the deputies of the ſenate, who were ſent to acquaint him with the decree, or to the decree itſelf. Hereupon, at the motion of *Cicero*, *Antony* was declared an enemy to his country, and the two conſuls were ordered to raiſe troops and haſten to the relief of *Brutus*, who was cloſely beſieged, and already
d reduced to great ſtraits in *Mutina*. At the ſame time, *Octavianus* was commanded by the ſenate to join his forces to thoſe of the conſuls, and to act in concert with them againſt the common enemy. He was inveſted with a power equal to that of the conſuls, and it was decreed, that the veterans, who ſerved under him, ſhould be rewarded with lands as ſoon as the war was ended, and be exempted for ever from the ſervice [e].

Antony ordered by the ſenate to raiſe the ſiege of Mutina.

He is at the motion of Cicero *declared an enemy to his country.*

WHILE the two conſuls were buſy in raiſing troops, news was brought to *Rome* of the death of *Caius Trebonius*, who by a decree of the ſenate had been ſent into *Aſia* in quality of proconſul. The manner of his death is thus related by *Cicero*. *Dolabella* having obtained, as we have related above, by means of *Antony*, the govern-
e ment of *Syria*, haſtened thither; but on his arrival found *Trebonius* in poſſeſſion of ſeveral cities, which he had ſeized as lieutenant to *Brutus*, who had been firſt appointed governor of that province. As *Dolabella* was not in a condition to diſpoſſeſs him by force of the places he held, he invited him to an interview, in which it was agreed that the they ſhould abſtain from all manner of hoſtilities, and live in perfect amity and friendſhip; for *Dolabella* pretended now, as he had done formerly, to be in his heart a friend and well-wiſher to *Brutus* and his followers. The credulous republican, relying on the promiſes of *Dolabella*, continued quietly at *Smyrna* as in the moſt peaceable times; but his treacherous rival, taking advantage of his ſecurity and indolence, ſurpriſed the city in the dead of the night, and having taken *Trebonius* himſelf
f priſoner, delivered him up to a *Roman* exile, by name *Samiarius*; who, after having made him ſuffer by *Dolabella*'s orders, for two days together, the moſt exquiſite torments which rage and cruelty could invent, cauſed his head to be cut off, and his body to be dragged through all the ſtreets of *Smyrna*, and then thrown into the ſea. His head was carried on the point of a ſpear all over the city, and afterwards ſet up over-againſt the tribunal, where he uſed to adminiſter juſtice. From thence it was taken down by the ſoldiers, who being incenſed againſt *Trebonius*, as privy to the death of their general, abuſed the poor remains of his body in the groſſeſt manner

C. Trebonius *treacherouſly murdered by* Dolabella *in* Syria.

[e] CIC. Philippic. 5. & epiſt. ad Brutum 15. LIV. l. cxviii. VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 81. SUET. in Octavio. PLUT. in Antonio. APPIAN. l. iii. p. 359. 360. DIO. l. xlvi. p. 310.

ner (N)[f]. Thus was *Trebonius*, the first of all the conspirators, inhumanly sacrificed a to the manes of *Cæsar*. He was one of the dictator's chief favourites, had been raised by him to the consulate for the three last months of the year 708, and had been two years before trusted with the government of *Hither Spain*, whither he was sent to stop the progress of the sons of *Pompey*. He served the dictator with great fidelity, till he began openly to aspire at the sovereign power; and then, the love of his country getting the better of all private obligations, he joined *Brutus*, and shared with him the glory of delivering, at least for some time, his fellow-subjects from slavery. When the news of his death, and soon after the remains of his mangled body, were brought to Rome, the senate, highly provoked at the cruelty and tyranny of *Dola-*

Dolabella *declared a rebel and enemy to his country.*

bella, declared him, at the motion of *Cicero*, a rebel and enemy to his country. At b the same time, they passed a decree enacting, that *Brutus* should have the government of *Macedon* and *Illyricum*, and the command of the forces in those provinces, till such time as the republic recovered her ancient majesty; that he might make use of the fleet, which *Apuleius* had, by *Cæsar*'s orders, got ready, together with all the provisions, military stores, and money, to the amount of seven thousand talents, which *Cæsar* had lodged in the city of *Demetrias*, and designed for his *Parthian* expedition; that *Cassius* should take upon him the government of *Syria*, and the charge of making war upon *Dolabella* and revenging the death of *Trebonius*; and, lastly, that all governors and commanders of forces belonging to the republic should receive orders from these two generals[g]. c

Antony *endeavours to gain over* Hirtius *and* Octavianus.

Antony, being informed by his emissaries of such an extraordinary step taken by the senate, laid hold of this opportunity to raise suspicions and jealousies in the minds of the consul *Hirtius* and young *Octavianus* against the conscript fathers. He writ a letter to them in common, putting them in mind of the many favours they had received at the dictator's hands, upbrading them with ingratitude for basely betraying the cause of their benefactor to embrace that of his murderers, and laying open to them the secret designs of the senate, which were to make them the instruments of each others ruin. These remonstrances made a deep impression on *Octavianus*, and inclined him to a reconciliation with his rival. But, as his own interest was the sole rule of his conduct, and he apprehended, that if he joined *Antony*, that general would d pretend to be acknowledged the head of the party, he still pursued his former measures, which were to court the favour of the senate, till such time as he had got rid of so powerful and formidable a rival. Pursuant to this scheme, he not only pretended to be quite unacquainted with the private views of the conscript fathers, but, to give proof of his deference to the consuls, readily surrendered to *Hirtius* the legions of *Mars* and the fourth, which had quitted *Antony*'s party, and which the consul, by a secret order from the senate, required him to deliver up to himself. After this

Hirtius *and* Octavinaus *march to the relief of* Decimus Brutus.

he joined the remainder of his forces to those of *Hirtius*, and marched with him into *Cisalpine Gaul* to the relief of *Decimus Brutus*, while *Pansa*, the other consul, continued in *Italy* to raise more troops there. *Hirtius* and *Octavianus* took *Bononia* and several e other cities which *Antony* had seized, and then, advancing to the neighbourhood of *Mutina*, incamped at a small distance from *Antony*'s lines, with a design to cut off his communication with the neighbouring country, and by that means oblige him, for want of provisions, to raise the siege, In the mean time, *P. Ventidius*, a soldier of

[f] Cic. Philippica 11. [g] Cic ad familiar. l. xii. epist. 7. & Philippic 11. 'Strabo. l. xiv. p. 646. Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 69. Appian. l. iii. p. 542. & l. iv. p. 624. Dio. l. xlvii. p. 344.

(N) *Appian*, *Dion Cassius*, and *Velleius Paterculus* relate this affair in a different manner. They tell us, that *Trebonius*, who had been sent into *Syria* by *Brutus* as his lieutenant, refused to admit *Dolabella*, though consul, into the cities of *Smyrna* and *Pergamus*; but nevertheless, out of respect to the consular dignity, supplied his army with provisions, and sent word to the *Ephesians*, that they might open their gates to him. While the consul was marching towards *Ephesus* at the head of his army, *Trebonius* detached a small body of troops after him to observe his motions. As he quietly pursued his rout to *Ephesus* without committing any hostilities, the greatest part of *Trebonius*'s troops returned to *Smyrna*. Then *Dolabella*, turning back unexpectedly upon those who remained, cut them all to a man in pieces, and advancing by the favour of the night to *Smyrna* without being perceived, surprised the city, and put all those to the sword who offered to oppose him. A party of his soldiers, breaking into the house where *Trebonius* lodged, seized him in bed. The proconsul earnestly intreated the centurion, who commanded the party, to carry him to *Dolabella*. *We will carry you to the consul*, answered the centurion, who was one of *Cæsar*'s old soldiers: *But your head must remain here.* Accordingly he immediately cut off his head, which was kicked about by the incensed soldiery in a most contemptuous manner (49)

(49) *Vell. Paterc. l.* ii. *c.* 69. *Appian. l.* iii. *p.* 542 543. *Dio, l.* xlvii. *p.* 344.

a of fortune, who had ſerved under *Cæſar* and was a particular friend to *Antony*, quitting *Rome*, were *Cicero* governed with an abſolute ſway, viſited all the colonies which *Cæſar* had lately eſtabliſhed in *Italy*; and, as he was well known for his valour, and greatly beloved by the ſoldiery, he raiſed in a ſhort time two legions, conſiſting wholly of veterans, with a deſign to march them to the relief of *Antony*. But firſt, he cauſed ſeveral of them to enter *Rome* privately with orders to ſeize upon *Cicero*, who was daily inveighing againſt *Antony*, and wholly taken up in raiſing money, at the expence of *Antony*'s friends, to pay the troops of *Octavianus* and the conſuls. But the orator, having timely notice of his deſign, abandoned the city, with ſeveral other ſenators, and concealed himſelf in the country. Hereupon *Ventidius*, finding
b his deſign had got vent, marched in all haſte towards *Mutina*; but all the paſſes being ſeized by *Hirtius* and *Octavianus*, he was obliged to retire into *Picenum*, where he raiſed another legion, keeping his troops in a readineſs to march on the firſt opportunity that offered of ſerving his friend and party [h].

Ventidius raiſes forces to aſſiſt Antony.

In the mean time, *Panſa*, having raiſed four legions in *Rome*, left the city, and, taking his rout towards *Ciſalpine Gaul*, arrived at *Bononia*. As the country between that city and *Mutina* was full of woods and marſhes, *Hirtius* and *Octavianus* upon the news of his approach detached the legion of *Mars*, which conſiſted wholly of veterans, with their guards, or prætorian cohorts, under the command of *Carfuleius*, to cover his march. On the other hand, *Antony* ſent out in the night-time his two beſt legions,
c the ſecond and thirty-third, with orders to conceal themſelves among the ruſhes of a large moraſs, which lay on each ſide of the *Æmilian* way, through which the conſul *Panſa* was to march. *Carfuleius* joined the conſular army with his detachment before they reached the moraſs, and was marching in the van at the head of the legion of *Mars* and the guards of *Hirtius* and *Octavianus*, when upon entering the cauſway, which led acroſs the marſh, he obſerved ſome armed men lying among the ruſhes. However, he advanced boldly on the cauſway with the legion of *Mars*; but was not gone far before he ſaw himſelf inveſted by *Antony*'s two legions, who, ſtarting up from among the reeds and ruſhes, fell upon him with incredible fury. At the ſame time, *Antony* appeared in perſon at the head of his cavalry in the neighbouring plain.
d The conſul *Panſa*, at the head of two of his legions, flew to the aſſiſtance of the legion of *Mars*, which was engaged with two of *Antony*'s legions; but thoſe brave veterans, refuſing to admit the conſul's raw and undiſciplined levies into their ranks, for fear they ſhould rather incumber than relieve them, the conſul paſſing the moraſs, marched in good order into the plain, to prevent *Antony* from lending any aſſiſtance to his legions and guards on the cauſway, where both parties fought with a fury hardly to be expreſſed. *Antony*'s two legions were bent on revenging themſelves on the *Martial* legion for having abandoned their party; and on the other ſide the *Martial* legion was reſolved to maintain that honour and reputation which they had gained in many battles under *Cæſar*. Thus the engagement became a particular
e quarrel between the ſoldiers; and never did troops fight with more rage and emulation. As their numbers were pretty equal, *Antony*'s two legions being ſupported by his guards, and the *Martial* legion by the guards of *Hirtius* and *Octavianus*, the battle laſted from morning to night without any conſiderable advantage on either ſide. *Octavianus*'s guards were almoſt to a man cut in pieces, but thoſe of *Hirtius*, after having made a dreadful ſlaughter of the enemy, obliged *Antony*'s ſecond legion to give ground, which they did in good order. The *Martial* legion and *Antony*'s thirty-third fought the whole day, driving each other in their turns from the cauſway into the moraſs, till *Carfuleius* drew off his men to relieve the conſul *Panſa*, who was engaged with *Antony* in the plain and hemmed in by his cavalry. But, as *Carfuleius*'s
f legionaries were greatly fatigued after ſo long and obſtinate an engagement, before they reached the plain, the conſul was mortally wounded and his troops put to flight. *Torquatus*, quæſtor of the conſular army, had, during the battle, formed a kind of camp, to ſerve as an aſylum for his party, in caſe of any misfortune. Thither the conſul's legions retired, carrying with them their general, who was run through the body with a javelin. *Antony* purſued them, not doubting but he ſhould eaſily force their intrenchments, which were not yet completed. But the conſular legions, though wholly conſiſting of raw ſoldiers, who had been juſt defeated in the plain, made ſo vigorous a reſiſtance, that *Antony*, fearing *Hirtius* might come upon him in the mean time

The conſul Panſa *ſets out for* Ciſalpine Gaul.

Antony *attacks the conſul* Panſa.

A ſharp engagement.

Antony *prevails over the conſul* Panſa.

[h] Appian. Dio, Vell. Patercul. ibid. Cic. Philippic, 11.

time, thought it adviſeable to content himſelf with the advantage he had gained, and a
return to his camp before *Mutina*. But while his troops were marching back in diſ-
order, as often happens after a victory, *Hirtius* unexpectedly appeared at the head
of twenty choſen cohorts, and, falling upon them before they could form their ranks,
cut many of them in pieces. However, thoſe brave veterans, tired as they were,
made a vigorous reſiſtance, and, being encouraged by the example of their general,
who diſtinguiſhed himſelf on this occaſion in a moſt eminent manner, ſtood their
But is defeat- ground a great while; but were at length intirely defeated, and forced to ſave them-
cd by his eol- ſelves by flight croſs the marſhes on each ſide of the *Æmilian* way. *Hirtius*, who
ıgue Hirtius. in this action diſcharged the duty both of an experienced general and a valiant ſoldier,
would not ſuffer his men to purſue the fugitives for fear of ſome ambuſcade, it being b
already dark, and the country full of woods and marſhes. As for *Antony*, he paſſed
a melancholy night with part of his forces in a ſmall village called *Forum Gallorum*,
at preſent *Caſtel Franco*, whence he returned greatly dejected by day-break to his
camp before *Mutina*. His cavalry rallied in the dark, and, taking up their wounded
behind them, reached their camp by midnight, being quite ſpent with the fatigue of
two battles, and a march of ſixty furlongs through woods and marſhes. As for *Octa-*
vianus, ſome writers tell us, that he was at the firſt battle; nay, *Antony* afterwards
upbraided him with having fled, in a cowardly manner, before him, after having
quitted his horſe and thrown away his arms, that he might with more eaſe ſave
himſelf, croſs the woods and marſhes, where, according to him, he lay concealed c
two days, being both aſhamed and afraid to ſhew himſelf. Others ſay, that he re-
mained in his camp in the neighbourhood of *Mutina*, and there repulſed with great
bravery a ſtrong detachment from *Antony*'s camp, which attempted to force his
intrenchments. They add, that for ſo gallant an action, which was, we may ſay,
his firſt eſſay in the art of war, he was honoured by the ſenate with the title of *Im-*
perator, as were likewiſe the two conſuls for their couragious behaviour in the two
battles. The loſs on both ſides was pretty equal; in the firſt battle *Octavianus*'s
guards, with a great number of *Panſa*'s legionaries, were cut in pieces; but in the
ſecond *Hirtius* loſt only a ſmall number of men, whereas the ſlaughter of the enemy
was very great[i]. d

After the battle both armies returned to their reſpective camps in the neigh-
bourhood of *Mutina*. *Antony* reſolved only to defend his lines, and in the mean
time carry on the ſiege with all poſſible vigor. On the other hand, *Hirtius* and
Octavianus, fearing the place, if not relieved, might ſoon be obliged to capitulate,
were for venturing another engagement. But as *Antony* kept cloſe within his lines,
the two generals reſolved to make a bold puſh, in order to throw ſome ſuccours into
the inveſted city. Accordingly, leaving a ſufficient number of forces to guard their
camp, they marched with the reſt cloſe up to *Antony*'s lines, with a deſign to force
The battle of them where they appeared weakeſt. *Antony* immediately ſent out all his cavalry
Mutina. againſt them; but his horſe being put to the rout, after a ſharp engagement, by the e
enemy's legionaries, who had poſſeſſed themſelves of an eminence, he cauſed two
legions to advance, which were ſo vigorouſly attacked by *Hirtius*, that they ſoon
began to give ground and retire in diſorder to their intrenchments. The conſul
purſued his advantage, and, ſuffering himſelf to be carried away by his courage and
ardour, entered the lines pell-mell with the fugitives, and penetrated, in ſpite of all
oppoſition, as far as the general's quarters, where he received a blow, which laid
The conſul him dead on the ground. And now, by the death of one of the conſuls and the
Hirtius *is* abſence of the other, who had been conveyed to *Bononia* after the firſt battle, in
killed. which he was mortally wounded, *Octavianus* was left commander in chief of the whole
army. He is ſaid by ſome writers to have given on this occaſion ſignal proofs of an f
extraordinary courage, and to have conducted the action with all the prudence of an
old and experienced commander. For at the head of ſome brave legionaries he
reſcued the body of the dead conſul out of the enemy's hands, and one of his
ſtandard-bearers being killed, he carried the eagle himſelf, fighting like a private
man in the firſt line. But, as he obſerved the conſular troops ſomewhat diſcouraged by
the death of their leader, he retired in good order out of the enemy's camp into the
neighbouring plain, where the action being renewed, he gained a complete victory,
and obliged the enemy to ſeek for ſhelter behind their intrenchments. Some aſcribe
the whole glory of this action to *Decimus Brutus*, who, ſallying out of the city, and
falling

[i] Cic. Philippic. 14. Suet. in Octavio. Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 16. Dio, Appian. ibid.

a falling upon the enemy's rear while they were engaged with *Octavianus*, forced them to give ground and retreat in the utmoſt confuſion to their camp (O). However that be, *Antony*, weakened by theſe loſſes and fearing the event of a third battle, raiſed the ſiege the next day; and, not being in a condition to keep the field before a victorious army, retired towards the *Alps*, and took the road to *Tranſalpine Gaul*, with a deſign to join *Lepidus*; *Plancus*, and *Aſinius Pollio*, who were in thoſe large provinces at the head of conſiderable armies [k].

Antony *obliged to raiſe the ſiege of* Mutina.

Decimus Brutus, being thus delivered from a long and troubleſome ſiege, was for ſome time at a loſs how to behave with *Octavianus*, who, he knew, bore him an irreconcileable hatred, notwithſtanding the aſſiſtance he had lent him againſt *Antony*.

b At length, by the advice of his friends, he diſpatched a meſſenger to him, inviting him to an interview on the banks of the *Scultemnis*, now the *Panaro*. *Octavianus* received the meſſenger with great coldneſs, but agreed to his propoſal; which *Brutus* no ſooner underſtood, than he cauſed the bridges on the river, which parted the two armies, to be broke down, and by a ſecond meſſage required, that the conference might be held in the preſence of their troops, and with the river between them. Theſe were not unſeaſonable precautions, it being well known, that *Octavianus* had vowed the deſtruction of all thoſe who had been any ways concerned in the death of his father; for this was the pretence he made uſe of, on all occaſions, to deſtroy ſuch as were true friends to their country and enemies to tyranny. *Octavianus* having

c agreed to theſe conditions, both he and *Brutus* appeared on the oppoſite banks of the river; when the latter thanked him in a very obliging manner for the aſſiſtance he had lent him, and acknowledged himſelf indebted to him for the liberty he enjoyed. To this polite diſcourſe *Octavianus* anſwered with great ſurlineſs, that *Brutus* owed him no obligations, ſince he had relieved *Mutina*, not for his ſake, but to chaſtiſe the inſolence of *Antony*, who nevertheleſs might one day become his friend, whereas he ſhould ever maintain a mortal enmity to *Brutus*, and all thoſe who had embrued their hands in the blood of his father. *Brutus*, piqued at this haughty and threatening anſwer, replied ſmartly, that ſince *Antony* was already ſufficiently humbled, he had no further buſineſs in the province of *Ciſalpine Gaul*, which had been con-

d firmed to him by a decree of the ſenate, forbidding any other general to enter it without his leave. *Octavianus* was highly offended at the boldneſs of *Brutus*; but, being well appriſed that he was ſupported by the ſenate, he thought it adviſeable to ſtifle his reſentment for the preſent, and quitting the neighbourhood of *Mutina* to return to *Bononia*, where he found the conſul *Vibius Panſa* lying at the point of death. He no ſooner heard of the arrival of *Octavianus*, than he ſent for him, and, tenderly embracing him, ſpoke to him in the following manner: *I always loved your father more than myſelf, and when he was ſlain, would have ventured my own life to ſave his, had I been armed. I never laid aſide the deſire, nor the hopes, of revenging one day his death, though ſome prudential reaſons, to which even you have ſubmitted, have tied my hands,*

e *and kept me in the party of the ſenate. But now my death, juſt at hand, deprives me of that comfort. However, before I expire, I will at leaſt acquit myſelf towards the ſon of what I was indebted to the father. Know then, that the ſenate both hates and ſuſpects you. Nothing has pleaſed them more than to ſee you fall out with* Antony, *and they flatter themſelves with the hopes of finding you become the inſtruments of each other's ruin. If they have declared for you, it was only becauſe they thought you the weakeſt, and the man they could the more eaſily overcome. This they have declared more than once to* Hirtius *and to me. The friendſhip therefore, with which* Cæſar *once honoured me, obliges me to give you ſuch advice, as I myſelf would follow on the like occaſion. Agree with* Antony; *for you have no other means of ſaving your life and advancing your fortune. My deſign was not,*

f *as the ſenate believed, to deſtroy* Antony, *but to compel him by force of arms to be reconciled with you, and afterwards to join our armies, and in conjunction purſue the murderers of*

An interview between Decimus Brutus *and* Octavianus.

Panſa's *laſt advice to* Octavianus.

[k] Appian. Dio, ibid. Plut. in Antonio.

(O) The battle of *Mutina* was fought on the ſeventeenth of the calends of *May*, as is plain from a letter, which *Galba*, who was in the battle, wrote to *Cicero* (50). From the third day after this victory, thoſe ſeem to reckon the beginning of *Auguſtus*'s reign, who will have him to have governed the *Roman* empire forty-ſix years four months and one day (51).

(50) *Cic. l* x. *ad familiar. epiſt.* 30. (51) *Vide Uſher. ad Ann. Mundi* 4679. *Theophyl. Antioch. in Autolycho, & Clement. Alexandrin. l.* x. *ſtromat.*

of our common benefactor. I return to you your two legions, and would willingly ſurrender up to you the reſt of the army, but they do not intirely depend upon me. The commanders are moſt of them the ſpies of the ſenate, who have private orders to obſerve your conduct. Suffer me therefore to put them into the hands of Torquatus. The words of the dying conſul made a deep impreſſion on the mind of *Octavianus*, and produced at length the famous triumvirate. *Panſa* died preſently after, having firſt delivered up his army to *Torquatus* one of his lieutenants [l] (P).

Panſa dies of his wounds.

In the mean time, the ſenate, upon the news of the advantages gained over *Antony* by the generals of the republic, decreed, at the motion of *Cicero*, fifty days ſupplications to return thanks to the gods for the ſucceſs of the campaign. By the ſame decree large ſums were ordered to be paid immediately out of the public treaſury, to ſuch of the victorious legionaries as remained alive, and to the widows and heirs of thoſe who had died in the battle, or ſince of their wounds; which had never been done before on account of any victory. The bodies of the two conſuls were, by an order from the ſenate, conveyed to *Rome*, and with the utmoſt magnificence interred in the *Campus Martius* at the expence of the public; an honour which had been hitherto granted to none but the moſt eminent perſonages of the republic. The bodies of three other officers of diſtinction, *viz.* of *Caius Peduceus*, *Decimus Carfuleius*, and *Pontius Aquila*, were conveyed to *Rome* with thoſe of the conſuls, and interred with great pomp in the burying-places of their reſpective families, moſt of the ſenators attending their obſequies [m].

The bodies of the two conſuls carried to Rome, *and interred with great pomp.*

And now the conſcript fathers, conceiving *Antony* to be utterly undone, began to ſlight *Octavianus*, for whom they believed they ſhould have no further occaſion. He demanded a triumph, which was refuſed to him and granted to *Decimus Brutus*, though *Octavianus*, it muſt be owned, had at leaſt as juſt a claim to that honour as *Brutus*. *Cicero* indeed was for granting an ovation, but could not, with all his eloquence, prevail upon the ſenate to allow him even that mark of diſtinction. On the other hand, they heaped all ſorts of honours on *Decimus*. They ordered *Torquatus* to deliver up to him the troops which the conſul *Panſa* had commanded: they appointed him commander in chief of all the forces in *Ciſalpine Gaul*, charging him, without ſo much as mentioning *Octavianus*, to purſue *Antony*, and treat him as a public enemy. All the temples of *Rome* were opened, and public prayers appointed for the ſucceſs of his arms: as the ſiege of *Mutina* had been raiſed on his birth-day, the ſenate decreed, that it ſhould be for ever deemed a lucky day, and as ſuch marked in the *faſti*. At the ſame time, the conſcript fathers, as if they had taken pleaſure in mortifying *Octavianus*, paſſed a decree, enacting, that a ſtatue ſhould be raiſed at the public expence to the memory of *Pontius Aquila*, one of the conſpirators who had been killed in the battle of *Mutina*; and that all the charges he had been at, and the loſſes he had ſuſtained during the war, ſhould be made good to his heirs out of the public treaſure. So many marks of diſtinction heaped upon the conſpirators, left *Octavianus* no room to doubt of the diſpoſition of the ſenate toward him. From that moment he reſolved to follow the laſt advice of *Panſa*, and to be reconciled to *Antony*. With this view he ſent back to him a great number of officers, who had been taken priſoners in the laſt battle, and among the reſt *Decius*, one of *Antony*'s moſt intimate friends, after having ſignified to him in ambiguous words his intention. *Ventidius*, as we have obſerved above, had raiſed three legions for *Antony*, and was attempting to join him after the battle of *Mutina*. *Octavianus* overtook and ſurpriſed him with a ſuperior force, and might eaſily have defeated him; but he ſuffered him to eſcape, after having had a private conference with him, wherein he charged him to tell *Antony* in his name, that he was ignorant of his true intereſt, and acted

The ſenate by honouring Brutus *diſguſt* Octavianus.

Who reſolves to be reconciled with Antony.

[l] Appian. bell. civil. l. iii. [m] Brutus ad Cic. epiſt. 6. Dio, l. xlvi. Suet. in Octavio.

(P) *Octavianus* was ſuſpected of having murdered both the conſuls; *Hirtius* with his own hand in the heat of the battle, and *Panſa* after it, by cauſeing poiſon to be poured into his wound by *Glyco* his phyſician. It is certain *Glyco* was ſeized, and even condemned to the torture, but ſaved by the credit of his maſter *Octavianus*. *Decimus Brutus* indeed wrote to *Cicero* in behalf of the phyſician, whom he ſeems to have thought incapable of ſo black a crime. But notwithſtanding *Brutus*'s declaration, who was known to be a humane and good-natured man, the report was credited by many in *Rome*. As for the conſul *Hirtius*, *Aquilius Niger* wrote, that *Octavianus* killed him undeſignedly in the hurry of the battle. We will not warrant the truth of theſe reports; but neither can we look upon them as calumnies altogether groundleſs, as ſome modern writers call them, broached by enthuſiaſtic republicans to blacken the reputation of ſo great a man. But of the treachery, ingratitude, and horrid cruelties of this *great man*, we ſhall have many, too many, inſtances in the ſequel of this hiſtory.

a acted directly contrary to it. At the same time he opened himself without reserve to *Lepidus*, *Plancus*, and *Asinius Pollio*, all old officers of the dictator, and with whom he had always maintained a secret correspondence. He wrote to them, that the senate, intirely addicted to the assassins of his father, were resolved to destroy him; that they ought not to expect a more favourable treatment; that their common enemies studied only how to divide them, in order to crush them the more easily one after another; that for their own safety they ought to unite their forces, and join in maintaining the party, and revenging the death, of their late general, *&c.* He added some complaints of *Antony*; but in so artful a manner, that it was easily seen he was no ways averse to a reconciliation [n].

b In the mean time, *Antony*, pressed by *Brutus*, endeavoured to gain the *Alps* with a design to pass those mountains, and join *Lepidus*, who commanded seven legions in *Transalpine Gaul*, and who, he imagined, would stand his friend in consideration of the many kind offices he had done him, during his late consulship and in the dictator's life-time. *Brutus*, having thus driven him out of *Italy*, wrote to the senate, that he had dispersed his army, and that *Antony* himself was sculking somewhere among the *Alps*, where he could not avoid falling into his hands. The senate, overjoyed at this news, cried out, that the republic had at length recovered its ancient liberty, and appointed, as if *Antony* had been actually taken, ten commissioners to try him. They talked of nothing less than repealing all the laws which had been enacted by him during
c his consulship, and even including in this repeal all the ordinances of the dictator, in order to resettle the commonwealth on its ancient foundation. At the motion of *Cicero* a decree immediately passed, confiscating all *Antony*'s effects, and those of his friends and adherents, with grievous menaces against such as should dare to conceal any part of his effects. While *Cicero*, at the head of the senate, was thus venting his rage upon *Antony*, that general was struggling among the *Alps* with all the hardships and miseries that can be imagined. *Brutus*, having obliged him to quit *Italy*, he attempted to pass those mountains, without his baggage and the necessary provisions for so long and painful a march. His men were forced to feed first upon the flesh of their horses, and afterwards on such wild fruits and roots as they could find in that mound tainous and inhospitable country, and which no man had ever tasted before; nay they were at last so pinched with hunger, that they devoured the very bark of trees. *Plutarch* tell us, that in this extremity, *Antony*, though accustomed to luxury and ease, was a most illustrious example of patience to the whole army, and that in misfortune he could not be easily distinguished from a virtuous man. He suffered all hardships imaginable with the constancy of a hero, and fell into a behaviour, which no one could have expected from a man wholly addicted to his pleasures. But after all, he must have perished with his whole army, if *Culeo*, one of *Lepidus*'s lieutenants, who guarded the passes, had performed his duty. But the venal commander suffered himself to be bribed by *Antony*, and for a sum of money granted him a free passage.
e *Antony* no sooner entered *Gaul*, than he wrote to *Lepidus*, *Plancus*, and *Asinius Pollio*, reminding them of their ancient friendship, and exhorting them to join him against the murderers of *Cæsar*, their common enemies. *Lepidus* was greatly surprised at his arrival, and quite at a loss how to behave in so critical a conjuncture. He was a man of an illustrious family, but of slender parts, of a narrow mind, and at the same time of an unbounded ambition. He was afraid, that if he joined *Antony*, who was greatly beloved by the troops, he might get the ascendant over him, and scarce leave him the rank of a lieutenant in his own army; and upon this consideration alone he rejected *Antony*'s proposals, and wrote him word, that, since the senate had declared him an enemy to his country, he could not join him without drawing upon himself
f a decree of the same nature; but he assured him at the same time, that whatever orders he received from the senate, he would carefully avoid coming to an engagement, or any ways molesting him. *Asinius Pollio* on the contrary no sooner received *Antony*'s letter, than he assured him, that he should find him always ready to concur with him in all his measures; for he had been one of *Cæsar*'s particular friends, and bore an irreconcileable hatred to all those who had been concerned in his death. As for *Plancus*, he kept a secret intelligence with both parties, and carefully avoided declaring himself openly for either side, till he saw which was most likely to prevail. In the mean time, *Antony* marched straight up to *Lepidus*'s army, and marked out his camp near his, but

Antony is driven out of Italy by Decimus Brutus.

He and his army reduced to great straits in passing the Alps.

Lepidus *refuses to join him.*

[n] Cic. ad Attic. l. i, epist 15. & ad familiar. l. x. epist. 20. Dio, l. xlvi, Appian. l. iii.

Antony *incamps near* Lepidus.

but without fortifying it, as if they had been of the ſame party and intereſt. He ſent a out immediately ſome of his officers to him, putting him in mind of their ancient friendſhip, and conjuring him by *Cæſar*'s memory to concur with him in revenging the death of their common benefactor. But *Marcus Juventius Laterenſis*, one of *Lepidus*'s moſt intimate friends, and in his heart a zealous republican, did all that lay in his power to diſſuade him from joining *Antony*. To conceal his attachment to the party of the conſpirators, he artfully repreſented to *Lepidus*; that, having ſeven legions under his command, he was one of the moſt powerful generals of the republic, and would be of great weight, what ſide ſoever he choſe; but that, if he joined *Antony*, he would be obliged to ſubmit to the authority of ſo haughty and imperious a commander, and would make but a very poor figure. By this means the zealous patriot b ſtrove to prevent a conjunction, which he was well appriſed would prove fatal to his country. But *Antony*, who ſaw his ruin unavoidable, if *Lepidus* ſhould be at length prevailed upon to act in concert with *Decimus Brutus*, reſolved to puſh his fortune and venture all. His hair was long and diſordered, nor had he ſhaved his beard ſince his late defeat. In this condition and with a mourning mantle flung over him, he went boldly into the camp of *Lepidus*, and there began to harangue the ſoldiers, who had all ſerved with him under *Cæſar*. They were all greatly moved at his habit, and more at his ſpeech; which *Lepidus* obſerving, ordered the trumpets to ſound, that he might be heard no longer. This raiſed in the ſoldiery a great ſenſe of compaſſion; inſomuch, that they ſecretly ſent *Clodius* and *Lælius* diſguiſed in women's cloaths, ad- c viſing *Antony* to attack *Lepidus*'s camp, and aſſuring him, that the greater part were diſpoſed to receive him with open arms, and even to diſpatch *Lepidus*, if he would give them orders for ſo doing. *Antony* would by no means ſuffer any violence to be offered to *Lepidus*; but early the next morning he marched at the head of his troops, ſounded a river (Q), which lay between the two camps, and was the firſt who flung himſelf into the water to gain the oppoſite ſide. The ſoldiers of *Lepidus* no ſooner ſaw him than they ran in crouds to receive him, and began to beat down the works, and level the ramparts to make way for him. *Antony* entered the camp amidſt the loud acclamations of the ſoldiery, and marched ſtraight to the general's quarters, whom he found aſleep in his tent. We may eaſily conceive the ſurpriſe of *Lepidus* at the d ſight of *Antony*, no longer in the attire of a ſuppliant, but ſurrounded by his guards, and attended both by his own officers and thoſe of *Lepidus*. He leaped out of his bed in the utmoſt conſternation, and throwing himſelf at *Antony*'s feet, offered him the command of the army. *Antony*, though now abſolute maſter both of his perſon and army, treated him with great civility, tenderly embraced him, giving him the name of father, and even left him the title and all the badges of a general, though he alone performed the functions of that office. The brave *Juventius Laterenſis* was ſo touched with the misfortunes which he foreſaw this fatal conjunction would bring upon his country, that, while the generals were embracing each other, he killed himſelf in the height of his grief with his own ſword [o]. This union happened on the fourth e of the calends of *June*, as is plain from *Cicero*'s epiſtles [p]. *Aſinius Pollio*, who was incamped at a ſmall diſtance from *Lepidus*, followed his example and joined *Antony*. *Munatius Plancus*, who had been hitherto wavering and doubtful which Side to take, thought it now high time to declare himſelf; and accordingly, leaving his camp at the conflux of the *Rhone* and the *Saone*, where he had been truſted by the ſenate with the charge of founding a colony (R), he led all the troops under his command to *Antony*, who was much about the ſame time joined by *Ventidius* at the head of three legions. So that he, who a little before had fled before *Brutus*, and abandoned *Italy*,

Enters Lepidus's *camp in a mourning habit, and moves the pity of the ſoldiers.*

By whom he is received into the camp, and declared general.

Antony *is joined by* Pollio *and* Plancus.

[o] Appian. l. iii. Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 63. [p] Cic. ad famil, epiſt. 29. Plancus. ad Cic. l. x.

(Q) This river, which is called by the ancients *Argenteus*, and by the moderns *Argens*, riſes near *S. Maximin* in *Provence*, and falls into the *Mediterranean* at a ſmall diſtance from *Frejus*.

(R) The city of *Lyons* is commonly thought to have been founded by him. *Dion Caſſius* tells us in expreſs terms, that the proconſul *L. Munatius Plancus* ſtopt at a place called *Lugudunum*, and founded in that neighbourhood a colony which he called *Lugdunum*. The ancient city was founded, according to ſome writers, in the year of *Rome* 364 by two brothers, named *Momorus* and *Atepomarus*, chiefs of the *Gauliſh* nation, and contemporaries with the famous *Brennus*. In proceſs of time *Lugudunum* and *Lugudunum* became one and the ſame city (52).

(52) *Vid. Plut. de fluviis.*

a *Italy*, found himſelf now in a condition to return thither with twenty-three legions and above ten thouſand horſe.

WHILE theſe things were tranſacting in *Gaul*, *Octavianus* continued ſtill at *Bononia* with the fourth legion, that of *Mars*, and ſome others, which had remained with him after the battle of *Mutina*. As the ſenate had committed the whole management of the war againſt *Antony* to *Decimus Brutus*, he concluded from thence, that the conſcript fathers intended to reduce him to the ſtate of a private citizen. To ward off this blow, he reſolved to ſtand for the conſulate, which office was become vacant by the death of *Hirtius* and *Panſa*. But as he was well appriſed of the difficulties he ſhould meet with in the purſuit of that dignity from the ſenators, who were for the

Octavianus makes uſe of Cicero's ambition to get the conſulate

b moſt part intirely addicted to the party of *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, he artfully applied himſelf to *Cicero*, with whoſe vanity and ambition he was well acquainted. He wrote a letter to him, diſcovering his deſign to him as to a boſom friend, and telling him, to flatter his ambition, that he was very deſirous of having him for his collegue in the conſulate, in order to be inſtructed by ſo great a maſter in the rules and maxims that are requiſite for the government of the commonwealth; that for his part, he only deſired the name of conſul, to make him ſome amends for the loſs of a triumph which he thought due to him, but that all the power and authority ſhould be left to him; ſo that he might manage affairs as he pleaſed. *Cicero*, old as he was, ſuffered himſelf to be made the dupe of a child as he uſed to call him; and, to the great ſurprize of

c all, propoſed in the ſenate the raiſing of *Octavianus* to the conſular dignity, as the only means of preventing him from being reconciled with *Antony*. He added, that, as *Octavianus* was yet very young, the conſcript fathers ought to appoint him ſuch a collegue, as by his age and prudence might be capable of having an eye on his conduct, and be, as it were, a governor to him. At theſe words the ſenators, plainly perceiving that he pointed out himſelf as the moſt proper perſon to be choſen for *Octavianus*'s collegue, could not help laughing out aloud; and it was no ſmall mortification to *Cicero* to ſee his vanity at the ſame time both expoſed and diſappointed; for all the relations and adherents of the conſpirators cried out with one voice, that to put *Cæſar*'s ſon at the head of the republic was utterly deſtroying it [q].

But is diſappointed.

d *Octavianus*, finding he could obtain nothing of the ſenate even by *Cicero*'s means, reſolved to put off no longer his reconciliation with *Antony*; and accordingly wrote a letter to him, inviting him back into *Italy*, and exhorting him to forget all private injuries, and concur with him in humbling their common enemies. *Antony*, overjoyed to find *Octavianus* ſo earneſt for a reconciliation, readily conſented to it, and, without further delay, began his march towards *Italy* to confer there with *Octavianus*. He led with him ſeventeen legions and a thouſand horſe; having left ſix legions in *Gaul* under the command of *Varius*, one of his bottle companions, who on that account was nick-named *Cotylon*, which ſignifies *a bottle*.

Octavianus is reconciled with Antony.

IN the mean time, the news of the conjunction of *Antony* and *Lepidus* reaching

e *Rome*, filled the city with conſternation. The ſenate immediately aſſembled, and paſſed a decree, declaring *Lepidus* an enemy to his country; and likewiſe the legionaries of his army, who ſhould not abandon him and return to their duty before the calends of *September*. This decree was enacted the day before the calends of *July*, as appears from one of *Cicero*'s letters to *C. Caſſius* [r]. The ſtatue of *Lepidus* was, by order of the ſenate, thrown down, and that of the brave *Juventius Laterenſis* raiſed in its room. As the ſenate was quite ignorant of the reconciliation between *Octavianus* and *Antony*, and the private treaty, which by this time was concluded between them and *Lepidus*, they had reſource to *Octavianus*, and committed to him, in conjunction with *Decimus Brutus* the management of the war againſt *Antony* and *Lepidus*.

Lepidus declared an enemy to his country.

f *Octavianus*, who was well acquainted with all the arts of tricking and deceit, returned the ſenate thanks in the moſt humble terms, for the honour they had been pleaſed to confer upon him; and began, without delay, to raiſe troops, and make the neceſſary preparations for a new war. When he ſaw himſelf again at the head of an army, he threw off the maſk, and aſſembling his ſoldiers, told them, that the only thing the ſenate had in view was, to deſtroy all his fathers friends, by ſowing diviſions among them, and arming them againſt each other; but that he, well appriſed of their wicked deſigns, had entered into a confederacy with *Antony* and *Lepidus*, who were on their march into *Italy* at the head of ſeventeen legions; that this was the only means of procuring

The management of the war againſt him and Antony committed to Octavianus and D. Brutus.

[q] APPIAN. DIO. ibid.

[r] CIC. l. 12. ad familiar. epiſt. 10.

His ſpeech to his ſoldiers.

procuring ſafety for themſelves, and for ſo many brave men who had eſpouſed their cauſe: *Do you believe*, ſaid he, *that thoſe who have murdered my father, will ſpare my life or yours, if their party ſhould prevail? and prevail they muſt, if we are divided among ourſelves. What ſecurity can you have for thoſe houſes, lands, and inheritances, which my father allotted you, if thoſe men got into power, who approve of his death and are for annulling all his ordinances? You know I am not ambitious; for you have ſeen me refuſe the prætorſhip, which you yourſelves offered me. But now I muſt intreat you, not for my own ſake, but for yours, to concur with your votes and intereſt in raiſing me to the conſulate. I ſhall be in a condition, when veſted with that dignity, to ſecure to you the poſſeſſion of thoſe inheritances, which my father beſtowed upon you, and at the ſame time to revenge his death, with the deſtruction of thoſe who endeavour to deſtroy us.* The ſoldiers b received this propoſal with great joy, and immediately appointed deputies to go to *Rome*, and demand the conſulſhip for their general in the name of the legions. The ſenate received the deputies with great civility, but refuſed to comply with their requeſt, alledging *Octavianus*'s youth, who had not yet attained the age which the laws required in a conſul. But the deputies, who had been well inſtructed beforehand, brought ſeveral inſtances of perſons who had been raiſed to the conſular dignity without any regard to their age, *viz.* of *Rullus*, of *Decius*, of *Corvinus*, of the two *Scipios*, of *Pompey*, and of *Dolabella*, who had been but very lately honoured with the conſulate, though much of the ſame age with *Octavianus*. Theſe precedents were of no weight with the conſcript fathers: others, 'tis true, had enjoyed that honour before c the lawful age; but moſt of them were perſons of unblemiſhed characters, and avowed defenders of the public liberty; whereas they had reaſon to believe, that *Octavianus* would make uſe of his power to oppreſs his country. As for *Dolabella*, he had been raiſed to the faſces by *Cæſar* without the conſent of the ſenate. The fathers therefore, without caſting any reflections on *Octavianus* or declaring their real motives, under divers other pretences, endeavoured to elude the requeſt of the legionaries; when one of thoſe armed embaſſadors, by name *Cornelius*, laying his hand on his ſword, *If you will not make him conſul*, ſaid he, *this ſhall.* Having thus ſpoke, he left the ſenate with his companions, and they all returned to give their general an account of the bad ſucceſs of their negotiation. The ſoldiers, provoked at this refuſal, preſſed d *Octavianus* to lead them to *Rome*, ſaying, that he, as heir to *Cæſar*, had a right to diſpoſe of the conſulate as he pleaſed. The ambitious youth heard this with pleaſure, and, taking advantage of the preſent diſpoſition of the ſoldiery, marched immediately towards *Rome* with eight legions. He paſſed the *Rubicon*, as his father had done, when he began the firſt civil war, and, dividing his army into two bodies, he advanced with one by long marches towards the capital, in order to ſurprize his enemies, and ordered the other to follow him leiſurely. The unexpected news of *Octavianus*'s approach filled the city with dread and confuſion. Several ſenators, among the reſt the cowardly *Cicero*, abandoning the city, withdrew into the country. Thoſe who remained, aſſembled in haſte, and came to the following reſolutions; *viz.* that the e money, which the ſenate had promiſed to the two legions, the fourth and that of *Mars*, ſhould be immediately ſent them; that the ſame ſum ſhould be promiſed in the name of the republic to the other legions under the command of *Octavianus*, and that he, though abſent, ſhould be allowed to ſtand for the conſulate. Deputies were immediately diſpatched to acquaint him with theſe reſolutions. They were ſcarce gone, when the conſcript fathers, reflecting coolly on their behaviour, began to be aſhamed of their puſillanimity in thus ſubmitting to a boy, and giving way to the inſolence of the ſoldiery. At the ſame time two legions, which had been in *Africa*, arrived at the gates of *Rome*. Theſe the ſenate looked upon as a ſupply ſent them by the gods, and taking courage, reſolved, with them and a legion which *Vibius Panſa* had f ſent back to guard the city, to put themſelves in a poſture of defence. Two prætors, viz. *Quintus Gallius Lupercus* and *Marcus Cornutus*, had governed the city, and ſupplied the room of conſuls ever ſince the death of *Hirtius* and *Panſa*. The former favoured in his heart the party of *Octavianus*, and therefore continued inactive; but the latter, who was a zealous republican and an avowed friend to *Brutus* and his followers, left nothing untried to encourage the conſcript fathers, and inſpire them with reſolutions becoming the rank they held in the republic. He ordered all the citizens, who were fit to bear arms, to appear on the ramparts, placed guards in all the avenues to the city, and detached a good number of cohorts to gariſon the *Janiculum*, whither the public money had been conveyed. In the mean time, *Octavianus* drew g near,

Octavianus's ſoldiers demand the conſulate for their general.

Octavianus marches towards Rome.

Reſolutions taken by the ſenate.

a near, and poſting himſelf on the *Quirinal*, then without the walls, he ſent from thence emiſſaries into the city, aſſuring the people, that both their lives and eſtates were ſafe. Hereupon they flocked out in crouds to ſee their friends and relations, who ſerved under *Octavianus*, carrying them refreſhments, and freely converſing with them. Many of the ſenators themſelves and of the chief nobility, mixed with the people, went out to pay their compliments to the young general, who, finding the people generally inclined to favour him, entered the city the next day amidſt the loud acclamations of the multitude, being attended by a choſen body of legionaries. He was met by his mother and ſiſters, who had concealed themſelves among the veſtals, and accompanied by them and a numberleſs croud to his houſe, whither all the nobility flocked

b to make their court to him. *Cicero*, who had returned to the city upon the arrival of the two *African* legions, was one of the laſt who came to pay him his devoirs. *Octavianus* received him coldly, and when the orator congratulated him on his return to the city, *You are the laſt of my enemies*, anſwered *Octavianus* with an ill-natured ſneer, *who have honoured me with a viſit*. He well knew, that *Cicero* was intirely in the intereſt of *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, and beſides, he had been told by ſome of his emiſſaries, that the orator, in the ſpeech which he made to the conſcript fathers, when he demanded the conſulate for him, had uſed a very odd and equivocal expreſſion; *Egregius iſte juvenis*, ſaid he, *laudandus, honorandus, & tollendus eſt*, that is, *The brave youth ought to be praiſed and honoured*; but as to the laſt word, it ſignifies equally to be *advanced*, and

c to be *cut off*. The next day, the three legions that were in the city went out to join *Octavianus*, who thereupon ordered his troops to march into the city and incamp in the field of *Mars*. From thence he ſent a detachment to ſeize on the *Janiculum* and the public money lodged there, out of which he immediately paid two thouſand five hundred drachmas to each ſoldier under his command. The prætor *Quintus Gallius* ſummoned the people to meet in the *campus Martius* in order to proceed to the election of new conſuls. But his collegue *Marcus Cornutus*, foreſeeing the evil conſequences that muſt inevitably attend the promotion of *Octavianus*, gave up the republic for loſt, and, ſcorning to ſubmit to the yoke of his fellow-citizen, laid violent hands on himſelf. A memorable inſtance of the old *Roman* ſpirit, which in the virtuous ages of

d *Rome* would have been celebrated with the higheſt encomiums, but is ſcarce taken notice of by the ſlaviſh writers, who flouriſhed under *Auguſtus* and his ſucceſſors. On the day appointed for the election, *Octavianus* withdrew from the city, that the comitia might have, at leaſt, ſome appearance of liberty. When the people met, they unanimouſly declared *Octavianus* firſt conſul, and appointed *Quintus Pædius*, one of his relations, and a legate of the dictator for his collegue. Upon the news of his election he returned to the city, where, as he was ſacrificing according to cuſtom, ſix, as ſome ſay twelve, vulturs are ſaid to have been ſeen, the ſame number that appeared to the founder of *Rome*. Hence he concluded, that he ſhould one day be inveſted with the ſame power and authority as *Romulus*. This year is reckoned by

e moſt of the antient hiſtorians and modern chronologers the firſt of the long reign of *Octavianus*, known afterwards by the name of *Auguſtus*. However, his authority was not yet either full or peaceable, but for ſome time divided with *Antony* and *Lepidus*, and warmly diſputed by the republican party both in the eaſt and weſt. *Livy* ſays, that *Octavianus* was but nineteen years old, when he was created conſul [f]: but *Suetonius* writes more freely, that he uſurped the conſulſhip in the twentieth year of his age [t]. *Plutarch* tells us, out of *Octavianus*'s own commentaries, that he was ſcarce twenty years old, when he was honoured with the conſular dignity [u]. He was declared conſul, ſays *Velleius Patercules* [w], the day before he was twenty years old, on the tenth of the calends of *October*. But *Velleius* was certainly miſtaken, for there wanted

f a whole month and five days to the completing of the twentieth year of *Octavianus*'s age; neither did he obtain the conſulate in the month of *September*, in which he was born, but in that of *Sextilis*, which was thence called *Auguſtus*, as is manifeſt both from *Suetonius* [x] and the decree of the ſenate, which is to be ſeen in *Macrobius* [y]. *Dion* obſerves, that on the nineteenth of *Auguſt* he was made conſul the firſt time, and that he died on the ſame day [z]; and *Tacitus* tells us, that the ſuperſtitious multitude after *Auguſtus*'s death admired the ſtrange events of his fortune, *That the laſt day of his life and the firſt of his reign were the ſame*, &c. [a] And thus far of the diſturbances which

Octavianus is received at Rome with loud acclamations.

Is joined by the legions in the city.

Octavianus *choſen conſul. Year of the flood* 2971. *Before Chriſt* 38. *Of* Rome 710

[f] Liv. l. cxix. [t] Suet. in Octavio, c. 16. [u] Plut. in Bruto. [w] Vell. Patercul, [x] Suet. ibid. c. 31. [y] Macrob. l. i. Saturnal. c. 12. [z] Dio, l. lvi. p. 590. [a] Tacit. l. i. annal. c. 9.

which happened in the weſt from the death of the dictator to the firſt conſulate of *Octavianus*. We ſhall now briefly relate what paſſed in the eaſt, during the ſame period of time; for there likewiſe a war was kindled, and thoſe vaſt provinces involved in the ſame fate with *Italy* and *Gaul*. a

What happened in the eaſt, from the death of Cæſar *to the conſulate of* Octavianus.

To return therefore to *Brutus* and *Caſſius*; theſe two chiefs of the republican party, having left *Rome* to eſcape the fury of the populace, whom *Antony*'s artful ſpeech and the ſight of *Cæſar*'s dead body had ſtirred up againſt them, retired firſt to *Antium*, with a deſign to return to the city, and there diſcharge the functions of their office, for they were both prætors, as ſoon as the rage of the unſettled multitude was abated. But *Antony* raiſing daily new diſturbances, they wrote to their friends, that ſince it was not ſafe for them to reſume the functions of their office in the city, they were determined to ſpend the reſt of the year in *Italy* as private citizens; which the ſenate, who favoured them underhand, no ſooner underſtood, than they committed to them the care of ſupplying the city with corn, which *Brutus* was appointed to ſend out of *Aſia*, and *Caſſius* out of *Sicily*[b]. The deſign of the conſcript fathers in charging them with ſuch a commiſſion was, to give them an opportunity of aſſembling fleets, and privately engaging the governors of thoſe provinces in their cauſe, which all good citizens looked upon as that of the republic. But, in the mean time, *Octavianus* arriving from *Apollonia* at *Rome*, the city began to be divided into two factions, ſome ſiding with him, and others with *Antony*, and the legionaries, without any regard to their country, publicly ſelling themſelves to the higheſt bidder. Hereupon *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, deſpairing of being able to do their countrymen any ſervice in *Italy*, reſolved to paſs over into *Greece*, and from thence into the eaſtern provinces, where they hoped to gain over the many legions that were diſperſed about thoſe countries. Accordingly, *Brutus*, croſſing *Lucania*, came to *Elea*, a maritime city, in order to imbarque there and ſail for *Athens*. From *Elea* he thought it adviſeable to ſend back to *Rome* his beloved *Porcia*, who had accompanied him thither. That illuſtrious matron, though overwhelmed with grief at the thoughts of parting from ſo tender a huſband, yet concealed her affliction with a conſtancy worthy of the greateſt heroes, till it was accidentally betrayed, in ſpite of her many reſolutions, by a picture which ſhe happened to obſerve in the Houſe where they lodged. It repreſented *Hector*, parting from *Andromache* to go and engage the *Greeks*, and giving his young ſon *Aſtyanax* into her arms, while ſhe fixed her eyes upon him with an earneſt and affectionate look. The reſemblance this piece bore to her own caſe, and the remembrance of the misfortunes which befel *Hector*, made her burſt out into tears. She often went to the place where the picture hung, gazing at it, and weeping before it (S), when ſhe reflected on the dangers to which her huſband, like a ſecond *Hector*, was going to expoſe himſelf. *Brutus* was extremely troubled, and not without reaſon; yet he did not ſuffer himſelf to be ſo carried away by his private grief, as to neglect the public concerns. After having tenderly embraced his dear *Porcia* and recommended her to the protection of the gods, he went on board a ſmall veſſel, and ſet ſail for *Athens*, while ſhe, bathed in tears, took her 'rout towards *Rome*. At *Athens Brutus* was received with loud acclamations and all poſſible demonſtrations of kindneſs and eſteem. The *Athenians* ſtill retained thoſe noble ſentiments of honour, virtue, and liberty, for which their forefathers had been ſo renowned; and therefore could not help admiring a man, who had ſo generouſly ſacrificed his private intereſt to the public welfare. They compared him and his faithful companion *Caſſius*, who joined him a few days after his arrival at *Athens*, to *Harmodius* and *Ariſtogiton*, two brave *Athenians*, b c d e

Brutus *paſſes over into* Greece.

How received at Athens.

[b] Appian. l. iii. p. 530. Cic. ad Atticum, l. xv. epiſt. 9, 11, 12.

(S) *Plutarch* tells us, that on this occaſion *Acilius*, one of *Brutus*'s friends, repeated out of *Homer* the following verſes, ſpoken by *Andromache*:

Yet, while my *Hector* ſtill ſurvives, I ſee
My father, mother, brethren, all in thee. *Pope.*

To which *Brutus* replied with a ſmile; But I muſt not anſwer *Porcia* as *Hector* did *Andromache*:

— Haſten to thy taſk at home.
There guide the ſpindle, and direct the loom. *Idem.*

For though the natural weakneſs of her body hinders her from acting what only the ſtrength of man can perform, yet ſhe has a mind as valiant and as active for the good of her country as the beſt of us. This *Plutarch* borrowed, as he tells us, from the memoirs of *Brutus*, written by *Bibulus* the ſon of *Porcia* (53). For *Porcia*, when *Brutus* married her, was the widow of *M. Calpurnius Bibulus*, by whom ſhe had a ſon named alſo *Bibulus*.

(53) *Plut. in Bruto.*

a *Athenians*, who, by the death of the tyrant *Hipparchus*, had delivered their country from ſlavery. Their anceſtors, to perpetuate the memory of ſo glorious an action, had, near five hundred years before the times we are now writing of, by a public decree, erected ſtatues to thoſe two deliverers of their country: and the preſent *Athenians*, thinking the enterpriſe of *Brutus* and *Caſſius* equally glorious, in imitation of their anceſtors, by a public decree ordered ſtatues to be erected to them over-againſt thoſe of *Harmodius* and *Ariſtogiton*. How different were the ſentiments of the *Athenians* from thoſe of the greater part of our modern writers! Notwithſtanding theſe public demonſtrations of honour and eſteem, *Brtuus* ſeemed to have laid aſide all thoughts of public buſineſs, that he might be wholly at leiſure for the ſtudy of philoſophy. He b lived privately with one who had been formerly his gueſt, and conſtantly attended the lectures of *Theomneſtus* the *Academic* and *Cratippus* the *Peripatetic*, as if he intended to paſs the remainder of his life in quiet and retirement. But all the while, being unſuſpected, he was ſecretly making preparations for war; in order to which he made it his chief buſineſs to gain the affections of the young *Roman* noblemen, who were attending their ſtudies at *Athens*. Among theſe was *Marcus Tullius*, *Cicero*'s ſon, of whom he uſed to ſay, *That, whether ſleeping or waking, he could not help admiring a young man of ſo great ſpirit, and ſuch an enemy to tyrants.* As *Brutus*, during his ſtay at *Athens*, began to want money, young *Marcus* generouſly ſupplied him with as much as he could ſpare; for in one of his letters to *Tiro*, wherein he ſpeaks of thoſe who boarded with him, *I have hired*, ſays he, *a place hard by me for* Brutus, *and, as much* c *as my poverty allows me, relieve his want. I intended to declaim in* Greek *before* Caſſius, *but before* Brutus *I will perform my exerciſe in* Latin, *&c.* [c] *Caſſius* by this time, it ſeems, had left *Greece* to go into *Syria*, whither we ſhall ſoon follow him. As for *Brutus*, he continued ſome time longer in *Athens*, whence he ſent one *Heroſtrates*, whom he had gained over to his intereſt, into *Macedon*, to ſound the *Roman* troops quartered in that province. *Heroſtrates* diſcharged his truſt with no leſs fidelity than addreſs; for he either found the *Macedonian* troops ready to ſide with *Brutus*, or dexterouſly prevailed upon them to do ſo. Hereupon *Brutus*, pulling off the maſk, began to act openly and raiſe troops in all the cities of *Greece*, whither many *Romans* had retired, being diſſatisfied with the preſent ſituation of affairs at home. He d wanted money; but his want was ſoon ſupplied by a very lucky accident. For being informed that the quæſtor *Vetus Antiſtius*, his particular friend, who had been charged with the care of conveying to *Rome* the tributes of *Aſia*, was in his courſe to touch at *Caryſtus*, a city of *Eubœa*; he went thither to meet him, and eaſily perſuaded him to deliver up to him great part of the treaſure (T). *Brutus* on his birth-day make a ſplendid entertainment for the quæſtor, at which, while the company were drinking merrily to the victory of *Brutus* and liberty of *Rome*, *Brutus*, calling for a larger bowl and holding it in his hand, pronounced aloud this verſe, which was ſpoken to *Hector* by *Patroclus* at the point of his death:

Statues erected to him and Caſſius *by a public decree.*

Gains ſeveral young Roman *noblemen.*

Raiſes troops and prepares for war.

e *Fate and* Apollo *againſt me conſpire* (U).

It was no ſooner known, that *Brutus* was raiſing forces, than all the remains of *Pompey*'s army, who, ever ſince the defeat of their general, had wandered about *Theſſaly*, readily and joyfully joined him. With theſe he obliged *Cinna*, who was leading five hundred horſe to *Dolabella* in *Aſia*, to deliver up that body to him.

Young

[c] Cic. l. xvi. ad famil. epiſt. 21.

(T) *Plutarch* tells us, that *Antiſtius*, out of the money he was carrying to *Italy*, gave *Brutus* πεντήκοντα μυριάδας, five hundred *myriads*, which the *Latin* interpreter rendered twenty thouſand ſeſterces: and this ſum *Brutus* himſelf acknowledges in an epiſtle, wherein he commends him to *Cicero*, as *Antiſtius* was going to *Rome* to ſtand for the prætorſhip (54). *Pomponius Atticus* likewiſe ſent him a preſent of C M. ſeſterces, when he left *Italy*, and ordered three hundred more to be remitted to him in *Epirus* (55).

(U) *Plutarch* pretends, that *Brutus* quoted this verſe on a ſudden without any premeditation, or any preceding circumſtance to prompt him to it. But this is highly improbable, as madam *Dacier* well obſerves. According to her, *Brutus* ſpoke this verſe in the perſon of *Cæſar*, ſignifying thereby, that in putting *Cæſar* to death, he had only lent a helping hand to fate and *Apollo*, and that his death was purely owing to the gods and his deſtiny. Some hiſtorians, quoted by *Plutarch*, tell us, that the word *Brutus* gave his men at the battle of *Philippi* was *Apollo*; whence they conclude, that the line quoted on this occaſion was a preſage of that overthrow (56).

(54) *Cic. lib. ad Brutum. epiſt.* 15. (55) *Corn. Nep. in vita Pomp. Attic.* (56) *Plut. ibid.*

Young *Cicero* gained over to him an intire legion, which *Piſo* deſigned to convey a over to *Mark Antony* in *Italy*. And now *Brutus*'s army being greatly increaſed, the prudent leader imbarqued with a ſtrong detachment for *Demetrias*, a town of *Theſſaly*, which we have often mentioned in the hiſtory of *Greece*, and there ſeized a prodigious quantity of arms, which had been formerly amaſſed in that city by *Cæſar* for his *Parthian* expedition, and were now deſigned for *Antony*. *Macedon* was then governed by *Hortenſius*, the ſon of the famous orator, who was *Cicero*'s rival in eloquence. As he was a ſincere friend to his country, he declared, without the leaſt heſitation, for *Brutus*; and before the arrival of *Caius Antonius*, who was appointed to ſucceed him and already on his march, he reſigned to that chief of the republican party both his province and his troops; nay, he raiſed new forces for him in all the countries under b his juriſdiction, and appeared as ſanguine in the great cauſe of liberty as *Brutus* himſelf. And now, *Brutus* being at the head of a powerful army and maſter of *Greece* and *Macedon*, all the petty kings and princes round about flocked to join him, and offer him their ſervice. Among the reſt a queen of *Thrace*, by name *Polemocratia*, whoſe husband had been lately murdered by his rebellious ſubjects, had recourſe to him, and, delivering up to him all her treaſures, put herſelf and her ſon under his protection. *Brutus* received her with that humanity which was peculiar to him, and ſent her to *Cyzicum* in *Aſia Minor*, to live there far from danger, till a favourable opportunity offered of reſtoring her to her kingdom [d].

Seizes on the magazines of arms at Demetrias.

Is joined by the troops in Macedon.

In the mean time, news being brought, that *Caius*, the brother of *Antony*, having c croſſed the *Adriatic*, was advancing to join *Gabinius*, or, as others call him, *Vatinius*, who commanded three legions in *Dyrrachium* and *Apollonia*, *Brutus* reſolved to be beforehand with him. Accordingly, he moved forwards in all haſte with the few troops he had then with him. His march, though through rugged places and a deep ſnow, was ſo expeditious, that he left thoſe who were to bring his proviſions a great way behind. When he got near to *Dyrrachium*, he was ſeized with a diſtemper, which the *Greeks* call *Bulimia*, that is, *a violent hunger* (W). As he grew very faint for want of food, and none in the army could ſupply him with any, his attendants were forced to have recourſe to the enemy, and, advancing to the very gates of the city, acquainted the centinels, who were there upon duty, with the ſad ſtate of d *Brutus*, and begged them to relieve him. They were touched with compaſſion, and immediately flew to his relief with plenty of proviſions. *Brutus* on this occaſion won ſo much upon the affections of thoſe legionaries by his obliging behaviour, that they all joined him to a man, *Gabinius* himſelf not excepted, whom *Cicero* commended on that ſcore, laying aſide the hatred he had formerly bore him. *Caius Antonius*, receiving intelligence of what had happened at *Dyrrachium*, advanced with all poſſible expedition to *Apollonia*, and ſummoned all the ſoldiers, who were quartered near that city, to join him there. But finding they went all over to *Brutus*, and ſuſpecting that the gariſon of *Apollonia* were inclined to the ſame party, he abandoned that city, and haſtened to *Buthrotus*, now *Butronto*, on the *Ionian* ſea. *Brutus* purſued e him cloſe, and on his march cut in pieces three of the ſeven cohorts that attended him. Upon this ſucceſs *Brutus* wrote to the ſenate, acquainting the conſcript fathers with what he had done in *Greece* and *Macedon*. His letter was read in the ſenate by the conſul *Panſa*, who was ſtill in *Rome*, and his generous concern for the welfare of his country ſet forth by *Cicero* in his tenth *Philippic*; at whoſe motion a decree paſſed, appointing *Brutus* to govern *Macedon*, *Illyricum*, and all *Greece*, in quality of proconſul [e]. By the ſame decree both he and *Caſſius* were empowered to make uſe of the public money, and to raiſe what ſums they pleaſed in the provinces ſubject to *Rome*. The kings and cities of the eaſt, in alliance with the *Roman* people, were at the ſame time ordered to lend them all the aſſiſtance they could [f]. f

And by Gabinius's *three legions.*

Brutus *appointed governor of* Greece, Macedon, *and* Illyricum.

In the mean time, young *Cicero*, whom *Brutus* had detached with his light-armed foot in purſuit of *Caius Antonius*, coming up with him near *Byllis*, or *Bullis*, a city of *Illyricum* on the *Adriatic*, attacked him, and give him a total overthrow. *Caius* fled with

[d] Cic. l. v. ix. x. & xii. epiſt. famil. & Philippic 11. Plut. in Bruto. Appian. l. ix. p. 668, & ſeq. Dio, l. xlvii. p. 339, & ſeq. Vell. Paterc. l. ii. c. 62, & ſeq. [e] Cic. Philippic. 10. Appian. l. iii. p. 567. & l. iv. p. 622, 632, 633. [f] Idem ibid. & Vell. Paterc. l. ii.

(W) The word *Bulimia* is compounded of the two *Greek* words, Βοῦς, *an ox*, and λιμὸς, *hunger*, and ſignifies *an ox-like hunger*, *an inſatiable appetite*, which proceeds from a too ſharp ferment in the ſtomach.

a with his troops to a neighbouring marſh, where he was ſurrounded by *Brutus*, without any poſſible means of making his eſcape. *Brutus* might with great eaſe have cut him off with all his troops; but he would not ſuffer his men to fall upon them, ſaying, that in a little time they would be all of his ſide; which accordingly happened, for they went all to a man over to *Brutus*, and even delivered up to him their general; ſo that *Brutus* had now eight legions under his command, a numerous body of horſe, and a great many archers and ſlingers, with ſeveral companies of *Macedonians*, whom he daily exerciſed after the *Roman* manner [g]. As for *Caius Antonius*, *Brutus* treated him with the utmoſt civility, and even ſuffered him to enjoy the title of proconſul, and all the badges of that dignity, though ſeveral ſenators, and particularly *Cicero*, b ſolicited him by letters to rid the republic of ſo dangerous an enemy. But finding at length that he abuſed his good-nature, and made uſe of the liberty, which, through an exceſs of kindneſs, was allowed him, to corrupt the officers and raiſe ſeditions among the ſoldiers, he confined him on board a ſhip, and there kept him cloſe priſoner. Several ſoldiers, whom he had privately ſeduced, abandoning *Brutus*, retired to *Apollonia*, whence, repenting of the ſtep they had taken, they ſent him word, that if he would come thither, they would return to their duty. *Brutus* anſwered, that *this was not cuſtomary among the* Romans, *but that it became thoſe, who had offended, to come to their general and beg forgiveneſs of their crimes*; which they did, and were received with great kindneſs by their humane and good-natured general [h].

Caius Antonius *defeated and taken priſoner.*

Is treated with great civility by Brutus.

c ABOUT this time *Brutus* received a letter from the famous *Titus Pomponius Atticus*, in which was incloſed, it ſeems, the copy of one written by *Cicero* to *Octavianus* after the battle of *Mutina*; wherein he firſt congratulated him on his late victory, and then told him, that *it was deſired and expected of him, that he would ſuffer thoſe citizens to lead a quiet and peaceable life, whom all good men and the people of* Rome *loved and eſteemed*, meaning *Brutus* and his followers. As this was tacitly acknowledging an authority in *Octavianus* above the laws, *Brutus* highly reſented it, and expreſſed his reſentment in the letters he wrote to *Atticus* and *Cicero* himſelf. *I had rather not live*, ſays he, writing to *Cicero*, *than owe my life to him. I do not believe, that the* Roman *people have provoked the wrath of all the gods to ſuch a degree, that* Octavianus *muſt be* d *intreated for the ſafety of one private citizen, much leſs for that of the deliverers of the world* [i]. *Cicero* had, it ſeems, on what occaſion we know not, reproached *Caſca* with the murder of *Cæſar*, and was employing all his intereſt in favour of *Octavianus*. This drew ſeveral letters in very ſharp terms from *Brutus*, which are ſtill extant among *Cicero*'s epiſtles, and will be laſting monuments of the honour, virtue, and truly noble ſpirit of that brave patriot, in ſpite of the many ill-natured reflections with which the flatterers of *Auguſtus*, and, ſince his time, the abetters of abſolute power have endeavoured to blacken his character.

Brutus's *letters to* Cicero.

Brutus, being now at the head of a powerful army, and maſter of all *Greece*, *Illyricum*, *Macedon* and *Thrace*, reſolved to paſs into *Aſia* and there join *Caſſius*, whoſe e progreſs in thoſe eaſtern provinces, from the time he parted with *Brutus* in *Athens* to the conſulate of *Octavianus*, we are now to relate. We have obſerved above, that *P. Cornelius Dolabella*, by the intereſt of *Marc Antony*, obtained of the people, in ſpite of the ſenate, the government of *Syria*. This *Caſſius* no ſooner underſtood, than he left *Athens*, and ſailed firſt into *Aſia*, which province was then governed by *Trebonius*, one of the conſpirators, in quality of proconſul. It had been allotted to him a few days after *Cæſar*'s death, and he, upon the arrival of *Octavianus* at *Rome*, had quitted the city and retired to his government, as is manifeſt from ſeveral of *Cicero*'s epiſtles [k]. *Caſſius* was well received by *Trebonius*, and alſo by *P. Lentulus*, who had been ſent with him in quality of proquæſtor extraordinary, his ordinary quæſtor being *L. Patiſcus*. This we gather from *Cicero*'s epiſtles [l], which ſome writers ſeem not to have conſulted, or to have miſunderſtood. Theſe ſupplied *Caſſius* with money; and he was ſoon after joined by a body of horſe, which *Dolabella* had ſent into *Aſia*, with orders to purſue their march into *Syria*, and there wait for him. *Lentulus*, in one of his letters to *Cicero*, aſcribes to himſelf the glory of having brought over theſe troops to *Caſſius*'s party [m]. It was no ſooner known in *Aſia* and *Cilicia*, that *Caſſius* was raiſing forces, than the *Romans*, who were diſperſed about thoſe provinces, flocked to him from all quarters; ſo that ſeeing himſelf at the head of a conſiderable army, he

Caſſius *paſſes over into* Aſia.

Is joined by a body of horſe, and by the Romans *diſperſed about* Aſia *and* Cilicia.

[g] PLUT. in Bruto. APPIAN. l. iv. p. 632, 633. [h] PLUT. in Bruto. [i] CIC. ad Brutum, epiſt. 16. [k] CIC. ad Attic. l. xiv. epiſt. 10. & l. xiii. ad familiar. epiſt. 73. collata cum epiſt. 43, 45. [l] Vide Cic l. xii. ad familiar. epiſt. 14, 15. [m] CIC. l. xii. ad familiar. epiſt. 14.

he left *Aſia*, we mean *Aſia* properly ſo called, and marched into *Syria*, with a deſign a to ſeize on that province, before the arrival of *Dolabella*. He was ſcarce gone when *Dolabella* landed on the *Aſiatic* coaſt, laid waſte the country, made himſelf maſter of *Tarſus*, where *Caſſius* had left a gariſon, and murdered in a moſt cruel and treacherous manner the proconſul *Trebonius*, as we have related above. *Caſſius*, on his arrival in *Syria*, found *Statius Murcus*, and *Marcius Criſpus* carrying on the ſiege of *Apamea* againſt *Q. Cæcilius Baſſus*, as we have related above. Theſe two leaders immediately joined him with all their forces, and *Baſſus*'s ſoldiers forced him to do the ſame; whereupon the city being delivered up to *Caſſius*, an end was put to the ſiege, and the army of that general, by this new addition, increaſed to the number of eight legions. From this time he took upon him the title of proconſul, as appears from his letters b to *Cicero* [n]; though *Cicero*, in his letters to him, does not acknowledge that title, as not yet granted him by the ſenate [o]. Both *Murcus* and *Criſpus* heartily embraced *Caſſius*'s party; the former was by him appointed governor of *Syria*, and alſo admiral of his fleet; but *Baſſus*, not caring to engage in this war, was permitted quietly to retire [p], *Caſſius*, being thus ſtrengthened, ſoon made himſelf maſter of all *Syria*, which he did the more eaſily on account of the great reputation he had formerly acquired in that province, by defending it againſt the *Parthians* after the overthrow of *Caſſius* at *Carrhæ*, as we have related at length in the hiſtory of the *Parthians* [q]. From *Syria* he paſſed into *Phœnice* and *Judæa*, and ſecured to himſelf thoſe countries [r]. While he lay there, he was informed, that *Allienus*, one of *Dolabella*'s lieu- c tenants, was marching through *Paleſtine* with four legions, which *Cæſar* had left in *Egypt* after the *Alexandrian* war. Upon this advice he went to meet them, and coming upon them unawares, obliged both *Allienus* and his legions to ſide with him, which, with thoſe he had before, made up the number of twelve legions. Of theſe forces he gave a particular account to *Cicero*, in a letter dated the nones of *March* from his camp at *Tarichæa* in *Galilee* [s]. For the maintaining of ſo numerous a body of men, he was forced to lay the country under heavy contributions; and *Judæa* being taxed at ſeven hundred talents, *Antipater* took ſpeedy care for the anſwering of this ſum, committing it to the charge of his two ſons, *Phaſael* and *Herod*, and to *Malichus* and ſome others, ordering them to raiſe the ſum forthwith, and aſſigning to each of them d their proper diſtricts for this purpoſe. *Herod*, having brought in his quota the firſt, gained by that means the favour of *Caſſius*. But *Gophna*, *Emmaus*, *Lydda*, *Thamna*, and ſome other cities of *Judæa*, being backward in raiſing their quotas, *Caſſius* cauſed the inhabitants to be ſold for ſlaves to the beſt bidder, for the more ſpeedy payment of the ſum required. He was provoked to ſuch a degree againſt *Malichus*, who was very dilatory in this matter, that he would have put him to death, had not *Hyrcanus* appeaſed him with a preſent of a hundred talents, which he ſent him by *Antipater* [t]. In the mean time, *Dolabella*, after a long ſtay in *Aſia*, where he burdened the cities with new taxes and oppreſſed the inhabitants in a moſt cruel and tyran- e nical manner [u], paſſed firſt into *Cilicia*, and thence into *Syria*, with two legions, whither his fleet, compoſed of veſſels hired of the *Lycians*, *Pamphylians*, and *Cilicians*, ſailed ſoon after under the command of *L. Figulus* [w]. Upon his arrival in *Syria*, he attempted to enter *Antioch*, as governor of that province; but being repulſed by the inhabitants and the gariſon, which *Caſſius* had left there, with the loſs of about a hundred of his men, he abandoned the enterpriſe, and retired in the night towards *Laodicea*. During his march, moſt of the troops he had raiſed in *Aſia* abandoned him, ſome of them returning to *Antioch*, where they joined *Caſſius*'s men, and others retiring over mount *Amanus* into *Cilicia* [x]. As the inhabitants of *Laodicea* were intirely devoted to *Cæſar*'s party, they received *Dolabella* with open arms, and put him f in poſſeſſion of their city; which *Caſſius* no ſooner heard, than he haſtened thither, leaving *Herod* governor of *Cælo-Syria*, with a ſtrong detachment from his army to keep that province in awe [y]. Upon his arrival, he found *Dolabella* incamped under the walls of the city, nay, as we learn from a letter of *Caſſius Parmenſis*, and not of *Caſſius Longinus*, as we conjecture, to *Cicero*, he had beat down part of the walls, and joined

And alſo by Statius Murcus, Cæcilius Baſſus *and* Marcius Criſpus.

Makes himſelf maſter of all Syria.

Obliges Allienus *with his four legions to take party with him.*

Dolabella *retires to* Laodicea.

[n] Cic. l. xii. ad familiar. epiſt. 11, 12. [o] Idem ibid. epiſt. 7, 8, 9, 10. [p] Dio, l. xlvii. p. 343, & Cic. l. xii. ad famil. epiſt. 11, 12. [q] Vide Vol. IV. p. 306. [r] Joseph. antiq. l. xiv. c. 18. & de bell. Judaico, l. i. c. 9. [s] Cic. l. xii. ad famil. epiſt. 11, 12. [t] Joseph. antiq. l. xiv. c. 18. & de bell. Judaico, l. i. c. 9. [u] Cic. ad Brut. epiſt. 3, 4. & l. xii. ad familiar. epiſt. 15. [w] Appian. l. iv. p. 624. [x] P. Lentul. ad Cic. l. ad familiar. epiſt. 15. [y] Joseph. antiq. l. xiv. c. 19.

joined his camp to the town [z]. As *Laodicea* was placed on a peninſula, *Caſſius*, to prevent *Dolabella* from making his eſcape by land, carried on a wall two furlongs in length croſs the iſthmus, with materials brought from the neighbouring villages and ſepulchers. At the ſame time he diſpatched meſſengers to the *Phænicians*, *Lycians*, and *Rhodians* for ſhips, with a deſign to block up the harbour. But the *Sidonians* alone complied with his ſummons, and ſent him what veſſels they had already equipped in their harbour. They were ſcarce arrived, when *Dolabella*'s fleet under the command of *L. Figulus* appeared off *Laodicea*. *Caſſius*, though his fleet was far inferior in number to the enemy's, yet would by all means venture an engagement, in which both parties fought with incredible bravery. But at length *Caſſius*'s fleet was over- *Caſſius's fleet defeated*
b powered, and five of his ſhips taken with all the mariners on board. Hereupon *Caſſius* diſpatched meſſengers anew to thoſe who had ſlighted his firſt ſummons, and beſides to *Cleopatra* queen of *Egypt*, and to *Serapion*, who commanded her forces in *Cyprus*. The *Tyrians*, *Aradians*, and alſo *Serapion*, without the knowledge of his miſtreſs, obeyed the ſecond ſummons, and ſent what ſhips they could aſſemble. But *Cleopatra* herſelf, who had been greatly favoured by *Cæſar*, and conſequently bore an irreconcileable hatred to all thoſe who were concerned in his death, refuſed to lend them any aſſiſtance, under pretence, that *Egypt* was then afflicted with a plague and famine. The *Rhodians* and *Lycians* declared, that they deſigned to maintain a ſtrict neutrality, though it was well known, that *Dolabella*'s fleet conſiſted moſtly of *Lycian* and *Rho-*
c *dian* veſſels. Of this *Lentulus*, who was proquæſtor extraordinary of *Aſia*, complained in his letters both to the ſenate and to *Cicero*; for *Dolabella* had been declared an enemy to the people of *Rome*, and the republic had lately renewed her alliance with the *Rhodians* [a]. However *Statius Murcus*, the admiral of *Caſſius*'s fleet, having got together a conſiderable number of ſhips of war in *Phænice* and on the coaſts of *Aſia*, ventured two other engagements, in the firſt whereof they parted upon equal terms; but in the ſecond *Dolabella*'s fleet was entirely defeated. Then *Murcus* blocked *Dolabella's fleet intirely defeated, and* Laodicea *taken.*
up the port with his victorious fleet; ſo that no proviſions could he conveyed into the beſieged city either by ſea or land, the wall, which *Caſſius* had begun to croſs the iſthmus, being now completed. The place being thus reduced to the utmoſt extre-
d mity, *Dolabella* attempted ſeveral times to ſally out at the head of the gariſon, but was conſtantly driven back into the city, which was at length, without his knowledge, delivered up to the enemy by one *Quintius*, a chief officer of his army. *Dolabella*, ſeeing the enemy in poſſeſſion of the city, and fearing *Caſſius* would retaliate upon him his cruel treatment of the unfortunate *Trebonius*, ordered one of his guards to cut off his head; which he did accordingly, and then killed himſelf with the ſame ſword. *The death of* Dolabella.
The example of *Dolabella* was followed by *M. Octavius* his lieutenant, and *Q. Marſus*, another of his chief officers. *Caſſius* ordered their bodies to be decently interred; though they had refuſed that honour to the poor remains of *Trebonius*, which they threw into the ſea, after having inſulted them in the groſſeſt manner. But *Caſſius*,
e at the ſight of *Dolabella*'s head, ſeemed to have forgot the vengeance he owed to the manes of his friend. As for the ſoldiers, who ſerved under the deceaſed general, though they had been declared enemies to the republic as well as himſelf, *Caſſius* generouſly forgave them, and, having obliged them to take the military oath to him, incorporated them among his legionaries [b]. *Appian* tells us, that *Caſſius* plundered both the temples and treaſury of *Laodicea*, that he laid heavy taxes on the inhabitants, and put all the nobility to the ſword; ſo that the city was reduced to a moſt miſerable condition [c]. What *Appian* ſays has not been a little exaggerated by the authors of the *Roman* hiſtory now publiſhing at *Paris*: for they tell us, that *the ſtreets in an inſtant were covered with dead bodies*; *that the blood ran in ſtreams*; *that neither temples*
f *nor palaces were ſpared*; *that thoſe, whom the conqueror thought fit to pardon, were forced to pay ſuch exorbitant ſums that death ſeemed leſs painful to them than life* [d]. Theſe reverend writers, men indeed of great learning, but avowed champions of arbitrary power, omit no opportunity of throwing what dirt they can upon thoſe who ſtood up in defence of their liberties. They conſtantly follow thoſe authors, whoſe accounts are the leaſt favourable to them, without taking notice of what others, leſs partial and biaſſed, have wrote on the ſame ſubject. In the preſent caſe, *Dion Caſſius* diſagreeing

[z] Cic. l. xii. ad familiar. epiſt. 13 [a] Cic. ad familiar. l. xii. epiſt. 14, 15, [b] Appian. l. iv. p. 625. & ſeq. Dio. l. xlvii. p. 345. & ſeq. Liv. l. xii. Strabo. l. xvi. p. 752. Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c 69. Oros. l. vi. c. 19. [c] Appian. ibid. p. 625, 626. [d] Catrou and Rouille, tom. 17. p. 584.

greeing, as he often does, with *Appian*, after having told us, that *Cassius* gave quarter and impunity to *Dolabella*'s troops, adds, *neither punished he the inhabitants of* Laodicea, *otherwise than by obliging them to pay a sum of money* [e]. No mention here of *streams of blood, of streets covered with dead bodies, of exorbitant taxes which made death itself desireable.* a

The government of Syria *confirmed to* Cassius.

And now *Cassius*, after the reduction of *Laodicea*, become master of all *Syria*, acquainted the conscript fathers with the success of his arms; who thereupon confirmed to him the government of those vast provinces, as they did to *Brutus* that of *Greece*, *Macedon*, and *Illyricum*, ordering all the states and cities, in alliance with or subject to *Rome*, to obey their orders and assist them to the utmost of their power [f]. Thus *Brutus* and *Cassius*, who had fled from *Rome*, as *Plutarch* observes [g], like despicable exiles, without money or arms, without ships, soldiers, or one single city to rely on, were now masters of large provinces, had above twenty legions under their command, and were in a condition to keep in awe and withstand the united forces of *Octavianus*, *Antony*, and *Lepidus*. Thus was the *Roman* state, taken in its utmost extent, divided between two opposite parties, *the Cæsareans*, that is, those who were for introducing absolute government and arbitrary power; and *the republicans*, that is, zealous defenders of their liberties and the ancient customs and laws of the republic. The latter prevailed in the east; and the former in the west: where they were obeyed by all the nations between the ocean and the straits of *Messana*, or the most southern borders of *Italy*. As for *Sicily*, it was held at this time by *Sextus Pompeius*, the younger son of *Pompey the Great*, of whom we shall have frequent occasion to speak in the sequel of this history. Such was the situation of affairs at the beginning of *Octavianus*'s first consulate. What happened in *Italy* and the several provinces subject to the distracted and expiring republic, from his consulate to the death of *Brutus* and *Cassius*, shall be the subject of the following chapter. b c

[e] Dio. l. xlvii. p. 345. [f] Vell. Patercul. ibid. c. 62. Appian. l. iii. p. 567, 568. [g] Plut. in Bruto

CHAP. XV.

The history of Rome, *from the first consulate of* Octavianus *to the death of* Cassius *and* Brutus.

Octavianus causes Brutus *and* Cassius *to be condemned.*

The first step *Octavianus* took, after he had entered upon his consulate, was, to get his adoption confirmed in a general assembly of the people. In the next place, he prevailed upon the senate to revoke their decree, declaring *Dolabella*, whose death was not yet known at *Rome*, an enemy to his country [h]. Soon after his collegue *Q. Pædius*, at his instigation, proposed a law for impeaching, trying, and condemning all those who had been any ways concerned in the death of *Cæsar*. Pursuant to this law which passed without opposition, *L. Cornificius* took upon him to accuse *Brutus*, and the famous *M. Vispanius Agrippa* (X) appeared against *Cassius*. The conspirators d

[h] Appian. l. iii. p. 586. Dio. l. xlvi. p. 321, 322.

(X) *Marcus Vispanius Agrippa* was, according to *Suetonius* (37), of a mean descent, but of an equestrian family according to *Cornelius Nepos* (38). The former writer tells us, that the emperor *Caligula*, ashamed to acknowledge *Agrippa* for his grandfather, gave out, that his mother *Agrippina* was not the daughter of *Agrippa*, but the fruit of an incestuous commerce, between *Julia* the wife of *Agrippa* and her father *Augustus*; chusing out of a foolish and shameful vanity, to owe his birth rather to an incest, than a lawful marriage (39). *Agrippa* was brought up from his infancy with *Octavianus*, and served him to the last

(37) *Suet. in Caligula.* (38) *Cornel. Nep. in vita Attici.* (39) *Idem ibid.*

a ſpirators were all ſummoned to take their trials; and we are told, that when the herald pronounced the name of *Brutus*, both the people and ſenate expreſſed their concern for ſo worthy a citizen with ſighs and tears. Among the many judges, who were choſen for the deciſion of ſo important a cauſe, *Silicius Coronas* was the only perſon who had courage enough to declare in their favour, which coſt him his life; for though *Octavianus* thought it then adviſeable to diſſemble his reſentment, and pretended even to be reconciled to *Silicius*, yet he ſoon after ſacrificed him to his revenge. Notwithſtanding the oppoſition of that generous citizen, the conſpirators were all condemned, without being heard, to perpetual baniſhment, and their eſtates confiſcated [1]. But as *Brutus* and *Caſſius* were at the head of twenty legions, *Octavia-*
b *nus* rightly judged, that it would not be eaſy for him to deſtroy them, without the aſſiſtance of *Antony* and *Lepidus*. He therefore diſpatched truſty meſſengers to theſe two chiefs, deſiring them to march with all poſſible expedition into *Italy*, that they might, with their united forces, fall upon *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, and drive them out of the provinces which they had ſeized. Hereupon they both ſet out without delay, and paſſing the *Alps*, at the head of ſeventeen legions, entered *Ciſalpine Gaul*. The ſenate, alarmed at their approach, and ſtill ſtrangers to the private managements between them and *Octavianus*, ordered the latter to march out againſt them, and make war upon them as public enemies. *Octavianus* with great joy embraced this opportunity of putting the laſt hand to the treaty, which had been begun ſome time ſince between
c him and his rival. But, before he left *Rome*, he gave private inſtructions to *Quintus Pædius* his collegue and creature, to inſinuate, as of his own motion, to the ſenate, that it was for the advantage of the commonwealth to repeal their decree againſt *Antony* and *Lepidus*, and not drive ſuch men to deſpair, eſpecially *Antony*, who was as great a commander, and no leſs to be dreaded than *Sylla* and *Marius*. This propoſal was no-ways agreeable to the ſenate; but nevertheleſs, as they ſuſpected *Octavianus* to be at the bottom of the whole, they wrote to him for his advice in ſo nice a point. The crafty general readily conſented to the repealing of the decree, as we may well imagine; but, to deceive the ſenate, told them in his letter, that his conſent had been in a manner extorted by the earneſt intreaties of his ſoldiers. However, the conſcript
d fathers began now plainly to ſee, that *Octavianus*'s deſign was to gain over *Antony* to his party, and to act in concert with him againſt the defenders of the public liberty. But they were no longer in a condition to withſtand him, and therefore ſolemnly diſannulled all the decrees againſt *Antony* and his adherents. In acknowledgment of this good turn, *Antony* marched immediately againſt *Decimus Brutus*, who was in-camped in the neighbourhood of *Mutina* with ten legions, four whereof conſiſted of veterans, but who were in a very bad condition on account of the diſtempers and fatigues they had ſuffered during the late ſiege; the ſix others were newly raiſed, and quite unacquainted with military diſcipline. So that *Brutus*, not finding himſelf in a condition to oppoſe the united and ſuperior forces of *Antony* and *Lepidus*, reſolved to
e quit *Ciſalpine Gaul*, and by the way of *Aquileia* paſs into *Illyricum*, and from thence into *Macedon*, where *M. Brutus* commanded. But, finding all the paſſes ſeized on that ſide by *Octavianus*'s troops, he took his rout towards the *Alps* with a deſign to paſs the *Rhine*, where that river divides *Tranſalpine Gaul* from *Germany*, and through the latter country purſue his march into *Macedon*. But the apprehenſion of the fatigues and dangers of ſo long a journey had ſuch an effect on the minds of the new-raiſed troops, that they all abandoned *Brutus* and went over to *Antony*. Their example was ſoon followed by the other four legions; ſo that *Brutus*'s army was ſoon reduced to a few ſquadrons of *Gauliſh* horſe; and to ſuch of theſe alſo, as betrayed any unwillingneſs to follow him, *Brutus* not only gave leave to return home, but generouſly
f ſupplied them with money to defray the charges of their journey. Thus guarded only by three hundred horſe, he marched as far as the *Rhine*, the ſight of which rapid river ſo frightened the few *Gauls* he had with him, that they ſtole away one after another, except

Invites Antony and Lepidus into Italy.

The decree againſt Antony and Lepidus revoked.

The misfortunes and death of D. Brutus.

[1] Liv. l. cxx. Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 69. Suet. in Nerone, c. 3. Dio, l. xlvi. p. 322. Plut in Bruto.

laſt with the utmoſt fidelity. We ſhall have occaſion to make frequent mention of him in the ſequel of this hiſtory. *Velleius Paterculus*, a ſcandalous flatterer of the *Cæſars*, tells us, that his uncle *Capito* joined *Agrippa* in accuſing *Brutus* (40).

(40) *Vell. Patercul. l.* ii. *c.* 69

except ten, who ſeemed determined never to forſake him. In this extremity he laid aſide all thoughts of entering *Germany*, and dreſſing himſelf after the *Gauliſh* manner, as he ſpoke the language like a native, he reſolved in that diſguiſe to return through *Gaul* into *Italy*, not without hopes of reaching at length *Macedon* undiſcovered. But he had not gone far, before he had the misfortune to be taken by a band of free-booters, who conducted him, at his requeſt, to the lord of that diſtrict, by name *Camillus*, or, as others call him, *Camelius*, who had received a thouſand favours at his hands in the dictator's life-time. But the ungrateful wretch, after having received him in a friendly manner, diſpatched a meſſenger to *Antony*, acquainting him, that he had *Brutus* in his power, and was ready to diſpoſe of him as he pleaſed. *Antony* was touched with compaſſion at the misfortunes of a man ſo conſiderable for his birth and the great offices he had borne. But nevertheleſs, as it was for the intereſt of his party that he ſhould be cut off, he wrote word to *Camillus* to diſpatch him and ſend him his head; which the treacherous *Gaul* did accordingly, without any regard to the ſacred laws of hoſpitality. *Dion Caſſius*, *Valerius Maximus*, and *Seneca* tell us, that *Brutus* behaved on this occaſion in a manner very unbecoming a man of his rank and ſtation, and that he earneſtly begged for his life, even after *Helvius Blaſia*, his intimate friend and inſeparable companion, had killed himſelf in his preſence, to animate him by his example [k]. *Cicero* on the contrary, who was intimately acquainted with him, ſpeaks of him as a man, *who was never afraid, or even diſturbed* [l]; and the authority of *Cicero* is more to be relied on, than that of all the hiſtorians, who wrote long after, put together. However, the learned fathers *Catrou* and *Rouille*, in their *Roman* hiſtory, take no notice of this paſſage, which would have left no room for their long deſcants on the cowardice of that *perfidious wretch*, that *cruel traytor*, that *inhuman aſſaſſin*, as they are pleaſed to ſtile *Brutus* for conſpiring againſt ſo fine a man as *Cæſar*, guilty of no fault but that of tyranny and uſurpation. When his head was brought to *Antony*, he looked on it with ſome concern, and then delivered it to his friends, by whom it was decently buried [m]. Thus died *Decimus Junius Brutus*, a year and a half after the death of *Cæſar*. He had been always honoured by the dictator with particular marks of friendſhip and confidence, as appears both from his will, and from the great employments to which he raiſed him. For he was appointed one of his ſecond heirs, in caſe any of his great nephews ſhould renounce the inheritance; and had been general of his horſe; governor firſt of *Tranſalpine*, and afterwards of *Ciſalpine*, *Gaul*, and named conſul, according to *Velleius Paterculus*, for the year after the conſulate of *Hirtius* and *Panſa* [n]. And indeed *Decimus* ſerved him with the utmoſt fidelity, till he began openly to aſpire at the ſovereign power; and then, conſidering him no longer as a friend, but as a tyrant, he preferred the public welfare to his private intereſt, which the abetters of arbitrary power look upon as an enormous crime. *Antony* immediately acquainted *Octavianus*, that he had ſacrificed *Decimus* to the manes of his father, and than advanced with *Lepidus* at the head of his army to meet him. The place they choſe for their private conferences was a ſmall iſland formed by the river *Rhenus*, now the *Reno*, which falls into the *Po*, after having watered the territory of *Bononia* or *Bologna* (Y). Both armies advanced to the oppoſite banks of this river, from whence by two bridges a communication was opened with the iſland. *Lepidus* entered the firſt into the iſland, to view whether it was ſafe for the other two to venture into it. Such was the unfortunate condition of thoſe ambitious men, who, even in the midſt of a reconciliation, could not help miſtruſting each other. *Lepidus* having made the ſignal that was agreed on, the two generals entered the iſland from the oppoſite banks, each of them guarded by three hundred men, who remained at the head of the bridges, while the two chiefs advanced to the place of the interview, which was a riſing ground, whence they could be equally ſeen by their guards and both armies. After they had ſaluted and embraced each other

Octavianus, Antony, and Lepidus meet in a certain iſland.

[k] Dio. l. xlvi p. 325. Val. Max. l, ix. Seneca. epiſt. 82.
[l] Cic. l, xii. ad familiar epiſt. 21.
[m] Dio. ibid. p. 325.
[n] Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 64.

(Y) *Appian* will have the triumvirs to have met in an iſland formed by the river *Labinius* in the neighbourhood of *Mantua* (41). But, in the firſt place, the *Labinius*, or, as others call it, the *Lavinius*, is at a great diſtance from *Mantua*, and rather in the neighbourhood of *Bononia*; and beſides is not large enough to form an iſland, being in reality not a river, but a rivulet, known at preſent by the name of *Lavino*.

(41) *Appian. de bell. civil.* l. iv. *ſub. init.*

a in a polite and friendly manner, they took their ſeats, the other two yielding to *Octavianus*, as conſul, the moſt honourable place. The conference laſted three days, during which time they had the precaution to ſpeak conſtantly ſo low, notwithſtanding ſome warm debates, that not a ſingle word could be heard even by their guards, who ſtood but at a ſmall diſtance. At length they agreed on the following articles: *The articles of their agreement.*

1. *That* Octavianus *ſhould forthwith reſign the conſulate, which gave him a kind of pre-eminence over the other two, to* Ventidius *one of* Antony's *lieutenants.* 2. *That the ſupreme authority ſhould be divided among them three, and kept by them for the ſpace of five years, under the name of* triumvirs, *and in quality of reformers of the commonwealth.* 3. *That they ſhould cauſe this authority to be confirmed by the* Roman *people.* 4. *That* Antony *ſhould have all* Tranſalpine *and* Ciſalpine Gaul, *except* Narbonne, *which together* b *with both* Spains *ſhould be yielded to* Lepidus; *and that* Octavianus *ſhould have for his ſhare* Africa, *with* Sicily *and* Sardinia. 5. *That* Italy *and the eaſtern provinces, which were poſſeſſed by* Brutus *and* Caſſius, *ſhould for a while remain in common.* 6. *That* Antony *and* Octavianus *ſhould forthwith join their forces and make war upon* Brutus *and* Caſſius, *while* Lepidus *with four legions ſtaid at* Rome, *to maintain the authority of the triumvirate there.* Thus was the empire of the world divided, as *Plutarch* obſerves, among theſe three chiefs, as if it had been their paternal inheritance. Beſides theſe, ſeveral other articles were ſettled. As it was of the utmoſt importance, eſpecially for *Octavianus* and *Antony*, who were to march into the eaſt againſt *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, to ſecure c the fidelity of the legions, it was agreed, that each legionary ſhould receive after the war five thouſand drachmas, each centurion twenty-five thouſand, and each tribune fifty thouſand. To theſe immenſe and almoſt incredible ſums, were added other rewards, yet more ſubſtantial. The triumvirs agreed to promiſe their ſoldiers ſettlements, on their return from the eaſt, in eighteen of the beſt cities of *Italy*, which ſhould be choſen out by the three chiefs, and abandoned in property with their houſes and lands to the ſoldiers. As for the antient proprietors, they were by a crying injuſtice to be driven out of their old habitations, ſtript of their lands and effects, and ſuffered either to periſh with famine, or ſhift for themſelves in the beſt manner they could. Some of theſe unhappy cities were even then named, viz. *Capua*, *Rhegium*, *Beneventum*, d *Luceria*, *Ariminum*, and *Vibo*. As the triumvirs had occaſion for immenſe ſums to carry on the war, and beſides were well appriſed, that there were ſtill in *Rome* great numbers of zealous republicans, who probably would raiſe diſturbances in *Italy*, during their abode in the eaſt, they came to that barbarous and inhuman reſolution, which will render their memories execrable and infamous to the lateſt poſterity; a reſolution, *The proſcription.* which brings diſgrace upon tyranny itſelf. They agreed not only to cut off all their enemies, but thoſe alſo who were either poſſeſſed of great eſtates, or were thought to retain the leaſt ſpark of zeal for their antient laws and liberties. This they looked upon as the ſureſt means of maintaining themſelves in the peaceable poſſeſſion of their uſurped tyranny, and at the ſame time of raiſing the neceſſary ſums for the ſupport e of their troops. Theſe regulations were made without the leaſt conteſt or diſpute; but the liſt of the proſcribed, when it came to be ſettled, occaſioned warm debates, each of them intending to deſtroy his enemies and ſave his friends. *Antony* would come to no agreement till *Cicero*'s name was ſet down in the fatal liſt. *Octavianus* endeavoured to ſave him, and was for having *Antony* to ſacrifice *Lucius Cæſar*, his uncle by the mother's ſide. As for *Lepidus*, ſome writers tell us, that contrary to the inclination of the other two, he inſiſted upon the condemnation of his own brother *L. Æmilius Paulus*, who had voted the firſt in the ſenate for paſſing the decree, which declared him a public enemy when he joined *Antony*. Other authors ſay, that he would fain have ſaved his brother, but that *Octavianus* and *Antony* demanded his head. How- f ever that be, the thirſt of being revenged on their enemies at length got the better of the deſire of ſaving their friends and relations. *Octavianus* in the end ſacrificed *Cicero* to *Antony*; *Antony* his uncle *Lucius* to *Octavianus*; and *Lepidus* was either allowed to murder his brother *Paulus*, or forced to abandon him to the reſentment of the other two. The death of theſe three being agreed on, the liſt of the others, whom the triumvirs doomed to die, was ſoon drawn up, each of the three tyrants ſetting down the names of his particular enemies, and even of the enemies of his creatures. The firſt in this liſt was *Paulus*, the brother of *Lepidus*; *Lucius Cæſar*, *Antony*'s uncle, was the ſecond; and *Cicero* the third. After theſe were named *Plotius*, conſul elect, and brother to *Plancus* one of *Antony*'s lieutenants; *Quintus*, who was alſo deſigned conſul g for the enſuing year, and whoſe daughter *Aſinius Pollio*, a great ſtickler for the triumvirate,

virate, had lately married; *Thoranius*, who had been governor to *Octavianus*, and had a taken particular care of his education, and many others, whom we ſhall have occaſion to mention in the ſequel of the hiſtory. And now the articles of this wicked confederacy being agreed on, and ſwore to by the contracting parties, the three chiefs ſeparated, after embracing each other, and went to impart the reſult of their conferences to their reſpective armies, who, overjoyed at the advantagious promiſes that were made them, heard the report with the greateſt ſatisfaction. The ſame day the two armies joined, and mutually feaſted and entertained each other (A). Thus was concluded the ſecond triumvirate about a year and a half after *Cæſar*'s death, the conſequences whereof were moſt dreadful, and gave the laſt blow to the liberty of *Rome* °. b

The ſecond triumvirate.

And now the triumvirs, ſeeing their agreement, and each of the articles on which it was concluded, approved by the ſoldiery of both armies, reſolved in the firſt place to publiſh the decree of proſcription, and haſten the execution of it, before their enemies could have any notice of their wicked deſigns. Accordingly, the fatal decree was drawn up and made public. It began thus: *M. Lepidus*, *M. Antonius*, and *Octavianus Cæſar*, *choſen for the reformation of the commonwealth. If the generoſity of* Julius Cæſar *had not prompted him to pardon ſome faithleſs men, and to grant them beſides their lives, of which they were unworthy, honours and offices, which they deſerved as little, he had not fallen by their treaſon, nor ſhould we have been obliged to proceed in a manner diſagreeable to us, againſt thoſe who have declared us enemies to our country. But* c *the wicked deſigns they formed againſt us, the horrible treachery they ſhewed towards* Cæſar, *and the certain knowledge we have of their execrable practices, force us to prevent the evils with which we are threatened.* Then followed a juſtification of the proceedings of the triumvirs, founded on the advantages which *Cæſar* had procured for the *Roman* people by his victories, on the ingratitude of thoſe who had murdered him, and on the neceſſity of clearing the city of ſuch as might involve it in new troubles. They concluded thus: *No man ſhall dare to receive, conceal, help to eſcape, any ways relieve thoſe who are proſcribed, or hold any manner of intelligence with them, upon pain of being himſelf proſcribed. Whoſoever ſhall bring to any of the triumvirs the head of a proſcribed perſon ſhall receive, if a freeman, twenty-five thouſand ſeſterces, and ten thouſand, if a ſlave. The* d *ſlave who ſhall kill his maſter, ſhall moreover be declared a* Roman *citizen. The ſame rewards ſhall be given to ſuch as ſhall declare the place, where any proſcribed perſon lies concealed, and the name of the informer ſhall not be entered into any regiſter, to the end it may never be known who he was.* This decree, together with the firſt liſt of the unhappy wretches who were doomed to die, was immediately ſent to *Rome*, and at the ſame time ſome companies of ſoldiers diſpatched thither, to put the cruel orders of the triumvirs in execution. The ſoldiers arrived in the evening before the decree, and meeting four of the proſcribed perſons in the ſtreets, immediately put them to death: others were inhumanly maſſacred in their houſes; ſome while they were ſupping with their friends, and ſome in the temples, whither, upon the firſt alarm, they had fled e for refuge. The city was in an inſtant filled with horror and confuſion. Nothing was heard but cries and lamentations. As the liſt of the proſcribed perſons was not yet made public, every one fancied himſelf in that number; and hence a general terror and conſternation. Some in the height of their deſpair reſolved to involve the whole city in their deſtruction, and accordingly ſet fire to it in different quarters. The darkneſs of the night, the fire which began to flame out in ſeveral places, the cries and groans of thoſe who were inhumanly butchered in the ſtreets, the running up and down of the armed ſoldiers, the flight of the people, the ſhrieks of the women, *&c.* filled every breaſt with dread and horror. *Q. Pædius*, the only conſul then in *Rome*, to remove the fears of the alarmed multitude and prevent diſorders, ran from f ſtreet to ſtreet, cauſing it to be every-where publiſhed, that the number of thoſe, who were

The decree of the proſcription.

Rome *in the utmoſt conſternation.*

° Appian. l. iv. 589, 590. Dio, l. xlvi. p. 325, 326. Plut. in Cic. & Antonio. Flor. l. iv. c. 6.

(A) The agreement being made, and the articles ſigned by the triumvirs, the army deſired that the friendſhip between *Antony* and *Octavianus* might be cemented by ſome alliance, and forced in a manner the latter to divorce *Servilia*, the daughter of *Servilius Iſauricus*, whom he had married when he was very young, and to take in her room *Clodia*, the daughter of the famous *P. Clodius*, who was killed by *Milo*, and of *Fulvia*, whom *Antony* had married after the death of her firſt huſband (42).

(42) *Plut. in Antonio.*

were doomed to die, was but very ſmall, and that, as ſoon as it was day, he would cauſe their names to be fixed up in the forum. Accordingly, early next morning, the liſt of the proſcribed, containing the names only of ſeventeen perſons, was ſet up in a public place, together with the decree of the triumvirs. This reſtored tranquillity to the city for a while; but the conſul *Pædius*, having over-heated himſelf with running up and down the city, to calm the minds of the people and prevent diſorders, died the night following [p].

The entry of the triumvirs into Rome.

During theſe alarms, the triumvirs advanced, at the head of their united forces, towards *Rome*, which they entered on three different days, *Octavianus* on the firſt, *Antony* on the ſecond, and *Lepidus* on the third, each of them being attended with his prætorian cohort and one legion. The firſt ſtep they took after their arrival was, to get a law paſſed, inveſting them with the authority which they had uſurped. It was accordingly propoſed by the tribune *P. Titius* to the aſſembled tribes, who paſſed it the ſame day in the following terms: *The* Roman *people lawfully aſſembled have thought fit to appoint three perſons to govern the commonwealth with conſular power. Theſe are* M. Antonius, M. Lepidus, *and* Cæſar Octavianus, *whoſe authority ſhall be acknowledged and obeyed by all for the ſpace of five years.* The decree was no ſooner paſſed, than *Octavianus*, purſuant to one of the articles of the confederacy, reſigned his conſulſhip, ſome ſay to *C. Carrinas*, others to *Ventidius* (B). However that be, theſe two were by the triumvirs appointed conſuls for the remaining part of the preſent year; but they made no figure, the whole power and authority of the republic being lodged in the triumvirs. Theſe three tyrants, looking upon themſelves now as lawful magiſtrates, added the night following the names of a hundred and thirty perſons to thoſe they had already proſcribed; a few days after they proſcribed a hundred and fifty more, and thus they daily increaſed the number, till it amounted at laſt to three hundred ſenators, and above two thouſand knights. It is impoſſible to paint the horrors of this bloody proſcription; by it every conſiderable man in *Rome*, who was diſliked, or ſuſpected by the triumvirate to diſapprove their tyranny, who was rich and had wherewithal to glut their avarice, was doomed to die. As it was death to conceal or help them, and ample rewards were given too ſuch as diſcovered and killed them, many were betrayed and butchered by their ſlaves and freedmen, many by their treacherous hoſts and relations. Many fled to the wilderneſs, where they periſhed for want with their tender children. Nothing was to be ſeen but blood and ſlaughter; the ſtreets were covered with dead bodies; the heads of the moſt illuſtrious ſenators were expoſed upon the roſtra, and their bodies left unburied in the ſtreets and fields, to be devoured by the dogs and ravenous birds. This looked like dooming *Rome* to periſh at once. Many uncondemned perſons periſhed in this confuſion, ſome by malice or miſtake, others for concealing or defending their friends. Some of the ancient hiſtorians ſeem to take pleaſure in deſcribing the horrors of this bloody and cruel proſcription, which reduced the populous capital of the world almoſt to a wilderneſs. They produce many remarkable and affecting inſtances of the affection of wives for their husbands, and of the fidelity of ſlaves towards their maſters; but few, very few, as they own with great concern, of the love of children towards their parents. However, the dutiful behaviour of *Oppius* may ſtand for many, who, like *Æneas*, carried his old and decrepit father on his ſhoulders to the ſea-ſide, and eſcaped with him into *Sicily*. His piety was not long unrewarded; for, on his return to *Rome*, after the triumvirs had put an end to the proſcription, he found the people ſo taken with that generous action, that all the tribes unanimouſly concurred in raiſing him to the ædileſhip; and becauſe he wanted money to exhibit the uſual ſports, the artificers worked without wages, and the people not only taxed themſelves to defray the neceſſary charges attending ſuch ſhews, but gave proofs of the eſteem they had for ſo dutiful

The ſad condition which the city was in.

Some of the proſcribed ſaved by their children.

[p] Appian, Dio. Flor. Plut. ibid.

(B) We have given elſewhere a particular account of the riſe, exploits, and character of *Ventidius* (43); and therefore ſhall only add here, that as he had been formerly a muletier, and had got his livelihood by providing mules to carry the baggage of ſuch *Roman* magiſtrates as were ſent to govern foreign provinces, when he was raiſed to the conſulate, the following lampoon was fixed up in all the public places of the city:

Concurrite, omnes augures, aruſpices;
Portentum inuſitatum conflatum eſt recens:
Nam mulos qui fricabat, conſul factus eſt (44).

(43) *Vol.* IV. *p.* 308, 309. (44) *Val. Max. l.* vi *c.* 9. *A. Gell. l.* xv. *c.* 4. *Plin. l.* vii. *c.* 43.

tiful a ſon by ſuch contributions, as amounted to twice the value of his paternal eſtate, a
which had been confiſcated by the triumvirs. *Caius Hoſidius Geta* was likewiſe ſaved
by his ſon, who ſpread a report, that his father had laid violent hands on himſelf,
and, to render the fact more credible, ſpent the poor remains of his fortune in perform-
ing his obſequies. By this means *Hoſidius*, not being ſearched after, made his eſcape,
but loſt one of his eyes, which he had kept too long covered with a plaiſter, the better
to diſguiſe him. As for the barbarous impiety of thoſe children, who by a ſtrange
apoſtaſy from nature betrayed their own parents, it ought to be buried with them in
eternal oblivion. Nothing can reflect greater infamy on the memory of the triumvirs, than their countenancing ſuch impious monſters. Several ſlaves choſe rather
to die on the rack, amidſt the moſt exquiſite torments, than diſcover the place where b
their maſters lay concealed; others, not caring to outlive them, fell by their own
Others by their wives. hands upon their dead bodies. Many illuſtrious matrons gave remarkable proofs of
their conjugal love in theſe times of calamity, which ought not to be paſſed over in
ſilence. The wife of *Q. Ligarius*, ſeeing her huſband betrayed by one of his ſlaves,
declared to the executioners who cut off his head, that ſhe had concealed him, and
conſequently ought, in virtue of the decree, to undergo the ſame fate. But they
not hearkening to her, ſhe appeared before the triumvirs themſelves, upbraided them
with their cruelty, owned ſhe had concealed, in ſpite of their decree, her huſband,
and begged death of them as a favour. Being driven away by their officers, ſhe
ſhut herſelf up in her own houſe, and there, as ſhe was determined not to outlive her c
husband, ſtarved herſelf to death. *Acilius* was betrayed by one of his ſlaves, and
apprehended, but redeemed by his wife, who readily parted with all her jewels to
ſave his life. *Apuleius*, *Antiſtius*, *Antius*, *Q. Lucretius Viſpallio*, *Titus Vinius*, and
many others, were ſaved by the ingenious contrivances of their wives, after they had
Lucius Antonius *ſaved by his ſiſter.* given themſelves up for loſt. *Lucius*, the uncle of *Antony*, was ſaved by his ſiſter
Julia, in whoſe houſe he had taken refuge. The miniſters of the triumvirs endea-
voured to break into the room, where he lay concealed; but his ſiſter meeting them
at the door, cried out ſeveral times, *You ſhall never kill* Lucius Cæſar, *till you firſt
diſpatch me, me, who gave your general his life and being*. The aſſaſſins, thunder-ſtruck
at theſe words, retired; but nevertheleſs *Julia* flew to the forum, where her ſon was d
ſitting on his tribunal, receiving the heads of the proſcribed, and paying the aſſaſſins
the promiſed rewards. *I have tranſgreſſed your decree*, ſaid ſhe to *Antony*, and am
come to inform againſt myſelf. I have taken my brother into my houſe, and am
reſolved to protect him, till you ſhall think fit to put us both to death. *You have
behaved*, replied *Antony*, *like a good ſiſter*, *but as a bad mother*, and took no further
notice of what *Julia* ſaid; but *Lucius* was no more inquired after. Though the
country as well as the city ſwarmed with informers and aſſaſſins, yet many illuſtrious
citizens found means to avoid the fury of the proſcription, and to get ſafe, either to
Brutus in *Macedon*, or to *Sextus Pompeius* in *Sicily*. The latter kept conſtantly a great
number of ſmall veſſels hovering on the coaſts of *Italy*, to receive ſuch as made their e
eſcape, and treated them with great kindneſs and civility, The moſt conſiderable
perſons among thoſe who had the good luck to elude the fury of their enemies and
perſecutors, were, beſides thoſe we have already mentioned, *Valerius Meſſala*, *Bibulus*,
Arianus, *Metellus*, *Reſtio*, *Appius*, *Meneius*, *Junius*, *Pomponius*, *Hirtius*, *Apuleius*,
Aruntius, *Coponius*, and *Ventidius*. *Meſſala* and *Bibulus* were invited home by the
triumvirs, who by a public declaration owned, that they had not been any ways
acceſſary to the death of *Cæſar*; but they choſe to continue with *Brutus* in *Macedon*,
and ſignalized themſelves in the battle of *Philippi*. *Bibulus* was afterwards raiſed to
the firſt employments in the ſtate. *Arianus* and *Metellus* were ſaved by their children,
Reſtio, *Appius*, *Meneius*, and *Junius* by their ſlaves. *Reſtio* had marked one of his f
The fidelity of ſome ſlaves. ſlaves on the forehead with a red-hot iron; the uſual puniſhment inflicted on ſuch
ſlaves as attempted to run away from their maſters. This ſlave, having by chance
found out the place where *Reſtio* lay concealed, appeared unexpectedly before him,
asking whether he could do him any ſervice? *Reſtio* had afterwards treated the ſlave
with great humanity, and done him many favours; but nevertheleſs, ſeeing himſelf
now in his power, he looked upon his caſe as deſperate, not doubting, but the ſlave
would ſeize this opportunity of being revenged on him for the former affront; which
the faithful and generous ſlave obſerving, addreſſed him thus: *Can you imagine, that
the marks, with which you formerly branded me, have made a deeper impreſſion on my fore-
head, than the favours, which you have ſince beſtowed upon me, have done in my heart!* g

Having

a Having thus ſpoke, he led him to a cave, and there ſupported him for ſome time with what he earned by his daily labour. At length a company of ſoldiers coming that way, and approaching the cave, the faithful ſlave, alarmed at the danger his maſter was in, followed them cloſe, and falling upon a poor peaſant, killed him in their preſence, and cut off his head, crying out, *I am now revenged on my maſter for the marks with which he has branded me.* The ſoldiers, ſeeing the infamous marks on his forehead, and not doubting but he had killed *Reſtio*, ſnatched the head out of his hand and returned with it in all haſte to the triumvirs. They were no ſooner gone, than the ſlave conveyed his maſter to the ſea-ſide, where they had the good luck to find one of *Sextus Pompeius*'s veſſels, which tranſported them ſafe into *Sicily*. The b generoſity of the ſlaves of *Appius* and *Meneius*, or *Menenius*, was ſtill more heroic; for they ſuffered themſelves to be ſlain in their maſters habits, while their maſters made their eſcape in the diſguiſe of ſlaves. *Pomponius*, finding no other means to get ſafe out of *Rome*, aſſumed the habit of a prætor, and went early out of the city in that attire, being attended by his ſlaves in the diſguiſe of lictors: he travelled at the expence of the public, giving out every-where, that he was ſent by the triumvirs to negotiate a treaty with young *Pompey*: he was well received in all the cities on the road, and ſupplied both with horſes and proviſions: ſeveral bands of ſoldiers and aſſaſſins met him on his journey, but none of them offered to ſtop or examine an embaſſador of the triumvirs; ſo that he reached *Sicily* undiſcovered. *Hirtius*, *Apu-* c *leius*, and *Aruntius* killed, with the aſſiſtance of their friends, clients, and ſlaves, the ſoldiers, who were ſent to murder them, and made their eſcape ſword in hand. *Ven-tidius*, not the conſul, deceived the murderers, by pretending to be one of them himſelf, and patrolling about the country with ſome of his friends, as in ſearch of proſcribed perſons. The ſenator *Coponius* was ſaved by his wife at the expence of her virtue; *Antony* having cauſed his name to be ſtruck out of the black liſt in regard of her compliance with his unlawful demands, after ſhe had been proof for ſeveral years againſt the offers, careſſes, and menaces of the lewd tyrant. Another ſenator, being quite tired with concealing himſelf in caves and dens, and ſculking about the country in continual alarms, returned to *Rome* in the diſguiſe of a ſchool-maſter, opened d there a little ſchool, and kept it as long as the proſcription laſted without being diſcovered, no-body imagining, that a poor pedant could have been of ſuch ſignificancy, as to be ranked among the proſcribed ſenators and knights [q].

The bold undertaking of Pomponius.

THOUGH we may perhaps ſeem to have dwelt already too long on ſo diſagreeable a ſubject, yet we muſt, before we diſmiſs it, acquaint our readers with the fate of *Cicero*. The great reputation of that orator, the obligations which all men of learning owe to his memory, and the inimitable works he has left behind him, require of us a particular account of his death, and the moſt minute circumſtances attending it. He was with his brother *Quintus*, who was likewiſe proſcribed, at his country-houſe near *Tuſculum*, when the firſt news was brought him of the proſcription. He e no ſooner heard it, than he left *Tuſculum* with his brother, taking his rout towards *Aſtura* (C), or, as ſome call it, *Stura*, another of his country-houſes, on the ſea-ſide between the promontories of *Antium* and *Circæum*. There they both deſigned to take ſhipping, and endeavour to join *Brutus* in *Macedon*. They travelled together each in his litter, oppreſſed with ſorrow, and often joining their litters on the road to condole each other. As they had, in the firſt alarm and hurry, forgot to take with them the neceſſary money to defray the expences of their voyage, it was agreed between them, that *Cicero* ſhould make what haſte he could to the ſea-ſide, and *Quintus* return home to provide neceſſaries. Thus they embraced each other, and parted with reciprocal fears. *Quintus* returned to *Rome*, and got to his houſe undiſcovered, where f he thought himſelf ſafe at leaſt for a ſhort time, ſince it had been lately ſearched by the miniſters of the triumvirs. But, as in moſt houſes there were as many informers as domeſtics, his return was immediately known, and the houſe of courſe filled with

The fate of Cicero.

ſoldiers

[q] APPIAN. l. iv. VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. DIO, l. xlvii.. VAL. MAX. l. vi. c. 8. & l. ix. c. 11. SUET. in Octavio. MACROB. Saturnal. l. i. c. 11.

(C) *Pliny* ſpeaks of *Aſtura* as a river and an iſland (45); and *Cicero* ſeems to inſinuate in one of his letters to *Atticus* (46), that his houſe was in the iſland. In proceſs of time a village was built in that neighbourhood, and called by the ſame name of *Aſtura*, as we learn from *Servius* (47).

(45) *Plin. l.* iii. *c.* 5. & 6. (46) *Ad Attic. l.* xii. *epiſt.* 19. (47) *Servius in Æneid.* 7. *v.* 801.

soldiers and assassins, who, not being able to find him out, put his son to the torture, in order to make him declare where his father lay concealed. But filial affection was proof in the young *Roman* against the most exquisite torments. However, the tender youth could not help sighing now and then, and groaning in the height of his pain. *Quintus* was not far off; and the reader may imagine, though we cannot express, how the heart of a tender father must have been affected, in hearing the sighs and groans of a son dying on the rack to save his life. He could not bear it; but quitting the place of his concealment, he presented himself to the assassins, begging them with a flood of tears to put him to death, and dismiss the innocent child, whose generous behaviour the triumvirs themselves, if informed of the fact, would judge worthy of the highest encomiums and rewards. But those inhuman monsters, without being in the least affected, with the tears either of the father or the son, answered, that *they must both die*, the father, because he was proscribed, and the son, because, in defiance of the decree of the triumvirs, he had concealed his father. Then a new contest of tenderness arose between the father and the son, who should die the first: but this the assassins, destitute of all sense of humanity, and no-ways affected with such melting scenes, soon decided by beheading them both at the same time. Tho' *Quintus Cicero*'s life was not perhaps without reproach, his death, it must be owned, was truly glorious; as for that of his son, it has been, and ever will be, celebrated by the writers of all nations and ages, as an instance of the most heroic affection and filial duty [r].

Affecting circumstances of the death of his brother.

Embarques for Macedon.

But to return to the elder brother: *Cicero*, having reached *Astura*, and by good luck found a vessel there ready to weigh anchor, went on board with a design to pass over into *Macedon* and join *Brutus*. But, either dreading the inconveniencies of such a voyage, or still depending on the friendship of *Octavianus*, whom he had all along supported with his credit and eloquence, he soon changed his mind, and ordered the master of the ship to set him ashore at *Circæum*, whence he took his rout towards *Rome* by land. But after he had gone about two hundred furlongs, he altered his resolution anew, and returned to sea, where he spent the night in a thousand melancholly and perplexing thoughts. One while he resolved to go privately into *Octavianus*'s house, and there kill himself upon the altar of his domestic gods, in order to bring upon him the wrath of those furies, which were deemed the avengers of violated friendship. But the fear of being taken on the road, and the apprehension of the cruel treatment he expected, if taken, soon made him drop that resolution. Then falling into other thoughts equally perplexing, and wavering between the hopes he had in *Octavianus*'s friendship, and the fear of death, he at last suffered his domestics to convey him by sea to a country-house, which he had in the neighbourhood of *Gaieta*. Near the place, where he was to land, stood a little temple dedicated to *Apollo*, from which, it is said, a flight of crows, coming with great noise, made towards *Cicero*'s small vessel, as it was putting into port, and perching on the sails and rigging, pecked them with a hideous noise; which was looked upon by all as a bad omen. However, *Cicero* went ashore, and entering his house, lay down upon his bed to take some rest. The crows followed him, and, fluttering about the windows of the room where he lay, made a dreadful noise. One of them was so bold as to fly into the chamber, and making to the bed where *Cicero* was reposing with the cloaths cast over his head, pecked them off by degrees and uncovered his face. The example of this creature roused his indolent domestics, who began to reproach each other for neglecting to save the life of a man, for whose preservation the very birds of the air seemed concerned: wherefore, partly by force partly by intreaty, they put him again into his litter, and carried him towards the sea-side. They were scarce gone, when a band of soldiers under the command of *Herennius*, a centurion, and *Popilius Lænas*, a military tribune, came to the house. *Cicero* had formerly undertaken the defence of *Popilius*, when he was under a prosecution for the murder of his own father, and by his triumphing eloquence had got him absolved by those very judges, who a little before were ready to condemn him to a most cruel death. But the ungrateful wretch, unmindful of former obligations, and wholly intent on currying favour with *Antony*, had promised to find out *Cicero*, where-ever he lay concealed, and bring him his head. He found the doors of his house shut, but breaking them open and searching in vain every corner, he threatened to put all the slaves in the house to the torture, if they did not immediately declare where their master lay concealed. But the faithful slaves,

Changes his mind.

Goes by sea to his country-house near Gaieta.

A band of soldiers in search of him.

[r] Appian, Dio, Plut. Val. Max. ibid. Seneca in suasor.

ſlaves, without betraying the leaſt fear, anſwered with great conſtancy and reſolution, that they knew not where he was. At length a young man, by name *Philologus* (D), *Is diſcovered.* who had been ſlave to *Quintus*, and afterwards enfranchiſed by him, and inſtructed by *Cicero* in the liberal arts and ſciences with all the tenderneſs of a father, diſcovered to the tribune, that *Cicero*'s domeſtics were then carrying him in a litter through the cloſe and ſhady walks to the ſea-ſide. Upon this information, *Popilius* with ſome of his men haſtened to the place, where he was to come out, while *Herennius* with the reſt followed the litter through the narrow paths. As ſoon as *Cicero* perceived *Herennius*, he commanded his ſervants to ſet down his litter, and ſtroaking, according to his cuſtom, his beard with his left hand, he put out his head, and looked at the aſſaſſins with great intrepidity. This conſtancy, which they did not expect from him, his face diſfigured and emaciated with cares and troubles, his hair and beard neglected and in diſorder, *&c.* ſo affected the ſoldiers who attended *Herennius*, that they covered their eyes with their hands, while he cut off his head, and, purſuant to *Antony*'s direc- *His head and right hand cut off, and carried to* Antony. tions, his right hand, with which he had wrote the *Philippics*. With thoſe trophies of their cruelty, *Herennius* and *Popilius* haſtened back to *Rome*, and laid them before *Antony* while he was holding an aſſembly of the people for the election of new magiſtrates. The cruel tyrant no ſooner beheld them, than he cried out in a tranſport of joy, *Now let there be an end of all our proſcriptions*; *live* Romans, *live in ſafety*; *you have nothing more to fear*. He took the head in his hand, and looked on it a long time with great ſatisfaction, ſmiling at a ſight, which drew tears from all who were preſent. After he had ſatiated his cruel and revengeful temper with ſo diſmal a ſpectacle, he ſent, as we are told by ſeveral writers, the head of the orator to his wife *Fulvia*, who was naturally more cruel than the triumvir himſelf, and had borne an implacable hatred to *Cicero*, ever ſince the time of her firſt huſband *P. Clodius*, who was ſlain by *Milo*. That infernal fury, after having inſulted the poor remains of her enemy with the moſt injurious reproaches, took that venerable head in her lap, and drawing out the tongue of the deceaſed, which had uttered many bitter invectives againſt both her huſbands, pierced it ſeveral times with a golden bodkin, which ſhe wore in her hair. *The cruelty of* Fulvia When *Fulvia* had ſatiated her impotent rage, *Antony* ordered both the head and the hand to be ſet up on the roſtra, where *Rome* could not without horror behold the remains of a man, who had ſo often triumphed in that very place by the force and charms of his eloquence[f] (E). Thus fell the greateſt orator *Italy* or any other country ever bread; *a man who*, as *Cæſar* the dictator uſed to ſay, *had obtained a laurel as much above all triumphs, as it was more glorious to extend the bounds of the* Roman *learning than thoſe of the* Roman *empire*. In his conſulate, which was truly glorious, he diſcovered with wonderful ſagacity the moſt ſecret plots of the ſeditious *Catiline*, defeated his beſt concerted meaſures, and ſaved, we may ſay, *Rome* from utter deſtruction; whence he was deſervedly honoured with the glorious title of *the father of his country*. The *Roman* people, no doubt, owed him much; and he took care to put them frequently in mind of their obligations; *for he was quoting on all occaſions, in and out of ſeaſon, the nones of* December, as *M. Brutus* obſerved in one of his letters to *Atticus*. He loved his country; but his zeal did not carry him ſo far as to make him ſacrifice his private intereſt to the public welfare. This *Brutus*, who ſincerely loved him, but knew his foible, inſinuates in ſeveral letters to their common friend *Pomponius Atticus*. *We are too much afraid*, ſays he in one of his epiſtles, *of death, baniſhment*

His character.

[f] Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 66. Seneca in ſuaſor, orat. 7. Plut. in Cic. Dio, l. xlvii. Appian. l. iv. Tacit. dialog. de orat.

(D) *Plutarch* ſeems to queſtion what ſome authors have wrote of the treachery of *Philologus*; at leaſt he tells us, that this circumſtance was unknown to *Tyro*, *Cicero*'s emancipated ſlave, who publiſhed an account of his life, which in *Plutarch*'s time was in great requeſt, but has not reached ours. *Appian* tells us, that *Cicero* was betrayed and diſcovered by one *Cyrillus*, who had formerly ſerved *Clodius*, his mortal enemy.

(E) We have followed *Plutarch*'s account; but other writers tell us, that *Cicero*'s ſlaves and domeſtics, ſeeing *Popilius* and *Herennius* purſuing their maſter, put themſelves in a poſture of defence, and ſeemed determined to defend his life at the expence of their own; but that *Cicero* would not allow them to uſe any violence, ſaying, *Let us obey the decrees of deſtiny, and avoid ſhedding more blood than it has pleaſed the gods to require.* Having thus ſpoke to his domeſtics, he encouraged *Popilius* to advance, and putting his head out of the litter, *Draw near, veteran*, ſaid he, *and ſhew us what you can do*. At theſe words the tribune came cloſe to the litter, and with one blow cut off his head (48).

(48) *Appian, l.* iv. *& Val. Max.*

baniſhment, and poverty. Theſe things appear to Cicero *as great evils, who, provided he be allowed what he deſires, provided he be reſpected and praiſed, reckons an honourable ſlavery as nothing, if honour is compatible with ſo great infamy.* And elſewhere; *I have no great opinion of thoſe fine arts, of which* Cicero *is ſo great a maſter; for what uſe do we ſee him make of all he has written concerning the liberty of his country, true honour, death, and baniſhment?* &c. *Plutarch* tells us, that though *Brutus* and his followers both loved and truſted *Cicero*, yet none of them ever thought of imparting their deſign to him, becauſe they were determined to admit into the conſpiracy ſuch only as were bold, brave, and deſpiſers of death; whereas *Cicero* was by nature a coward, and beſides become ſo wary and over-cautious by old age, that he would not have made one ſtep without the greateſt ſecurity, which would have blunted the edge of their forwardneſs and reſolution, in an affair that required all the diſpatch imaginable [r]. But after all, the intrepidity, with which he offered himſelf to death, ought to make us in a manner overlook the timorouſneſs, puſillanimity, and irreſolution, which he betrayed in moſt occurrences of his life. He died on the ſeventh of the ides of *December*, in the ſixty-fourth year of his age, and was greatly lamented by all ranks of men. *Antony* himſelf made ſome ſort of reparation to his memory; for, inſtead of rewarding the perfidious *Philologus*, who betrayed his maſter and benefactor, he delivered him up to *Pomponia*, the widow of *Quintus Cicero* and ſiſter of *Pomponius Atticus*, who, after having glutted her impotent rage and deſire of revenge with the moſt exquiſite torments cruelty itſelf could invent, obliged the miſerable wretch to cut off his own fleſh by piece-meal, boil it, and eat it in her preſence. But *Tyro*, *Cicero*'s freedman, has not ſo much as mentiond the treachery of *Philologus*, as we have obſerved above out of *Plutarch*.

The cruelty of Pomponia *towards the ſlaves who betrayed him.*

Octavianus, who ſhamefully ſacrificed *Cicero* to his moſt cruel and bitter enemy, declared ſeveral years after the eſteem he had for him: for viſiting one day his daughter's ſon, and finding him with a book of *Cicero*'s in his hand, the boy for fear endeavoured to hide it under his gown; which *Octavianus* perceiving, took it from him, and turning over a great part of the book ſtanding, gave it him again, ſaying, *This, my child, was a learned man, and a lover of his country* [t].

While the proſcription was ſtill raging, and *Rome* in the utmoſt conſternation in ſeeing herſelf daily deprived of ſome of her beſt citizens, *Lepidus* took it in his head to triumph, on account of ſome inconſiderable advantages he had formerly gained over the revolted *Spaniards*. The decree, impowering him to enjoy this honour, was iſſued by himſelf with the conſent and approbation of his two collegues, and began thus: *To all thoſe who ſhall honour our triumph with ſacrifices, feaſtings, and other demonſtrations of joy, health and good fortune; but to others miſery and proſcription.* This decree drew greater crouds to his triumph than had ever been ſeen on the like occaſion: he was attended by all the nobility of *Rome*, who ſtrove to outvie each other in offering ſacrifices for the ſafety of *Lepidus* and his collegues, and in feaſting their friends and the friends of the triumvirs. *L. Munatius Plancus* was likewiſe decreed a triumph for ſomething, we know not what, he had done in *Gaul* [u]. As it was cuſtomary for the ſoldiers to ſing, during the triumphal proceſſion, ſatyrical verſes on the victorious generals, the following were often repeated on this occaſion; *De Germanis, non de Gallis, duo triumphant conſules.* The *Latin* word *Germani* ſignifies equally *brothers*, and, *the inhabitants of* Germany, ſo that the verſes might be underſtood as importing, either that the deſigned conſuls triumphed over the *Germans*, or over their *brothers*; for they had both procured the proſcription of their brothers, or at leaſt conſented to it [w].

Lepidus's *triumph.*

And now the triumvirs, having glutted their revenge with the blood of ſo many illuſtrious citizens, began to think of raiſing the neceſſary ſums for the carrying on of the war againſt *Brutus* and *Caſſius*. In order to this they publiſhed daily new liſts of proſcribed perſons, containing the names of the richeſt citizens in *Rome*, whom they cauſed, under ſeveral pretences, to be inhumanly murdered, and then ſeized on their eſtates, defrauding the poor widows and orphans of their right of inheritance and ſucceſſion. They burdened the people with moſt grievous taxes, ſeized all the gold and ſilver, whether in plate or ſpecie, they could lay their hands on, and took away by force immenſe ſums, belonging both to ſtrangers and citizens of *Rome*, which had been depoſited in the hands of the veſtal virgins. But with all this, not being able to make up the ſum of two hundred thouſand talents, which they judged neceſſary

The cruelty and avarice of the triumvirs.

to

[r] Plut. in Bruto. [t] Plut. in Cic. [u] Vide Cruter. inſcript. p. 297. & Appian. l. iv. p. 607.
[w] Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 67.

a to defray the charges of the war, they drew up a list of fourteen hundred of the richest ladies of *Rome*, mothers, daughters, relations, or any ways allied to such persons as they had proscribed, and taxed them all equally, and at an extravagant rate, though most of the alliances were very far fetched. Hereupon the ladies, after having had recourse in vain to the female relations of the triumvirs, agreed to go all in a body, and plead their cause at the tribunal of those magistrates, while they were administering justice in the forum. Accordingly, having made their way through the croud and the numerous guards attending the tyrants, they demanded to be heard. The triumvirs, alarmed at such an unusual sight, ordered their guards to disperse them; but this occasioning great murmurs among the people, one of them was at

The Roman *ladies taxed.*

b length permitted to speak, and the person the suppliants chose for this purpose was *Hortensia*, the daughter of the celebrated orator *Hortensius*, who addressed the triumvirs thus: *The unhappy women you see here imploring your justice and bounty, would never have presumed to appear in this place, had they not first made use of all other means, which their natural modesty could suggest to them. Though our appearing here may seem contrary to the rules of decency prescribed to our sex, which we have hitherto observed with all strictness, yet the loss of our fathers, children, brothers, and husbands, may sufficiently excuse us, especially when their unhappy deaths are made a pretence for our further misfortunes. You pretend, that they had offended and provoked you; but what injury have the women done, that they must be impoverished? If they are as blameable as the men, why do you not pro-*

Hortensia's *speech to the triumvirs.*

c *scribe them too? Have we declared you enemies to your country? Have we suborned your soldiers, raised troops against you, or opposed you in the pursuit of those honours and offices which you claim? We pretend not to govern the republic; nor is it our ambition, which has drawn the present misfortune on our heads. Empire, dignities, and honours are not for us. Why should we contribute to a war, wherein we have no manner of interest? 'Tis true indeed, that in the* Carthaginian *war our mothers assisted the republic, which was at that time reduced to the utmost distress: but neither their houses, their lands, nor their moveables were sold for that service; some rings and a few jewels furnished the supply: it was not constraint and violence that forced it from them: what they contributed was intirely owing to their own good will and generous disposition. What danger at present threatens the city? If the* Gauls

d *or* Parthians *were incamped on the banks of the* Tiber *or the* Anio, *you should find us no less zealous in the defence of our common country, than our mothers were before us. But we ought not, and will not be any ways concerned in civil wars. Neither* Marius, *nor* Cæsar, *nor* Pompey, *ever thought of obliging us to take part in the domestic troubles which their ambition raised; nay, not* Sylla *himself, who first set up tyranny in* Rome; *and yet you assume the glorious title of reformers of the state, a title, which will turn to your eternal ignominy, if, without the least regard to the laws of equity, you persist in your wicked resolution of plundering those of their estates and fortunes, who have given you no just cause of offence.*

The triumvirs, provoked at the boldness of this speech, and fearing it might occasion some sudden tumult, ordered their lictors to drive away such troublesome suppliants;

e but the people crying out against such violence, they adjourned the affair to the next day, when, to appease the multitude, who had openly espoused the cause of the women, they reduced their number from one thousand four hundred to four hundred; but at the same time taxed above a hundred thousand men, as well strangers as citizens, without exempting the priests themselves, obliging them to pay immediately the fiftieth part of their estates, and a whole years revenue. In the levying of this tax the soldiers committed such unheard-of cruelties, that the triumvirs were obliged to charge one of the consuls to watch them, and punish the offenders with the utmost severity. But the cowardly magistrate, fearing to disgust the legionaries, winked at the disorders committed by them, and exerted his authority only against a few slaves,

f whom he caused to be crucified for the enormous cruelties they had exercised, in the disguise of soldiers, on some of the most illustrious citizens [x].

Many of the ladies exempted from paying the tax.

And now the triumvirs, having caused about three hundred senators and two thousand knights to be inhumanly massacred, and raised by a thousand extortions the necessary sums for their eastern expedition, assembled at last the few senators they had left alive, and, entering the senate-house, declared, that the proscription was at an end. *Lepidus* endeavoured to justify their past proceedings, and assured the conscript fathers, that for the future he at least should give them no occasion of complaint. But *Octavianus*, not yet satiated with so many butcheries, openly declared, *That he still*

The proscription at an end.

[x] Dio, Appian. ibid.

ſtill reſerved to himſelf the liberty of puniſhing the guilty. And indeed *Suetonius* tells us, a
The cruelty of Octavianus. that though he was at firſt unwilling to ſign the fatal decree, which doomed ſo many citizens to die, yet he was the moſt cruel and inexorable of the three in the execution of it [y]. Some of the antient and moſt of the modern writers endeavour to clear him from that reproach, and lay all the blame upon *Antony*; nay, they cry him up for one of the moſt mild, humane, and moderate princes that ever ſwayed a ſceptre. But we meet with too many inſtances in hiſtory, which evidently ſhew that cruelty was the natural bent of his temper. We ſhall give only one here, which we have omitted in our account of his ſhort conſulate, and reſerve the reſt for their proper places. The prætor *Quintus Gellius* had on all occaſions aſſiſted him to the utmoſt of his power, and employed all his intereſt in his behalf, when he firſt ſtood for the con- b
ſulate. *Octavianus* therefore no ſooner obtained that dignity, than he appointed him governor of *Africa* with the title of proconſul: but ſoon after, taking it into his head that the prætor deſigned to murder him, he cauſed him to be ſeized by a band of ſoldiers in his ſeat of juſtice, and to be hurried away, without further inquiry, to the rack, like the meaneſt ſlave. He confeſſed nothing, nor indeed had any ſuch thing ever entered into his thoughts; for he had been always greatly attached both to *Cæſar* and *Octavianus*. But neither could his great quality and high ſtation, nor his innocence, exempt him from the hands of the executioner. The gentle conſul condemned him to die, but firſt cauſed the venerable magiſtrate to be brought before him, that he might have the cruel and brutal pleaſure of digging out his eyes with c
his own hands; which he did accordingly, and then ordered the executioner, leſs cruel than himſelf, to diſpatch him [z]. Is not this ſingle inſtance an undeniable proof of the cruelty of his temper?

After the the triumvirs had declared, to the inexpreſſible joy both of the ſenate and people, that the proſcription was at an end, they appointed of their own authority, without ſo much as aſſembling the people, the conſuls for the enſuing year. *The triumvirs appoint conſuls, prætors, &c. for ſeveral years.* Theſe were *M. Æmilius Lepidus*, the triumvir, and *Lucius Munatius Plancus*. After this, as *Antony* and *Octavianus* were wholly intent on their grand expedition into the eaſt, againſt *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, they named, in concert with *Lepidus*, conſuls, prætors, and ædiles for ſeveral enſuing years, chuſing for theſe great offices ſuch perſons d
as they all approved of, and could ſafely rely on. This precaution ſeemed neceſſary, to prevent the people from raiſing to theſe dignities, during their abſence, men of ſeditious tempers, or ill-affected to the triumvirate. When they had thus ſettled matters in the city, *Antony* and *Octavianus* firſt divided both the money and troops, and then ſet out, the former for *Brunduſium*, and the latter for *Rhegium*, where the fleets, appointed to tranſport them into the *Levant*, were ready to take the forces on board, and put to ſea with the firſt favourable wind. But, before we relate the great events, which determined the fate of the unhappy republic, we muſt give a ſuccinct account of what paſſed in the eaſt, from the taking of *Laodicea* by *Caſſius*, to the e
arrival of *Antony* and *Octavianus* in *Macedon*.

Caſſius *reſolves to invade* Egypt. *Caſſius*, having, by the reduction of *Laodicea*, made himſelf maſter of all *Syria*, reſolved in the next place to invade *Egypt*; for *Cleopatra* had not only declared for the triumvirs, but was ready to join them with a powerful fleet; but, as he was on his march, he was recalled by *Brutus*, who, by letters after letters, preſſed him to come and join him againſt the triumvirs, who were making a dreadful havock of their friends in *Italy*, and aſſembling forces with a deſign to paſs over into *Macedon*. *It is not,* *But is recalled by* Brutus. ſaid he in one of his letters, *to gain an empire for ourſelves, but to relieve our country, that we have aſſembled ſuch powerful armies. We ought not ſo much to think of gaining glory by new conqueſts, as of deſtroying thoſe who have enſlaved* Rome. *Let us remember what we have undertaken, and perſevere in our firſt intentions. It is high time for us to turn our thoughts upon* Italy, *which now groans under the oppreſſion of tyrants. Let us make what haſte we can thither, and endeavour to relieve our fellow-citizens.* As *Caſſius* had a f
great eſteem and veneration for *Brutus*, he dropt his enterprize upon *Egypt*; and, committing the government of *Syria* to his brother's ſon with one legion, he ſet out with all the reſt to meet him. On his march he detached a body of horſe into *Cappadocia*, with orders to put king *Ariobarzanes* to death, upon an information that he had conſpired againſt him, and kept up a private correſpondence with his enemies. His orders were put in execution, and, after the king's death, great ſums raiſed on his ſubjects,

[y] Suet. in Octavio. [z] Suet. ibid.

a subjects, who were looked upon by *Caſſius* as diſaffected to the republican party. As he paſſed by *Tarſus*, being touched with compaſſion on the miſerable condition of that unhappy city, he remitted the reſt of the heavy tax, which he had formerly laid on the inhabitants for ſiding with *Dolabella*, and refuſing to ſupply with proviſions the troops which *Tullius Cimber*, one of the conſpirators, was leading into *Syria*. This conduct of the *Tarſenſes*, after they had entered into an alliance with *Caſſius*, and even preſented him with a crown of gold, ſo provoked the republican general, that he condemned them to pay fifteen hundred talents; for the raiſing of which ſum they firſt ſold the lands belonging to the public, and the ornaments of their temples, afterwards their children of both ſexes, and at laſt their women and old men. As b the money accruing from theſe ſales did not amount to the ſum of fifteen hundred talents, they were at laſt forced to ſell ſome of their young men, who were fit to bear arms; but the unhappy wretches, preferring death to ſlavery, laid violent hands on themſelves; which *Caſſius* no ſooner heard, than he forgave them the reſt of the payment, and exempted them from all tributes for the future. From *Tarſus* he purſued his march into *Aſia* to join *Brutus* [a]. That general, ſeeing himſelf maſter of all *Greece*, *Macedon*, and *Illyricum*, had reſolved to paſs over into *Aſia* with the greater part of his army, and was already on his march, when news was brought him, that *Caius Antonius*, whom he had taken priſoner, as we have related above, and treated with the utmoſt civility, had raiſed a ſedition among the troops that were left in *Macedon*. Hereupon he turned back, quelled the tumult, and having put *Caius* under c cloſe confinement in the city of *Apollonia*, purſued his march, and paſſed over into *Aſia*, where he was joined by all the princes of that country, and among the reſt by *Dejotarus*, king or tetrarch of *Galatia*, tho' he had refuſed to ſend any ſuccours to *Caſſius*. While *Brutus* was in *Aſia*, *Caius Antonius*, having found means, even in his confinement, to debauch many of his ſoldiers, attempted to make his eſcape; but the plot being diſcovered, *Antonius* was more cloſely confined, and the guilty ſoldiers forced to take refuge on a neighbouring hill, where they ſeemed determined to ſtand it out, and rather undergo any hardſhips, then ſubmit to the will of their officers. Hereupon *Caius Clodius*, to whoſe cuſtody *Brutus* had committed the ſeditious priſoner, fearing he might raiſe new diſturbances, and at length make his d eſcape, put him to death; but whether of his own authority, or by *Brutus*'s orders, is uncertain. Thus *Dion Caſſius* [b]. But *Plutarch* tells us, that *Brutus* no ſooner heard the news of *Cicero*'s death, than he ſent orders to *Hortenſius* to kill *Caius Antonius*; and adds, that, on this account, *Antony* having afterwards taken *Hortenſius* in the battle of *Philippi*, ſlew him on his brother's tomb. However that be, *Brutus*, fearing the death of *Antonius* might occaſion diſturbances in *Macedon*, left *Aſia*, and haſtened back thither. On his arrival, he put himſelf at the head of a legion, and marched againſt the mutineers, whom he ſoon forced to ſue for mercy. As *Brutus* was a man of an extraordinary mild nature, great magnanimity, and inſenſible of the paſſions of anger and revenge, he could not prevail upon himſelf to put any of e the ſeditious legionaries to death, reſpecting, as *Appian* obſerves, the character of a *Roman* citizen even in an enemy. His officers preſſed him to puniſh at leaſt a ſmall number of the mutineers, in order to deter others from the like practices. The good-natured general ſeemed to yield to their importunity; and, having ordered a galley to be got ready, cauſed the ringleaders of the late tumult to be put on board of it, as if he intended to have them thrown into the ſea, and drowned; but, in the mean time, he gave private orders to the commander of the galley to convey them to ſome place of ſafety, and there leave them [c].

Is touched with compaſſion on the miſerable condition of the Tarſenſes.

Brutus *paſſes over into* Aſia.

Caius Antonius *put to death.*

The great clemency of Brutus.

Brutus, having thus quieted all diſturbances in *Macedon*, haſtened back into *Aſia*. f It was, as is commonly believed, on his march thither, that he coined a new piece of money, which was for ſome time current in all the eaſtern countries. On one ſide was the head of *Brutus*, and on the reverſe a *pileus* or *cap*, the badge of liberty, between two poniards, with this legend, *Eid. Mar.* to revive the remembrance of the *ides of March*, which was the laſt day of *Cæſar*'s life and uſurped empire. *Brutus*, arriving in *Aſia*, advanced in all haſte to *Smyrna*, where he had appointed to meet *Caſſius*, who accordingly came after him. As they had not ſeen one another ſince they parted at *Pireæus*, the one for *Syria*, and the other for *Macedon*, we may eaſily imagine how great their joy was at their firſt meeting. They had been intimate friends long before

Brutus *and* Caſſius *meet at* Smyrna.

[a] Plut. in Bruto. Appian. l. iv. p. 625, & l. v. p. 675. Dio, l. xlvii. [b] Idem ibid. p. 340. 341. & l. xlix. p. 241. [c] Dio, Appian. ibid.

before the death of *Cæsar*, were nearly related, *Cassius* having married *Julia* the sister of *Brutus*, and looked upon themselves as the only protectors of their oppressed country. Their joy was doubled, when they compared their present circumstances with the despicable condition they were both in when they left *Italy*. *Cassius* shewed all possible respect for *Brutus*, having a great opinion of his virtue, honesty, and integrity. On the other hand, *Brutus*, considering *Cassius* as the elder man, and of a more weakly constitution than himself, desired that their conferences might be held in his camp; for their two armies incamped separately. When they came to deliberate about the proper measures to be taken with relation to the great war with which they were threatened, *Brutus* was for transporting all their forces over into *Macedon* and *Thessaly*, and there making head against the triumvirs, who, in all likelihood, would land their numberless troops in one of those countries; but *Cassius* was of opinion, that they should first reduce the *Rhodians* and *Lycians*, that they might not leave two such formidable maritime powers unsubdued behind them; for both these nations had refused to pay them any contributions, or to take part in the war, under pretence of maintaining a strict neutrality, though it was well known, that they had sent succours under-hand to the triumvirs. As for the numberless forces of the enemy, *their great number*, said *Cassius*, *renders them less formidable*; *they will find a powerful enemy to contend with in* Greece, Macedon, *or* Thessaly, *famine. Where will they find provisions for so great a multitude? Let us therefore turn our arms against their friends the* Lycians *and* Rhodians, *and in the mean time leave them to fight with want and famine* [d]. *Brutus* readily came into the opinion of *Cassius*, who was deemed an officer of great experience, and had given extraordinary proofs of his conduct after the unhappy battle of *Carrhæ*, as we have related in our history of the *Parthians* [e]. It was therefore agreed, that, before they passed farther westward, *Brutus* should march against the *Lycians*, and *Cassius* sail with his fleet against the *Rhodians*; but as *Brutus* had spent great sums in equipping a fleet, he desired *Cassius* to share with him the immense treasure he had amassed in *Asia*. This demand was taken ill by the friends of *Cassius*, who endeavoured to dissuade him from complying with the just request of *Brutus*, saying, That it was not reasonable the money which he had saved with so much parsimony, or got with so much envy, should be disposed of to inrich *Brutus*'s soldiers, and to make him popular. But *Cassius*, without hearkening to their remonstrances, generously gave him a third part of the great treasure he had heaped up; after which the two generals parted, *Cassius* marching against the *Rhodians*, and *Brutus* against the *Lycians* [f].

Resolutions taken at their interview.

As the city of *Rhodes* was at that time in a very flourishing condition, and had a powerful fleet at sea, *Cassius*, before he attempted to make a descent on the island, took care to exercise his mariners at *Mindus*, a maritime city of *Caria*. Thither the *Rhodians* sent embassadors to him, putting him in mind of the victories they had formerly gained over *Demetrius* king of *Macedon*, over *Mithridates the Great*, king of *Pontus*, and many others, and representing, that their nation was not easily to be conquered; that he might, in so dangerous an attempt, lose, as many others had done, all the glory he had hitherto acquired; that they had a numerous fleet at sea; that their naval forces had been always dreaded by all nations, *&c.* As they were going on, *Cassius* interrupted them: *Since you have so great an opinion of your own valour*, said he, *I will soon give you an opportunity of exerting it. You have sent succours to* Dolabella, *and unless you assist me in the like manner, neither the numerous fleet you have at sea, nor the dread of your naval forces, shall deter me from invading your island, and laying siege to your proud capital.* This answer terrified the wiser citizens, who were for complying with *Cassius*'s demands; but the populace, conceited of their own valour, opposed all their measures; and two orators, *Alexander* and *Mnaseas*, by magnifying the strength of the nation, the number of their ships, the experience of their mariners, the fortifications of the city and its port, prevailed upon the multitude to reject all proposals of an accommodation; nay, the people, in an assembly which was held at this time for the electing of new magistrates, appointed *Alexander* commander in chief of the land forces, and *Mnaseas* of the fleet, who immediately began to make the necessary preparations for war. However, the nobility, who dreaded the valour of the *Romans*, sent a second embassy to *Cassius*, employing for that purpose *Archelaus*, who had formerly taught him the *Greek* tongue in *Rhodes*, and for whom the *Roman* had

The Rhodians *send an embassy to* Cassius.

They refuse to submit.

[d] Appian. ibid. p. 626. Liv. l. cxxii l iv p. 626. Dio, l. xlvii. p. 346.

[e] Vide Vol. IV. p. 306.

[f] Plut. in Bruto. Appian.

had on all occaſions ſhewed great reſpect and veneration. *Archelaus* put him in mind of their ancient friendſhip, of the alliance that was ſtill ſubſiſting between the republic of *Rhodes* and that of *Rome*, and of the education he had received in that city. *Caſſius* anſwered, That if *Archelaus* had conſented to the hoſtilities of his countrymen againſt him, he had, by that means, renounced his friendſhip, and effaced all former obligations; but if he had adviſed them to embrace his intereſt, and they had rejected his advice, he was determined to be revenged on them for the contempt they had ſhewn for him. As to their alliance with *Rome*, he ſaid, that in virtue of that treaty with the republic, they were obliged to aſſiſt him againſt thoſe who were uſing their utmoſt efforts to overturn the republican government, and introduce arbitrary power
b in its room; that he demanded ſuccours of them as prætor and proconſul appointed by the ſenate and the moſt honeſt part of the *Roman* people, and that, if they refuſed to acknowledge him in that character, or would not ſend him the ſuccours he demanded in the name of the ſenate and *Roman* people, he could not look upon them otherwiſe than as enemies to *Rome*, and would treat them as ſuch. *Archelaus* finding *Caſſius* inflexible, and the reaſons he alledged for making war upon the *Rhodians* unanſwerable, took his leave, and returned to *Rhodes*, where he found *Alexander* and *Mnaſeas* ready to put to ſea with a fleet of thirty-three ſhips of war, and a great number of ſmaller veſſels. Theſe two commanders no ſooner heard the *Roman* general's final anſwer, than they weighed anchor, and went in queſt of the enemy's fleet, which
c they met off *Cnidos*, where they had formerly defeated the navy of *Mithridates the Great*. This they looked upon as a good omen, and therefore immediately attacked the *Roman* fleet, which was commanded by *Statius Murcus*, with incredible bravery and reſolution. The fight was long and bloody, on account of the great experience of the *Rhodian* mariners, and the nimbleneſs of their ſhips; but at length the *Rhodians* were put to flight, after having loſt a great number of ſoldiers, as well as mariners, and five of their beſt ſhips, three whereof were taken, and two ſunk. After this engagement, *Caſſius*, who beheld it from a neighbouring mountain, marched his army to *Loryma*, a maritime city of *Caria*, ſituated over-againſt the iſland of *Rhodes*, and there, without loſs of time, put his forces on board a great number of tranſports, which
d he had aſſembled before-hand, and ordered them to land in the iſland, and fortify themſelves there, while he, with a fleet of eighty ſhips of war, inveſted the city of *Rhodes* by ſea, in hopes of ſtriking terror into the inhabitants, and obliging them, without further bloodſhed, to ſubmit, and comply with his demands. With this view he continued ſome days inactive before the place; but was greatly ſurpriſed to ſee the enemy's fleet unexpectedly ſail out of the harbour in good order, and offer him battle. In this ſecond engagement the *Rhodians* were defeated anew, with the loſs of two galleys, and forced to take ſhelter under the walls of their city, which was immediately inveſted both by ſea and land, and, after a ſhort but moſt vigorous reſiſtance, forced to ſurrender at diſcretion[g]. *Appian* tells, that ſome of the rich
e citizens, to ſave their eſtates, betrayed the city to *Caſſius*, after he had ſolemnly promiſed not to deſtroy it. The inhabitants ſeeing him maſter of the place, whether by force or treachery is uncertain, flocked to him from all quarters, calling him their *king* and *maſter*, But *Caſſius*, abhorring thoſe titles, *I am neither your king nor maſter*, ſaid he, *but the deſtroyer of a tyrant. who would have been your king and maſter.* He then cauſed a tribunal to be raiſed in the market-place, and ſeating himſelf on it, with a ſpear planted before him, as it was cuſtomary among the *Roman* generals, when they had taken a city by ſtorm, he firſt forbad his ſoldiers, upon pain of death, to plunder the houſes, or offer any ſort of violence to the inhabitants. He then ſum-
f moned fifty of the citizens before his tribunal, who had been moſt ſanguine for war, and pronounced ſentence of death upon them, which was immediately put in execution. He condemned twenty five more, who had made their eſcape, to perpetual baniſhment. Afterwards he commanded all the gold and ſilver, whether belonging to the temples, to the public, or to private perſons, to be brought to him in a limited time, threatening thoſe with death who ſhould conceal any part of their wealth, and promiſing rewards to ſuch as ſhould diſcover it, *viz.* a tenth to perſons of a free condition, and liberty to ſlaves. At firſt ſome concealed their treaſures, not thinking he would proceed with ſo much rigour; but when they ſaw three or four of the richeſt citizens die by the hand of the public executioner, for having put out of the way

Caſſius's *ſpeech to the* Rhodian *envoy.*

The Rhodians *overcome in a ſea-fight.*

Caſſius *treats the* Rhodians *with ſeverity*

The Rhodians *defeated anew, and their town taken.*

part

[g] Appian. l. iv. p. 627—632. Dio, l. xlvii. p. 346.

part of their wealth, they desired that the time prefixed might be prolonged; which being granted, they brought to light what they had hid in tombs, wells, and other places, and laid it before *Cassius*, who by that means raised, at the expence of private persons, the sum of eight thousand talents, as we have related more at length in the history of *Rhodes*[h]. *Cassius*, having thus reduced and pillaged the city of *Rhodes*, returned to the continent, leaving *Lucius Varus* with a strong garison on the island, to exact a fine of five hundred talents more, which at his departure he laid on those refractory islanders. On the continent, he was informed, that *Cleopatra* had left *Egypt*, and was sailed with a numerous fleet to join *Antony* and *Octavianus*. Upon this intelligence he sent *Statius Murcus* with sixty ships of war, and a legion on board, to cruize on the coast of *Peloponnesus*, pillage that rich country, and keep near the promontory of *Tænarus*, in hopes of meeting there with *Cleopatra*'s fleet; but the queen's navy was dispersed by a violent storm, and most of her ships dashed to pieces on the coast of *Africa*; which misfortune obliged her to return home, and lay aside for the present all thoughts of sending any succours to the triumvirs. *Cassius*, having now no enemies behind him, began his march to rejoin *Brutus*, obliging all the provinces of *Asia*, as he passed through them, to pay, without the least abatement, ten years taxes[i].

Cleopatra's fleet dispersed by a storm.

While *Cassius* was thus employed against the *Rhodians*, *Brutus* was making war in *Lycia*, agreeable to the scheme concerted between the two republican generals. Before he began hostilities, he sent to the *Lycians* to demand a supply of men and money; but one *Maucrates*, a popular man among them, persuaded them not to comply with *Brutus*'s request, and taking upon him the whole management of the war, posted several bodies of troops on the frontiers, to prevent *Brutus* from entering the country. But the *Roman* general detached a party of horse against them; which, coming upon them unexpectedly, killed six hundred of them, drove the rest from their posts, and opened a passage into the country for the whole army[k]. *Dion* tells us, that the *Lycians*, who were a brave and warlike people, met *Brutus* on their frontiers, with all the forces of their nation, and gave him battle; but were overcome by the *Romans*, who made themselves masters of the enemy's camp, and all their baggage[l]. However that be, *Brutus*, after this first skirmish or battle, entered their country, and finding no enemy in the field to contend with, made himself master of all their cities and villages, except *Xanthus* (F) their capital, whither the flower of the nation retired, with a design to stand a siege. *Brutus*, who was of an extraordinary mild nature, and great magnanimity, being unwilling to shed the blood of those unhappy wretches, set all the prisoners he had taken free without ransom, hoping to win the whole nation by his clemency; but the *Lycians*, despising his humanity and good-nature, would hearken to no terms; so that *Brutus* was forced, to his great grief, to lay siege to the place, which, he foresaw, would bring innumerable evils on a brave and gallant people. *Xanthus* was reckoned one of the strongest cities of *Asia*; its walls were of an extraordinary height and thickness, and surrounded with a ditch fifty foot deep, and broad in proportion. The inhabitants had cut down the woods to a great distance, destroyed all the neighbouring villages, and conveyed away the materials; which obliged *Brutus* to send parties a great way off to fetch the necessary timber for building his machines, and even the earth to fill up the ditch, the country round about being very rocky; but notwithstanding the many difficulties which he had to struggle with, and which he did not himself expect to surmount in many months, as *Appian* tells us, he in a few days built his machines, filled up the ditch, and began to batter the walls with the ram: so great was the eagerness and ardour of the soldiery, animated by the example of their general, who shared with them all the toils and dangers of so difficult an undertaking. The besieged made a most vigorous defence, and behaved in their sallies with unparalleled bravery; but were always beaten with great loss, *Brutus* keeping the half of his army night and day under arms. A breach being at length made in the wall, the *Xanthians* began to think of making

Brutus *enters* Lycia, *after having defeated the inhabitants who opposed him.*

The memorable siege of Xanthus.

[h] Vide Vol. III. p. 342. [i] Appian. & Dio, ibid. & Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 70. [k] Plut. in Bruto. [l] Dio, l. xlvii. p. 347.

(F) *Xanthus* was, according to *Strabo* (49), the metropolis of all *Lycia*. The river, which watered it, is said by *Stephanus* to have borrowed its name from the city, and the city from its founder *Xanthus*, who was, according to some, an *Egyptian*, according to others, a native of *Crete*.

(49) *Strabo*, *l.* xiv. *p.* 981.

making their eſcape; and accordingly ſome of them threw themſelves into the river, which ran through the city, hoping to ſave themſelves by ſwimming and diving under water; but they were taken in nets let down for that purpoſe, with little bells faſtened to them, to give preſent notice when any of the unfortunate wretches were intangled in them; but the greater part, deſpairing to hold out any longer, reſolved to make a general ſally, and, forcing their way through the enemy's camp, to retire to the neighbouring mountains. *Brutus*, ſuſpecting their deſign, ordered his men to retire from before the gate; which the *Xanthians* ſuppoſing to have happened through the negligence of the guard, ſallied out in the dead of the night; but were repulſed with great ſlaughter by the *Romans*, who lay in wait for them. The next day about noon, they made another ſally, ſet fire to the engines of the aggreſſors, and retired in great haſte within their walls. The *Romans* purſued them cloſe, and entered the city, to the number of two thouſand, with the beſieged; but the port-cullis falling, either by a ſtratagem of the enemy, or by the breaking of the ropes from which it hung, many of the *Romans* were cruſhed to pieces, and others ſhut in, without any poſſible means of retiring, or receiving the leaſt aſſiſtance from their friends. In this deſperate condition they reſolved at leaſt to ſell their lives dear, and with this view marched in good order through ſhowers of darts, which were diſcharged upon them from all parts, to a temple dedicated to *Sarpedon* king of *Lycia*, who was ſuppoſed to have been killed in the *Trojan* war. There they fortified themſelves, and ſuſtained a ſiege in the very heart of the city. In the mean time, *Brutus* and his men exerted their utmoſt efforts to relieve their fellow-ſoldiers; but all their endeavours were to no effect, the *Xanthians* defending it with a bravery and reſolution which ſurpriſed the *Romans* themſelves. As they could neither move nor break down the port-cullis, which was trelliſed with iron-bars, they endeavoured to ſcale the walls, uſing for that purpoſe not ſcaling-laders, (for the beſieged had burnt them, together with the wooden towers when they firſt ſallied out) but long ropes, to which they faſtened iron hooks. Theſe they threw upon the walls, and by that means attempted to get over them; but the beſieged, by puſhing the aggreſſors down with their bucklers, or cutting the ropes with their ſwords, rendered this attempt likewiſe unſucceſsful. While *Brutus* was under the utmoſt concern for his men, who were, to the number of two thouſand, ſhut up in the city, a company of *Oenoandes* (G), who ſerved under him and bore an irreconcileable hatred to the *Xanthians*, climbing up a ſteep rock adjoining to the walls, threw themſelves from thence into the city, and opening a poſtern to ſome *Romans* who followed them, they went all in a body to one of the chief gates, which they broke down, notwithſtanding the oppoſition they met with, and let in the reſt of the *Roman* army. But, in the mean time, ſome ſparks of fire being carried by a violent wind from the machines, which burnt with great fierceneſs, to the battlements, and from thence to the adjoining houſes, the flame was in a trice ſpread all over the city, and the conflagration became general. *Brutus*, fearing the whole city ſhould be deſtroyed, ordered his ſoldiers to lay aſide all thoughts of revenge, and aſſiſt the inhabitants in quenching the fire; but the *Xanthians*, ſeized with a kind of frenzy, which *Plutarch* calls *a violent deſire of dying*, ſtrove to drive away the ſoldiers who came to their aſſiſtance; nay, they themſelves, gathering together reeds, wood, and other combuſtible matter, ſpread the fire over the whole city, feeding it with what fuel they could get. *Brutus*, ſeeing the flame blaze out in a moſt frightful manner, and extremely deſirous of having an opportunity to ſhew his clemency to a gallant people, who had fought with ſuch bravery in defence of their liberty, mounted on horſeback, and riding round the walls, ſtretched forth his hand to the inhabitants, begging of them that they would ſpare their own lives and ſave their town. But his intreaties were not regarded; the *Xanthians* were immoveably determined not to outlive the loſs of their liberty, and therefore repulſed with ſhowers of arrows the *Romans*, whom the good-natured general ſent to their aſſiſtance. Some of them cut the throats of their wives, their children, and their ſlaves, before the ſoldiers faces, and then leaped into the flames. Not only the men, but the women, nay, even the children, ran like wild beaſts, on the enemy's ſwords, or threw themſelves headlong

The city taken.

The deſperate reſolution of the Xanthians.

Inſtances of the fury and deſpair of the Xanthians.

(G) *Oenoanda*, or, as others write it, *Oeneanda*, was, according to *Pliny* and *Stephanus*, ſituated on the confines of *Cabalia*, a ſmall province of *Lycia*. It was ſtill in being in the ſixth century of the chriſtian æra, and is mentioned in the *notitia* of the empire of *Conſtantinople*, commonly aſcribed to the grammarian *Hierocles*. The inhabitants of this city bore an irreconcileable hatred to the *Xanthians* their neighbours, and therefore readily joined *Brutus* againſt them.

long from the top of the walls. Some children were ſeen offering their throats, or a opening their breaſts to their fathers ſwords, and begging they would take away that life which they had given. How great is the power of education! The *Xanthians* had inſpired their children, from their very infancy, with the moſt heroic ſentiments of liberty, and an utter abhorrence to ſlavery and ſubjection, often relating to them, how their forefathers had ſuffered themſelves to be buried under the ruins of their country, rather than ſubmit either to *Harpagus*, *Cyrus*'s lieutenant, or to *Alexander* of *Macedon*, the famous conqueror of *Aſia*; for they had in the *Perſian* and *Macedonian* wars ſet fire to their city after the ſame manner, and deſtroyed themſelves. When the city was almoſt wholly reduced to aſhes, a woman was found, who had hanged herſelf with her young child faſtened to her neck, and the torch in her hand, with b which ſhe had ſet fire to her own houſe. When this was related to *Brutus*, he burſt into tears, and, declining to ſee ſo tragical an object, he proclaimed a reward to any ſoldier who ſhould ſave a *Xanthian*; but with all his care and good-nature he could only preſerve one hundred and fifty, and thoſe much againſt their wills [m]. *Appian* tells, that only ſome ſlaves were ſaved, and one hundred and fifty women, who wanted huſbands to kill them; and adds, that *Brutus* found means to preſerve ſome of the temples from ſo general a conflagration [n].

Brutus *endeavours to gain the* Patarenſes *by gentle methods.*

From *Xanthus Brutus* led his army againſt *Patara* (H), another city of *Lycia*; but, being deſirous to ſave the place and the lives of the inhabitants, before he began hoſtilities, he ſent deputies to them, begging they would not force him to treat them c as he had done the *Xanthians*. With the deputies he ſent the few priſoners he had taken at *Xanthus*, hoping, that they, by giving the *Patarenſes* an account of their misfortunes, might deter them from following their example. But all was to no purpoſe; the inhabitants ſeemed determined to ſtand a ſiege, and undergo any miſeries, rather than ſubmit. This gave *Brutus* great uneaſineſs; he ſtudied all means to win them by gentle methods, fearing the ſame frenzy, which had driven the *Xanthians* to deſtruction, might ſeize them. Notwithſtanding the anſwer they ſent him, which was, *That they choſe rather to die like brave men, than purchaſe their lives at the expence of their liberty and reputation*, the humane general withdrew his troops, and granted them the reſt of that day to reflect more ſeriouſly on their preſent d circumſtances. In the mean time, to get the better of their obſtinacy, he ſet at liberty ſuch of the *Xanthian* captives as were any ways allied to them, ſending them into the city as a preſent from him to their relations; but the *Patarenſes* ſtill continued inflexible. *Brutus* therefore, finding he could not gain them by gentle methods, had recourſe to ſeverity, and cauſing the *Xanthian* captives to be brought out one by one, he ordered them to be ſold to the beſt bidder under the very walls of *Patara*; but as this was contrary to the bent of his inclination, after a few of thoſe unfortunate wretches had been ſold, he ſet the reſt at liberty, declaring, that he could not find in his heart to reduce brave men to ſlavery, who had fought ſo valiantly in defence of their liberty. While he was under the greateſt concern imaginable for the *Paterenſes*, e whoſe obſtinacy rendered all the meaſures abortive, which his good-nature could ſuggeſt for their preſervation, a lucky accident put him at length in the way of triumphing over their ſtubborn and inflexible temper. One of his parties, in ſcouring the country, happened to meet ſome of the chief women of *Patara*, whom they took priſoners, and carried to *Brutus*, who immediately diſmiſſed them all without ranſom. Theſe returning into the city, and there crying up the politeneſs, juſtice, and temperance of *Brutus*, prevailed upon their huſbands and relations, who were all leading men, to ſubmit to ſo good-natured a general, and put the city into his hands. *Brutus* treated them with great humanity, pardoning even thoſe who had been to the very laſt for ſtanding a ſiege. *Plutarch* tells us, that the *Roman* general exacted f only an hundred and fifty talents of the whole nation, a very inconſiderable ſum, if compared with that of eight thouſand talents, which *Caſſius* extorted from the *Rhodians*.

And at length ſucceeds.

[m] Plut. in Bruto. Appian. l. iv. p. 633---635. [n] Appian, ibid.

(H) *Patara* ſtood on the peninſula, which *Stephanus* calls the *Lycian Cherſoneſus*. *Livy* (50) honours this city with the the title of *caput gentis, the metropolis of the nation.* In our hiſtory of *Lycia* we have given an account of this city, and of the famous oracle of *Apollo*, who was ſuppoſed to reſide ſix months at *Patara*, and as many at *Delos* (51).

(50) *Liv. l.* xxxvii. *c.* 15. (51) *Vide Servium in Æneid.* 4. *ver.* 143.

a *dians.* *Appian* writes, that *Brutus*, after the example of *Caſſius*, ordered the *Patarenſes*, on pain of death, to bring to him all their gold and ſilver, promiſing rewards to ſuch as ſhould diſcover any hidden treaſures. Upon this, a ſlave, belonging to a rich citizen, informed againſt his maſter, and diſcovered to a centurion, who was ſent for that purpoſe, the place where he had buried the greateſt part of his wealth. The citizen was immediately ſeized, and brought, together with the treacherous informer, before *Brutus*. The mother of the accuſed followed them, declaring with many tears, that ſhe had hid the treaſure without her ſon's knowledge, and conſequently ought to be puniſhed. On the other hand, the ſlave ſtood to his firſt information, maintaining, that his maſter, and not his mother, had tranſgreſſed
b the edict. *Brutus* heard both parties with great patience; and being in the end convinced, that the accuſation of the ſlave was chiefly founded on the hatred he bore to his maſter, he commended the tenderneſs and generoſity of the mother, reſtored the whole ſum to the ſon, and condemned the ſlave to be crucified. This judgment, which was immediately publiſhed all over *Lycia*, gained him the hearts of the inhabitants, who came in flocks to him from all quarters, offering him, of their own accord, what ready money they had by them [n].

Inſtances of Brutus's *good nature, juſtice, &c.*

And now *Brutus*, having reduced, more by the fame of his clemency than by force of arms, all *Lycia*, left that country, and entered *Ionia*, where he found the famous rhetorician *Theodotus*, who had the moſt contributed to the death of *Pompey the Great*,
c as we have related in the hiſtory of *Egypt*. The unhappy wretch had fled out of *Egypt* on the arrival of *Cæſar* at *Alexandria*, and ever ſince that time ſculked about in *Aſia*, wandering from town to town, hated and abhorred by all men. *Brutus* no ſooner heard he was in *Ionia*, than he cauſed him to be ſeized, and ſacrificed to the manes of the illuſtrious *Roman*, who, by his advice, had been inhumanly murdered, as he himſelf had the impudence to boaſt [o]. This memorable act of juſtice was greatly applauded by every honeſt *Roman*, and all the princes of *Aſia*, who had a great veneration for the memory of *Pompey*. From *Ionia* *Brutus* marched into *Lydia*, and ſtopping at *Sardis*, the metropolis of that country, waited there for *Caſſius*, who, after the reduction of *Rhodes*, was, by agreement, to rejoin him in the neighbourhood of that city.

Theodotus *put to death by* Brutus's *order.*

d As *Caſſius* drew near, *Brutus* went out to meet him; and the joy, both of the generals and armies, was exceeding great on this occaſion. The ſoldiery expreſſed their ſatisfaction in ſeeing each other again with joyful acclamations, and ſaluted both generals with the title of *imperator*. As ſeveral jealouſies of each other and complaints had paſſed between the two generals, as ſoon as the uſual compliments and civilities were over, they withdrew into a private apartment, with a deſign to ſettle all differences between them, before they entered upon any other buſineſs. What was the ſubject of their debate, we know not; but they diſputed with great warmth, reproaching and accuſing each other with hard words, and at laſt burſting out into tears. Their friends, who ſtood without, hearing them ſo loud and angry, began
e to be afraid, leſt their quarrel ſhould be attended with dangerous conſequences; but yet they durſt not interrupt them, having been commanded not to enter the room. But, notwithſtanding this prohibition, *M. Favonius*, a wild and frantic pretender to virtue, and one who valued himſelf more upon a ſort of *Cynical* liberty of ſpeaking what he pleaſed, than upon the dignity of a ſenator, breaking through the attendants who kept the door, entered the room, and, without knowing the ſubject of the diſpute, pronounced with a mimical voice this verſe, which *Homer* puts in the mouth of *Neſtor*; *Be ruled, for I am elder than you both.* This made *Caſſius* laugh; but *Brutus*, offended at the impertinent behaviour of the pretended *Cynic*, thruſt him out, calling him *a dog*, in alluſion to his ſect, and *a counterfeit philoſopher*. This,
f however, put an end to the diſpute; *Caſſius* provided a ſupper that night, and *Brutus* invited his friends to it. As they were ſitting down, *Favonius* came in, and took the moſt honourable place, tho' *Brutus*, calling out aloud, told him, That he was not invited; but, after all, he diverted the company, and the entertainment was ſeaſoned both with mirth and learned diſcourſes [p].

Brutus *and* Caſſius *meet at* Sardis.

A private diſpute between the two generals.

The next day, *Brutus*, upon the accuſation of the inhabitants of *Sardis*, publicly condemned and branded with infamy *Lucius Pella*, who had been formerly cenſor, and often employed by *Brutus* himſelf in offices of truſt, for having embezzeled the public money. This ſentence offended *Caſſius*, who but a few days before had abſolved

Brutus's *equity.*

[n] Dio, l. xlvii. p. 347. Appian. l. iv. p. 635, 636. [o] Plut. in Pomp. & Bruto. [p] Plut. in Brut.

ſolved in public two of his own friends, and continued them in their offices, tho' accuſed of the ſame crime, contenting himſelf only with reprimanding them in private. He did not conceal his ſentiments on this head from *Brutus*, whom he accuſed in a friendly manner of too much rigor and ſeverity, when gentleneſs and favour were more neceſſary, and would prove of greater ſervice to their cauſe. In anſwer to this, *Brutus* put him in mind of the ides of *March*, the day on which they had killed *Cæſar*, who himſelf neither vexed nor oppreſſed mankind, but was the ſupport of thoſe who did. He deſired him to conſider, that if juſtice could be neglected under any colour or pretence, it had been better to have ſuffered the injuſtice of *Cæſar*'s friends, than to give impunity to their own; *for then*, ſaid he, *we could have been accuſed of cowardice only; whereas now, if we connive at the injuſtice of others, we make ourſelves liable to the ſame accuſation, and ſhare with them in the guilt.* From this we may perceive, as *Plutarch* obſerves, what was the rule of all *Brutus*'s actions [q].

And now the two republican generals, being maſters of all the eaſtern provinces from *Macedon* to the *Euphrates*, after ſeveral conſultations, reſolved to march from *Sardis* to *Abydus*, and, croſſing the *Helleſpont*, advance into *Macedon* againſt *Antony* and *Octavianus*, who, notwithſtanding the oppoſition they had met with from *Statius Murcus*, *Caſſius*'s admiral, had tranſported their troops, without the loſs of one ſingle ſhip or man, to *Dyrrachium*. From thence they detached *Decidius Saxa* and *Caius Norbanus*, with eight legions, to ſeize on the ſtraits leading from *Thrace* into *Macedon*, in order to prevent *Brutus* and *Caſſius* from coming upon them, and ravaging the country, before they had filled their magazines, and got together the neceſſary proviſions for the ſupport of their two armies. *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, upon the firſt intelligence of theſe motions, left *Sardis*, and marched in all haſte to *Abydus*, where they had appointed the *Lycian* fleet to meet them, and tranſport their forces out of *Aſia* into *Europe*. It was on this march that *Brutus* is reported to have ſeen a ghoſt or ſpectre in his tent. This memorable ſtory is thus related by *Plutarch* [r], *Florus* [s], and *Appian* [t]: *Brutus*, being uſed to great moderation in his diet, was much given to watching, and allowed but a very ſmall portion of time for ſleep. *Plutarch* tells us, that he never ſlept in the day-time, as was cuſtomary among the *Romans*, and in the night then only when he had diſpatched his affairs; and when, every one elſe being gone to reſt, he had no body left to keep him company. At this time the war being begun, and he very careful and ſolicitous about the event of it, uſed to lie down for a ſhort while juſt after ſupper, and ſpend the reſt of the night either in diſpatching his affairs, or reading till the third watch, when the centurions and tribunes uſed to wait on him for their orders. According to this cuſtom, he was one night, before he paſſed out of *Aſia*, very late alone in his tent, with a dim light burning by him, there being a general ſilence all over the camp, eſpecially about his tent. As he was muſing with himſelf and very thoughtful, he heard on a ſudden an unuſual noiſe at the door of his tent, which at the ſame time flew open. *Brutus*, caſting his eye towards the place whence the noiſe came, ſaw a terrible and ſtrange figure of a huge and frightful body coming towards him without ſpeaking; but he undauntedly addreſſed the ſpectre, aſking it, *What art thou? a god, or a man? or upon what buſineſs doſt thou come to us? I am*, ſaid the ghoſt, *thy evil genius*, Brutus; *thou ſhalt ſee me again near* Philippi. *Brutus*, without betraying the leaſt fear, anſwered boldly, *Well, I will ſee thee there:* upon which the apparition vaniſhed. *Brutus* immediately called his ſervants, who all told him, that they had neither ſeen nor heard any thing. He continued watching the reſt of the night, and, as ſoon as it was day, went to give an account of what had happened to *Caſſius*, who, as he had been bred up in the principles of the *Epicurean* philoſophy, aſcribed the viſion wholly to the weakneſs of his ſenſes and the force of imagination, which eaſily moves and varies them into all manner of ideas. This he maintained by the example of dreams, where the fancy, forming different images, affects the organs of the body after the ſame manner, as they would be moved by outward objects. *But that there is any ſuch thing as ſpirits or demons*, ſaid he, *let us never believe it, much leſs that ſpirits can have human ſhape or voice, or any power over us; tho' I could earneſtly wiſh it were ſo, that we might not only rely on the powerful armies and fleets that attend us, but likewiſe on the aſſiſtance of thoſe immortal beings, who could not but be favourable to a cauſe ſo juſt and ſacred*

Antony *and* Octavianus *paſs over into* Macedon.

Brutus *ſees a ghoſt.*

Caſſius *ſatisfies him with reaſons from the* Epicurean *philoſophy.*

[q] Plut in Bruto. [r] Idem. ibid. [s] Flor. l. iv. c. 7. [t] Appian. l. iv. p. 665.

a *ſacred as ours is* (I). This diſcourſe ſatisfied *Brutus*, who was not under the leaſt apprehenſion for himſelf, but very ſolicitous about the fate of his friends and country. Both generals purſued their march to *Abydus*, and, croſſing the *Helleſpont*, took their rout through *Thrace*, with a deſign to diſlodge *Saxa* and *Norbanus*, who had ſeized the paſſes between that country and *Macedon*. *Plutarch* tells us, that on their march two eagles flew to them, and, lighting upon the two foremoſt enſigns, continually attended the army, and were fed by the ſoldiers, till they came to *Philippi*, where the day before the battle they diſappeared. Upon their arrival in *Thrace*, they were joined by *Rhaſcupolis*, a petty king of that country, at the head of three thouſand horſe, and conducted by him, as he was well acquainted with the country, through

b by-roads to the place where the two generals of the triumvirs were encamped with their eight legions. There *Brutus* and *Caſſius* thought it adviſeable, before they attempted to force the paſſes which were guarded by ſo numerous a body of the enemy, to review their forces, offer a ſolemn ſacrifice for the ſucceſs of their arms, and put their ſoldiers in mind of the juſtice of the cauſe in which they were engaged. Accordingly both armies paſſed in review before the two generals, and were found to conſiſt of eighty thouſand foot and twenty thouſand horſe, counting *Romans* and auxiliaries. In the next place, a ſacrifice was offered with the utmoſt ſolemnity, and innumerable victims killed. When this ceremony was over, the two generals appeared on a tribunal erected for that purpoſe, having on their right hand the *Roman*

c ſenators, and magiſtrates of their party, and on the left the foreign kings and princes who had joined them. *Caſſius*, who was the elder man, took upon him to ſpeak, and, after having enlarged on the juſtice of their cauſe, on the unheard of cruelties committed by the triumvirs in *Italy*, on the miſerable condition to which *Rome* was reduced, *&c.* he concluded with acquainting them, that *Brutus* and he had agreed to give immediately two thouſand five hundred drachmas to each ſoldier, five thouſand to each centurion, and double that ſum to each tribune. This cauſed an univerſal joy in the army; nothing was heard but ſhouts of joy and loud acclamations, the ſoldiers and officers ſtriving to outdo each other in proteſtations of fidelity, and an inviolable attachment to the intereſt of their leaders, which, they ſaid, was the

d ſame with that of their country. The money was immediately diſtributed, and, beſides, conſiderable preſents made to the officers and commanders of the foreign troops; ſo that the whole army marched with great alacrity towards the plain of *Oricum*, which was bounded towards *Macedon* by the ſtraits we have mentioned above. *Norbanus*, who was encamped there, upon the firſt notice of the enemy's march, diſpatched an expreſs to *Decidius*, who guarded the coaſt of the *Meliac* gulf, entreating him to make what haſte he could to join him. The two bodies thus united, poſted themſelves ſo advantagiouſly in the narrow paſſes, that it ſeemed impoſſible to diſlodge them. Hereupon *Brutus*, being greatly at a loſs what to do, adviſed with *Rhaſcupolis*, who, as he was by birth a *Thracian* and well acquainted with that country,

Brutus *and* Caſſius *paſs over into* Europe.

They review their forces.

And diſtribute large ſums among the ſoldiers.

(I) As *Caſſius* had been bred up in the principles of the *Epicurean* philoſophy, and had often diſputed with *Brutus* concerning matters of this nature, he ſpoke to him thus, as *Plutarch* informs us: "It is "the opinion of our ſect, O *Brutus*, that all we "feel or ſee is not real and true; but that our ſenſes, "being apt to receive all ſorts of impreſſions, are "very treacherous; and the imagination, which is "more quick and ſubtle, moves and varies them "into all manner of ideas which have no real ex- "iſtence in nature, as readily as we imprint any "form upon wax; ſo that it is eaſy for the ſoul of "man, which has in itſelf both that which forms, "and that which is formed, to vary it into what "ſhapes it pleaſes. This is evident from the ſud- "den changes of our dreams, in which the imagi- "nation, upon very ſlight principles, repreſents to "us all ſorts of paſſions of the ſoul, and appear- "ances of things; for it is the nature of the mind to "be in perpetual motion, and that motion is our "imagination and thought. But beſides all this, in "our caſe, the body, being tired and worn out with "continual labours and cares, naturally works upon "the mind, and keeps it in ſuſpenſe and trouble; "but that there ſhould be any ſuch thing as demons "or ſpirits, or, if there were, that they ſhould have "human ſhape or voice, or power that can reach "us, is altogether improbable, though, I confeſs, I "could wiſh there were ſuch beings, that we might "not rely upon our arms only, and our horſes, "and our navy, but might be likewiſe confident of "the aſſiſtance of the gods in this our moſt ſacred "and honourable attempt (52)" 'Tis true, as *Caſſius* obſerves, that our imagination, when heated, may impoſe upon us falſe objects, which we ſee with the ſame certainty as if they were real; but to ſay, that there are no ſuch beings as ſpirits, who can appear to us, ſpeak to us, and foretel future events, is carrying this principle too far. *Caſſius*, after inſinuating that the notion of ſpirits is falſe and groundleſs, makes it appear, that it were to be wiſhed there were ſuch ſpirits; for in that caſe, they would not come to foretel to them unfortunate, but happy, events; an effectual way of removing *Brutus*'s apprehenſions: for, by this way of reaſoning, be there ſpirits, or be there not, the phantom which *Brutus* imagined to ſee was falſe, and a mere illuſion of the imaginative faculty of the mind.

(52) *Plut. in Bruto.*

They get beyond the ſtraits of Symbolon *poſſeſſed by the enemy.*

country, told him, that there was another paſſage over the mountains; but that they could not go that way in leſs than three days, and beſides would meet with no water during their march; but, if they would take water with them, he engaged to conduct them the fourth day to the river *Arpeſſus*, which was but one day's march from the city of *Philippi*, by ways unknown even to the wild beaſts. The ſoldiers took courage, provided themſelves with water, and, truſting entirely to the conduct of *Rhaſcupolis*, ſet out on their march, *Bibulus*, ſon-in-law to *Brutus*, marching with the *Thracian* prince in the van, and *Brutus* and *Caſſius* bringing up the rear. The hardſhips they underwent on their rout can hardly be expreſſed. The fourth day they were ready to fall upon *Rhaſcupolis*, ſuſpecting him of treachery, when their ſcouts, diſcovering the river, ſignified their joy to the haraſſed troops with loud ſhouts, which were anſwered by the whole army, and heard even in the camp of *Norbanus* and *Saxa*, who thereupon abandoned their poſt, and retired in all haſte to *Amphipolis*, for fear of being ſurrounded. At the ſame time they diſpatched an expreſs to *Antony* and *Octavianus*, acquainting them, that the enemy had paſſed the ſtraits, and were advancing towards the frontiers of *Macedon*. Hereupon *Antony*, to prevent the enemy from poſſeſſing themſelves of *Amphipolis* on the *Strymon*, which the triumvirs deſigned to make their place of arms, quitted the neighbourhood of *Dyrrachium*, and by long marches reached *Amphipolis*. His arrival was ſo ſudden, and his march ſo expeditious, that *Brutus* and *Caſſius* could not believe he was come, till they ſaw his van-guard advancing into the plains of *Philippi*. This city, famous for the battle which was fought here, and for the epiſtle which St. *Paul* afterwards wrote to its inhabitants, belonged, properly ſpeaking, to *Thrace*, but is placed by moſt geographers in *Macedon*, purſuant to the diviſion which obtained ever ſince the time of *Philip* the father of *Alexander*, who, having reduced the country lying between the *Strymon*, the ancient boundary of *Macedon*, and the *Neſſus* or *Neſtus*, added it to his hereditary kingdom; whence that tract was ever after looked upon as part of *Macedon*, and is called in the *Acts the firſt city of part of* Macedon, that is, of that part beyond the *Strymon*, which was added to ancient *Macedon* [u]. The city of *Philippi*, ſo called from *Philip* the father of *Alexander*, who fortified it againſt the incurſions of the *Thracians*, was ſituated on a riſing ground, which abounded with ſprings and had on the north ſeveral hills covered with woods, on the ſouth a marſh, which reached to the *Ægean* ſea, on the eaſt the ſtraits we have mentioned above, which ſome writers call the ſtraits of *Topiris*, others the ſtraits of *Symbolon*; and on the weſt a large plain extending as far as the river *Strymon*. In this plain, at a ſmall diſtance from the city, was a riſing ground, and there *Brutus* intrenched himſelf, while *Caſſius* took poſſeſſion of a poſt equally advantagious, about three miles from *Brutus*'s camp, and nearer the ſea. They drew lines of communication from one camp to the other, and built a ſtrong wall, which covered the interval between the two intrenchments; ſo that they could not have wiſhed for a more advantagious ſituation, having the plains of *Philippi* before them, the *Strymon* and the marſh on their left, the ſtraits of *Topiris* on their right, and behind them the ſea, by which means they could be eaſily ſupplied with all manner of proviſions from *Aſia* and *Sicily*, which iſland was in the hands of young *Pompey* [w].

Who abandon that poſt.

Antony *arrives with his troops in the plain of* Philippi.

Brutus *and* Caſſius *poſt themſelves advantagiouſly in the ſame plain.*

Antony was informed at *Amphipolis* of the advantagious ſituation of the enemy; but nevertheleſs, having left in that city one legion, under the command of *Pinarius*, he advanced boldly into the plain, and incamped in ſight of the republican generals; but did not attempt any thing till the arrival of *Octavianus*, who came up ten days after, having been detained at *Dyrrachium* by a fit of ſickneſs, which ſeized him the ſame day he landed there. And now, the two moſt powerful armies *Rome* had ever raiſed being in ſight of each other, the world ſtood with dread and terror, expecting the ſucceſs of a general action, which, they foreſaw, would ſoon enſue and decide the fate of the *Roman* empire. The army of *Brutus* and *Caſſius* conſiſted of nineteen legions and twenty thouſand horſe, and that of the triumvirs of the ſame number of legions, but more complete, and thirteen thouſand horſe; ſo that the forces of both parties were pretty equal: but the troops of *Brutus* far excelled thoſe of the triumvirs in the richneſs of their apparel and arms, which were for the moſt part adorned with gold and ſilver; for tho' *Brutus* in other things had accuſtomed his ſoldiers to uſe all frugality and moderation, yet he thought, that the riches, which they carried about them in their hands and on their bodies, would inſpire them with courage, and make them

[u] Acts, c. xvi. ver. 12. [w] Plut. in Bruto. Appian. l. iv. p. 840.

a them more bold in action to preſerve their arms, which were in a manner their eſtates. This was likewiſe the ſentiment of *Cæſar*[x] and *Sertorius*[y], though *Mithridates* and other great commanders have been of a different opinion: *Antony* lay incamped oppoſite to *Caſſius*, and *Brutus* to *Octavianus*. The latter did nothing worth relating; but *Antony* was continually haraſſing the enemy, in order to draw them to a battle; for the triumvirs forces began very ſoon to be ſtraitened for want of proviſions, having only *Macedon* and *Thrace* open to them, ſince *Pompey*, *Murcus*, and *Ahenobarbus* had, with their ſeveral navies, cut off all communication with *Africa*, *Spain*, and *Italy*. But, on the other hand, *Brutus* and *Caſſius* received daily ſupplies from *Aſia* and *Sicily*, and had amaſſed great ſtore of neceſſaries in the neighbouring city of *Neapolis*, and in the b iſland of *Thaſus*, whence they were conveyed without the leaſt danger to their reſpective camps. *Antony* indeed attempted to cut off their communication with the ſea, by opening a paſſage through the marſh, which lay between them and the ſhore, and completed this great and bold undertaking before the enemy had notice of his deſign; but *Caſſius* no ſooner ſaw, to his great ſurprize, caſtles and turrets appearing among the reeds, than ſetting all hands to work, he drew a line croſs the marſh, from his camp quite to the ſea, and, fortifying it with towers and caſtles at proper diſtances, maintained, in ſpite of *Antony*'s utmoſt efforts, a free and open communication with the ſea and the cities on the coaſt. In the mean time, *Thrace* and *Macedon* being quite exhauſted, the numerous troops of the triumvirs were daily more ſtraitened for c want of neceſſaries, with which thoſe countries could no longer ſupply them. This made *Antony* extremely deſirous of coming to a battle; which the enemy, well acquainted with the ſad condition his troops were in, and which, they knew, would become every day worſe, carefully avoided. Had they continued in this reſolution, the triumvirs muſt either have marched back to *Dyrrachium*, and from thence returned to *Italy*, or attempted to force their ſtrong intrenchments, which, in all probability, would have proved fatal to them; but *Brutus* ſoon changed his mind, and in a coun- cil of war, which conſiſted of all the chief officers of the army, declared, that he was for putting the whole to the iſſue of a general engagement, that ſo he might either reſtore *Rome* to her former liberty, or elſe deliver from their miſery ſo many nations, d who were haraſſed with the expences, troubles, and dangers of the war. *Caſſius*, on the other hand, very unwilling to put all to the hazard of a battle, inlarged on the bad poſture of the enemy's affairs, on their want of proviſions, on the extremities to which they muſt be ſoon reduced: *Their forces*, ſaid he, *muſt moulder away of themſelves: if we can but reſtrain for a while that unſeaſonable ardour which tranſports us, we ſhall ſee the enemy fly before us, and leave us in poſſeſſion of their camp and baggage, without ſtriking a blow. But whither can they fly?* Macedon *and* Theſſaly *are drained of proviſions; the ſeas are beſet with our fleets; ſo that a battle is their only reſource, which, indeed, as they are ſomewhat ſuperiour to us in the number of men, may retrieve their affairs, and deliver them from the miſeries of their preſent condition.* *Brutus* yielded e to theſe unanſwerable reaſons, and both generals kept cloſe in their intrenchments, deſpiſing the bravadoes of *Antony*, who advanced every day with his army in battalia to the very gates of their camp; but, in the mean time, the undiſcerning ſoldiery began to complain, and aſcribe to cowardice the prudent meaſures of their generals; nay, they deſerted in troops to the enemy, which, together with the advantages the light-horſe of the republican generals had gained in ſeveral ſkirmiſhes, inclined *Brutus* again to venture an engagement. *Caſſius* ſtill oppoſed it, for the reaſons we have alledged above (K); but moſt of the officers, fearing a general deſertion, changed their

The triumvirs begin to be ſtraitened for want of proviſions.

Brutus *inclined to fight, contrary to the opinion of* Caſſius.

[x] Suet. in Cæſare, c. 67. [y] Plut. in Sertorio.

(K) Some writers ſay, he was alſo deterred from fighting by the following omens: at the time of luſtration, one of *Caſſius*'s officers preſenting him with a garland, which he was to wear at the ſacrifice, gave it him with the inſide outward. Some time before, at a certain ſolemn proceſſion, the perſon who carried, according to cuſtom, a golden image of victory before *Caſſius*, ſtumbled, and fell. Many birds of prey appeared daily about the camp, and ſeveral ſwarms of bees, which were looked upon as a bad omen, were ſeen in a place within the trenches, which the ſoothſayers ordered to be ſhut out from the camp, to remove the ſuperſtition which began to prevail among the ſoldiery (44). Theſe pretended prodigies, which a man of common ſenſe would now deſpiſe, are ſaid to have terrified and confounded *Caſſius* himſelf, in ſpite of his *Epicurean* philoſophy; which is a plain proof both of human frailty, and of the inſufficiency of philoſophy, as to the ſtrengthening our minds againſt the leaſt terrors and apprehenſions.

(44) *Plut. ibid.*

A general engagement agreed to by most of the officers.

their opinions to that of *Brutus*; ſo that a general engagement was agreed to by a great majority, to which *Caſſius* himſelf yielded at laſt, after having ſolemnly declared, that he was ſtill of a contrary opinion. Beſides *Caſſius*, one of *Brutus*'s friends, by name *Atellius*, was ſtill for putting off the engagement, and ſpinning out the war till the next winter. *Brutus* aſked him, *What advantage he promiſed himſelf from ſuch a delay! If I gain nothing elſe*, anſwered *Atellius*, *yet I ſhall live ſo much the longer*. This anſwer offended *Caſſius* and all the officers who were preſent; but they all agreed, before the council broke up, to give battle the next day. *Brutus* that night invited his friends to an entertainment, at which he appeared very chearful and full of hope, diverting his gueſts with learned diſcourſes till he went to reſt. *Caſſius* ſupped privately with a few of his moſt intimate friends; and, during the repaſt, appeared thoughtful and ſilent, contrary to his temper and cuſtom. *Valerius Meſſala*, a young nobleman of great wit and learning who ſupped with him, tells us, that as *Caſſius* roſe from the table, he took him by the hand, and preſſing it cloſe in token of his good-will and affection, *Bear witneſs for me*, Meſſala, ſaid he to him in *Greek*, *that I am forced, in the ſame manner as* Pompey the Great *was before me, to expoſe the liberty of the* Roman *people to the hazard of one battle; yet we ought to take courage, relying on fortune, which it were unjuſt to miſtruſt, though we have taken bad meaſures*. Theſe, *Meſſala* ſays, were the laſt words *Caſſius* ſpoke before he withdrew [z] (L).

What paſſed in the interview between Brutus *and* Caſſius *before the battle.*

The next morning by break of day, a ſcarlet coat of armour, among the *Romans* the ſignal of battle, was expoſed on the tents of the two generals, who, while the troops were putting themſelves in a readineſs to march out of their intrenchments, met in the middle ſpace between the two camps. *Caſſius*, deſirous to know what *Brutus* intended to do in caſe fortune ſhould prove their enemy, addreſſed him at their firſt meeting thus: *The gods grant*, O Brutus, *that we may now overcome our enemies, and paſs the reſt of our days together in repoſe and proſperity; but ſince the greateſt of human concerns are the moſt uncertain, and ſince it will be very difficult for us to ſee one another again, if the ſucceſs of the battle ſhould not anſwer our expectation, tell me, what are you determined to do, to ſave yourſelf by flight, or to die?* *Brutus* anſwered, *When I was young*, Caſſius, *and unſkilful in affairs, I condemned* Cato *for laying violent hands on himſelf, thinking it irreligious in itſelf, and unworthy of a man to quit the poſt in which providence has placed him, and not to take and bear patiently whatever the gods are pleaſed to ſend him. But my preſent ſituation has made me alter my opinion; ſo that if providence ſhall not diſpoſe what we now undertake according to our wiſhes, I am reſolved to make no further attempts nor preparations for war, but to die contented with my fortune; for I ſacrificed my life to the ſervice of my country on the ides of* March, *in recompenſe for which I have ever ſince lived with liberty and honour* [a]. At theſe words *Caſſius* ſmiled, and tenderly embracing him, *With theſe noble ſentiments*, ſaid he, *let us advance boldly againſt the enemy; for either we ourſelves ſhall conquer, or have no cauſe to fear thoſe who do*. After this they conſulted with their friends about the order of battle. *Brutus* deſired of *Caſſius*, that he might command the right wing; which was readily granted him, tho' it was thought a poſt more fit for *Caſſius*, in regard both of his age and experience; nay, *Caſſius* placed *Meſſala* in the ſame wing, at the head of his beſt legions, ordering him to aſſiſt and ſupport *Brutus*. While the tribunes and centurions were drawing up their men, *Brutus* retired for a few minutes into his tent, and wrote a letter to his friend *Atticus*, telling him, *That his affairs were in the beſt ſtate he could wiſh; for that either he ſhould overcome, and reſtore liberty to the people of* Rome, *or*

Brutus's *letter to* Atticus *before the battle.*

[z] Plut. in Bruto. Appian. l. iv. p. 652, 653. [a] Plut. ibid. Appian. l. iv. p. 653, 655. Dio, l. xlvii.

(L) *Plutarch* tells us, *That, in taking his leave, he invited him to ſup with him the next night, being his birth-day*. The ambiguous manner in which the *Greek* writer expreſſes himſelf, leaves it a doubt, whether *Caſſius* invited *Meſſala*, or *Meſſala Caſſius*; whether it was the birth-day of *Caſſius*, or of *Meſſala*. Mad. *Dacier* has made choice of the latter conſtruction; for *Caſſius*, ſays ſhe, penſive and gloomy as he was, muſt have been but little diſpoſed to make an invitation for the next night. It muſt therefore have been *Meſſala* who did it on account of his birth-day, as the cuſtom was among friends on the like occaſion. But this learned lady ſeems here to have forgot what ſhe muſt have read in *Appian*, who tells us in expreſs terms, that *Caſſius was killed on the very day he was born* (45); ſo that it was the birth-day of *Caſſius*, and not of *Meſſala*. Neither was *Caſſius* ſo gloomy and penſive as Mad. *Dacier* imagines; he was only grieved to ſee himſelf obliged to hazard a battle, when he thought himſelf ſure of victory without running any riſques.

(45) *Appian. l.* iv. *p.* 655.

a *or die, and be himself free from slavery.* In the same letter he blamed the conduct of *Antony, who, when he might have been ranked among the* Bruti, *the* Cassii, *and the* Catos, *had joined* Octavianus; adding, that *if they were not both defeated in the ensuing battle, they would soon fall out and quarrel with one another* [b]; which happened accordingly, as we shall see in the sequel of this history.

THE two republican generals, having drawn up their men in battalia, marched out of their intrenchments, and advanced in good order into the plain, where the army of the triumvirs waited for them in battle-array. *Antony* commanded the right wing, and *Octavianus* the left; but the latter withdrew just before the charge was given, upon a dream, which his physician, by name *Artorius*, had the preceding night. He dreamt that he saw a vision, which directed *Octavianus* to be removed out of the b camp. The vision was immediately obeyed, and he conveyed away very seasonably. This *Octavianus* himself tells us in his memoirs quoted by *Plutarch*, which *Dion* seems not to have consulted, since he writes, that *Octavianus* was in the action, but, like a sick person, without his armour, not being yet recovered from his former indispo- sition. *Brutus*, before he began the charge, sent to all the commanders tickets with the parole or word of battle, which, according to some, was *liberty*, according to others, *Apollo*, and rid through the ranks, exhorting his soldiers to behave with their usual bravery. They were so animated by his speech, that few of them had patience to stay for the word or command to charge; but, before it could be given, rushed c with loud shouts upon the enemy. This caused a great confusion in the army, the legions being scattered and separated from one another. *Messala*, at the head of his legions, instead of attacking the enemy in front, took a compass about, and having put some of the ranks in *Octavianus*'s rear in disorder, and killed a small number of his men, fell upon his camp, and entered it sword in hand, made a dreadful havock of those he found there, and cut off among the rest two thousand *Lacedæmonians*, who were newly come to the assistance of *Octavianus*. He himself had but just before been conveyed away, upon the persuasion of *Artorius*, as we have related above; but the soldiers pierced the litter, in which he used to be carried on account of his indisposition, in many places with their darts and pikes; whence a report was spread, d and for some time believed, that he was slain. In the mean time, *Brutus*, charging the enemy in front, easily put them to flight, as they were in great consternation for the loss of their camp, cut three whole legions in pieces on the spot, and pursued the fugitives with great slaughter, the plain being, to a great distance, strewed with dead bodies. Thus was the enemy's left wing intirely defeated by the brave *Brutus*, who, as *Octavianus* was no-where to be found, began to believe, that the republic was delivered from the worst of her tyrants. He was confirmed in this belief by some of his soldiers, who presenting themselves to him, told him, that they had killed *Octavianus*, shewed him their swords all bloody, and described his age and person [c]. But the coward was safe enough, either in *Antony*'s camp, or lurking in the mire of the e neighbouring marsh [d]. *Brutus* took a great many of the enemy's ensigns and three eagles.

Octavianus retires before the battle.

Brutus's men charge without orders.

Defeat the enemy's left wing, and seize their camp.

The cowardice of Octavianus.

Brutus, by engaging too far in the pursuit, left the wing, which *Cassius* commanded, naked and separated from the rest of the army. Hereupon *Antony*, who well knew how to take advantage of this oversight, charged the enemy in front, and at the same time detached some legions with orders to cross the marsh, and fall upon their flank which was left open and unguarded. The first shock was terrible; *Antony*, according to some writers, retired into the marsh to avoid the fury of it, and did not appear again till the enemy began to give ground. Be that as it will, both parties fought with unparalleled bravery and resolution. *Antony*'s men, notwith- f standing their utmost efforts, could make no impression upon *Cassius*'s front; but, in the mean time, the detached legions, having opened a passage through the marsh, fell unexpectly upon the enemy's flank, and, after a long and vigorous resistance, put them to the rout. The run-aways fled to their camp, whither the triumvir's men pursued them, and, finding it ill guarded, made themselves easily masters of it. This occasioned so general a consternation in the rest of the army, who were still maintaining their ground in the plain with great intrepidity, that first the cavalry, and afterwards the foot, began to make their escape, and fly towards the sea. *Cassius* on this occasion did all that could be expected from a man of courage. He returned several

The left wing commanded by Cassius *defeated and his camp taken.*

[b] PLUT. ibid. [c] Idem ibid FLOR. l. iv. c. 7. VEL. PAT. l. ii. c. 70. [d] SUET. in Octav. PLIN l. vii c. 45.

ſeveral times to the charge at the head of his guards and the few men he could rally, a and ſnatching an enſign out of the hand of the ſtandard-bearer, who fled, carried it himſelf; but being no longer able to keep together even his prætorian band or guards, he was forced to retire with a ſmall number of attendants to a riſing ground near the city of *Philippi* [d].

In the mean time, *Brutus*, believing he had gained a complete victory, was leading back his troops, loaded with the plunder of *Octavianus*'s camp, when caſting his eyes upon that of *Caſſius*, he was ſurpriſed that he could not ſpy any tents ſtanding there, not even the general's, which uſed to appear at a great diſtance above the reſt. Some who were about him, and had a more quick and diſcerning ſight, acquainted him, that they diſtinguiſhed a great many arms ſhining about his tent, and ſilver b targets moving to and fro, which, they thought, could not belong to thoſe who had been left to guard the camp. On the other ſide, there did not appear ſo many dead bodies about the place, as would have been after the defeat of ſo many legions. How-

Brutus *marches to the aſſiſtance of* Caſſius.

ever, *Brutus*, ſuſpecting *Caſſius*'s misfortune, left a ſufficient guard in the enemy's camp, called back his troops from the purſuit, and marched with all poſſible expedition to the relief of his collegue, who, from the top of the hill, whither he had retired, diſcovered nothing as he was ſhort-ſighted, except the deſtruction of his camp, and even that in a confuſed manner; but thoſe who were with him, acquainted him, that they ſaw a great body of horſe moving towards him. As *Caſſius* knew nothing of the victory and march of *Brutus*, he took them to be a party of the enemy ſent in c purſuit of him. However, he ordered out *Titinius*, one of his moſt intimate friends, to get more certain intelligence. As ſoon as *Brutus*'s horſe ſaw him, thoſe who were his more familiar acquaintance, ſhouting for joy and alighting from their horſes, ſaluted and embraced him, while the reſt who knew him to be one of *Caſſius*'s chief favourites, rid round him, as it were in triumph, asked him, *What news of his general? Caſſius* obſerving this, and believing the horſemen, who diſmounted to embrace *Titinius*, had taken him priſoner, cried out, *Alas! to preſerve the remains of a miſerable life, I have expoſed my beſt friend to be taken by the enemy before my face.* Have-

Caſſius's *death.*

ing thus ſpoke, he retired into a tent with *Pindarus*, one of his freed-men, whom he had reſerved for ſuch an occaſion ever ſince the unhappy battle of *Carrhæ*. We have d no good account of what paſſed there; but *Caſſius*'s head was found lying ſevered from his body, and *Pindarus* never appeared afterwards, whence ſome ſuſpected he had killed his maſter without his command [e]. *Livy* [f] and *Plutarch* [g], in the life of *Cæſar*, tell us, that *Caſſius* diſpatched himſelf with the ſame dagger with which he had killed *Cæſar*; but all other hiſtorians, nay, *Plutarch* himſelf in the lives of *Brutus* and *Antony*, agree in the circumſtances of his death, which we have related. A few minutes after *Caſſius*'s death, his attendants perceived who the horſemen were, and ſaw *Titinius*, crowned with garlands in token of *Brutus*'s victory, making what haſte he could towards them with the cavalry: but their joy was ſoon turned into the deepeſt melancholy and affliction. *Titinius* eſpecially was inconſolable, e when he was informed of the unfortunate miſtake and death of his general. He burſt into tears, and crying out, *My long ſtay has been the occaſion of his death*, he drew his ſword and killed himſelf upon the body of his friend. *Brutus*, upon the firſt advice of the defeat of *Caſſius*, flew to his aſſiſtance; but heard nothing of his death till he came near his camp. Then ſhedding many tears over his body, he called him *the laſt of the* Romans, meaning thereby, that *Rome* would never produce another man equal to him. He cauſed his body to be privately conveyed to the iſland of *Thaſus*, leſt the celebrating of his funeral within the camp might diſhearten the troops, and occaſion ſome diſorder. He then aſſembled the ſoldiers of the deceaſed general, comforted them, and, to make them amends for the loſſes they had ſuſtained, pro- f miſed to each man two thouſand drachmas. *Caſſius* was generally eſteemed one of the beſt commanders of his age, and had given ſignal proofs of an extraordinary courage and conſummate knowledge of the military art, in *Craſſus*'s unhappy expedition againſt the *Parthians*. He was to the very laſt againſt engaging the triumvirs, and would, in all probability, if he had lived, brought over *Brutus* to his opinion; which could not but prove fatal to the enemy, who were already reduced to great ſtraits for want of proviſions, and muſt in a ſhort time have inevitably periſhed with famine. The good opinion which *Brutus* entertained of his honeſty and virtue, and

Brutus's *concern for, and elogium upon,* Caſſius.

His character.

the

[d] Plut. ibid. [e] Idem ibid. Appian. p. 655. Vell. Paterc. l. vii c. 70. Dio, l. xlvii. p. 354. Val. Max. l vi c. 8. [f] Liv. l. cxxiv. [g] Plut. in Cæſ. prope finem.

a the elogium, with which he honoured him after his death, are a ſufficient confutation of the many ill-natured reflections, with which the mercenary flatterers of the *Cæſars* have endeavoured to blacken his reputation and aſperſe his memory. It was indeed commonly ſaid, as *Plutarch* informs us, *that* Brutus *hated the tyrannical power, and* Caſſius *only the tyrant*, on account of ſome private grudge (M); but that writer, tho' no friend to *Caſſius* (N), clears him from this charge, and tells us, that from his infancy he bore an irreconcileable hatred to the whole race of tyrants, whereof he gives us the following inſtance: when he was but a boy, and went to the ſame ſchool with *Fauſtus* the ſon of *Sylla*, hearing him one day bragging of the unlimited power of his father, he roſe up, and gave him two or three boxes on the ear. The relations
b of *Fauſtus* complained of this affront to *Pompey*, who thereupon ſummoned the two boys to appear before him; but young *Caſſius* was ſo far from yielding to the remonſtrances of *Pompey*, or giving any ſatisfaction to *Fauſtus*, that he threatened to ſtrike him again, even in *Pompey*'s preſence, if he dared to utter the words which had provoked him. He was ſomewhat inclined to covetouſneſs, naturally paſſionate, and commanded rather by fear than love. But who is without faults? *Caſſius* in the mean meant well, and would, in all likelihood, if he had lived a little longer, ſaved his country from utter ruin.

Brutus, now the ſole commander of two numerous armies, thought it adviſable to withdraw his troops from the camp of *Octavianus*, which he had taken. *Antony*
c likewiſe, when informed of the total overthrow of his collegue, abandoned *Caſſius*'s camp, which he did not think himſelf in a condition to defend againſt the victorious troops of *Brutus*; ſo that both armies returned to their former poſts. *Brutus* was under the utmoſt concern for the loſs of *Caſſius*, having no commander of reputation to put in his room. On the other hand, the triumvirs, not yet informed of the death of *Caſſius*, were quite out of heart, having loſt above ſixteen thouſand of their beſt legionaries: whereas on the enemy's ſide there were not ſlain eight thouſand men, reckoning even the ſuttlers and ſervants of the army. Beſides, proviſions were become very ſcarce in their camp, without any poſſible means of receiving new ſupplies, either by ſea or land. Theſe melancholy reflections had almoſt reduced them to
d deſpair, when a ſervant of *Caſſius*, by name *Demetrius*, coming in the evening to *Antony*, gave him an account of the tragical end of *Caſſius*, and at the ſame time delivered to him the garment, which he had taken from his maſter's dead body, and his ſword ſtill bloody. *Antony*, overjoyed at this news, immediately imparted it to his collegue; and they both agreed to draw out their men next morning by day-break, to try whether they could bring *Brutus* to a battle, before his men recovered themſelves

The two armies return to their former poſts.

Antony *and* Octavianus, *upon the news of the death of* Caſſius, *endeavour in vain to draw* Brutus *to a ſecond battle.*

(M) *Caſſius* pretended to have received many injuries from *Cæſar*. Among the reſt he complained of his having taken ſome lions from him; for when *Caſſius* was deſigned for ædile, he had cauſed many lions to be taken, and conducted to *Megara*, in order to make uſe of them in the ſhews, which, in virtue of his office, he was to exhibit to the people. But *Cæſar* finding them in *Megara*, when that city was taken by *Fufius Calenus*, one of his lieutenants, after the defeat of *Pompey*, ſeized them for himſelf. This, ſome writers ſay, was what chiefly ſtirred up *Caſſius* againſt *Cæſar*; but *Plutarch* clears him from this imputation, as we have obſerved in the text. *Caſſius* bore a private grudge to *Cæſar* on another account: he and *Brutus* ſtood both for the *prætura urbana*, or the prætorſhip of the city; and *Cæſar* is ſaid to have given privately each of the competitors hopes of his favouring their pretenſions, with a view to foment ſome ſmall differences that had ariſen between them on other accounts. When they came to lay their claims before *Cæſar*, *Brutus* had only the reputation of his honour and virtue to oppoſe to the many gallant actions, which *Caſſius* had performed in his youth againſt the *Parthians*. However, the dictator, having heard both parties, ſaid, in deliberating about the matter among his friends. Caſſius *indeed pleads with moſt juſtice; but* Brutus *muſt have the firſt prætorſhip*. Accordingly the prætorſhip of the city was given to *Brutus*, and another to *Caſſius*; but the gaining of this did not ſo much oblige him, as he was incenſed for the loſs of the other (46). *Caſſius*, who was of a harſh and paſſionate temper, was, no doubt, fired againſt *Cæſar* on account of theſe private injuries, which, it is not improbable, contributed in ſome degree to the reſolution he afterwards took; but what chiefly prompted him to it was, as *Plutarch* himſelf owns, his natural rancour and hatred againſt the whole race of tyrants (47).

(N) *Plutarch* was highly prejudiced againſt *Caſſius*, as muſt evidently appear to every impartial reader, who peruſes his works. This prejudice was probably owing to the ſeverity with which the republican general uſed the *Rhodians*, a *Greek* nation. Caſſius *having taken* Rhodes, ſays *Plutarch*, *behaved himſelf there with great cruelty*. But, with his leave, we cannot look upon the puniſhment of fifty mutiniers as an inſtance of cruelty. As he took the city by ſtorm, he might, after the example of other *Roman* generals, put all the inhabitants whom he found in arms to the ſword, but he contented himſelf with puniſhing fifty of the ringleaders. As for the wealth of the inhabitants, it belonged to him by right of war; but, as *Plutarch* was a *Greek*, the love of his country has, on ſeveral occaſions, got the better of his philoſophy; a proof that no man, however philoſophical, can boaſt an intire exemption from prejudices.

(46) *Plut. ibid.*

(47) *Idem ibid.*

themſelves from the terror and conſternation, which, they were well appriſed, the a
defeat and death of *Caſſius* muſt have occaſioned; but *Brutus*, having his own camp
filled with priſoners, who required a numerous guard, and finding that of *Caſſius* in
great diſorder, the ſoldiers, who had been defeated, burning with a ſecret envy and
indignation againſt thoſe who had conquered, kept cloſe in his intrenchments, and
deſpiſed the enemy's bravadoes. As his troops, elated with their late victory,
ſhewed a great eagerneſs to venture a ſecond engagement, he aſſembled the ſoldiers
of both armies, and, after having commended their valour, and ſlightly reproved
his own men for falling upon the enemy in diſorder, without waiting either for the
word, or the command of their general, he inlarged on the deplorable ſtate to which
the enemy was reduced, and aſſured them, that if they could but reſtrain their ar- b
dor for a while, they would have the pleaſure of ſeeing the armies of *Antony* and
Octavianus either periſh with famine, or, by a ſhameful flight, abandon *Greece* and
Macedon. *But to hazard a ſecond battle*, ſaid he, *is to put ourſelves in the power of
fortune, when we are ſure of victory by continuing inactive in our camp*. After this he
cauſed a thouſand drachmas to be given to each ſoldier of both camps, and diſmiſſed
them highly ſatisfied with the generoſity of their leader, to whoſe orders they promiſed
an intire obedience and ſubmiſſion, whether he thought proper to engage the enemy,
or continue in a ſtate of inaction [h].

IN the mean time, proviſions growing daily more ſcarce in the enemy's camp, *An-* c
tony and *Octavianus*, finding they could not bring *Brutus* to a battle, were greatly at
a loſs what meaſures to take. All their dependence was on a fleet which they expected
hourly from *Italy*, having on board great ſtore of proviſions, two legions of vete-
rans, one of which was that of *Mars*, a prætorian cohort, and a conſiderable body
of cavalry; but while they were comforting themſelves with the hopes of the ſpeedy
arrival of this powerful ſupply, news was brought them, that their fleet, under the
The triumvirs fleet deſtroyed by Brutus's *admirals.* command of *Cneius Domitius Calvinus*, had been intirely defeated, and moſt of their
ſhips, with the ſoldiers on board, either ſunk or taken by *Cneius Domitius Aheno-
barbus* and *Lucius Statius Murcus*, the two admirals of the adverſe party. Some of
their ſhips indeed found means to ſave themſelves among the rocks of the *Adriatic*
ſea; but being there blocked up by the enemy, both the ſoldiers and mariners, after d
having conſumed all their proviſions, were forced by famine to feed upon the ſails
and tackle of their ſhips, which they boiled with the pitch and greaſe they had pre-
pared for the careening of their veſſels. This victory was gained by the admirals of
the republic the ſame day in which the battle of *Philippi* was fought; and the news of
ſo great an overthrow, which ſoon reached the triumvirs, ſo diſheartned them, that
they now began to look upon their affairs as quite deſperate, being not only ſtraitened
for want of neceſſaries, but without any proſpect or poſſible means of procuring new
The bad ſituation of the triumvirs affairs. ſupplies. Beſides, as they were incamped in a low ground, ſurrounded with marſhes,
and a great quantity of rain, as it uſually happens in autumn, had fallen after the
battle, which filled their tents with mire and water, diſtempers began to reign in e
both armies, and daily carry off great numbers of men. On the other hand, *Brutus*
had ſufficient proviſions to ſupport his army for a long time, was very advantagiouſly
poſted, his camp being ſafe from the injuries of the weather, and inacceſſible to the
enemy; and, as he was abſolute maſter of the ſea, he could receive whatever he ſtood
in need of from *Aſia*, *Africa*, *Sicily*, and *Spain*. The triumvirs, finding themſelves in
this deſperate condition, left nothing unattempted which could provoke *Brutus*'s
men, and make them mutiny againſt their general for declining an engagement.
They drew out their troops day after day, and marched in battle array up to the very
gates of the enemy's camp; but *Brutus*, who knew that their boldneſs and courage f
proceeded from deſpair, kept within his intrenchments, not doubting, but he ſhould
ſoon ſee them moulder away, and, by a ſhameful flight, abandon both *Greece* and
Macedon to the mercy of his troops. The triumvirs, finding they could by no means
bring *Brutus* to a battle, detached two legions to take poſſeſſion of a riſing ground,
which, tho' cloſe to *Caſſius*'s camp, *Brutus* had thought proper to abandon after the
late battle. About ſix hundred paces from thence, towards the ſea, they poſted ten
legions, and two more at a ſmall diſtance from them, with a deſign to cut off the
communication between the enemy's army and fleets. On the other hand, *Brutus*
cauſed ſeveral works to be carried on from his camp quite to the ſhore, and by that
means

[h] Plut. in Bruto. Appian. p. 656. Dio, p. 355.

means kept, in ſpite of all the enemy's efforts, a free communication with the ſea; but as ſeveral ſkirmiſhes happened between the ſoldiers of the oppoſite parties, who covered their workmen, in which *Brutus*'s men had all the advantage, they were ſo elated with this ſucceſs, that they began to mutiny, and, aſſembling in crowds, aſk their general, *What cowardice he had lately obſerved in them, that they muſt be thus, like priſoners, kept within their intrenchments, and not ſuffered to make uſe of their arms, and exert that courage, which had but a few days before proved ſo fatal to the enemy, who now inſulted them?* *Brutus* endeavoured to ſatisfy them, and reſtrain their unſeaſonable ardor, by repreſenting to them the deſperate poſture of the enemy's affairs, and the happy ſituation of their own; but all to no purpoſe, tho' the triumvirs forces were reduced to the utmoſt extremity, and a conſiderable body of *German* troops, to avoid ſtarving in their camp, had deſerted, and given the mutineers a full account of the miſeries, which the want of proviſions occaſioned in the enemy's army; yet, by an unaccountable obſtinacy and perverſeneſs, they ſtill perſiſted in demanding to be led out againſt the enemy, whom they deſired to conquer not by famine, but valour; nay, becauſe the prudent general refuſed to comply with their requeſt, ſeveral *Romans*, as well as auxiliaries, abandoned him, and went over to the enemy. Among the latter were *Amyntas*, commander in chief of the *Galatians* ſent by the old king *Dejotarus*, and *Rhaſcupolis*, who had proved ſo ſerviceable to *Brutus* and *Caſſius* on their march through *Thrace*. Some writers indeed ſay, that *Rhaſcupolis* did not join the enemy, but returned home with the troops he commanded. Be that as it will, this deſertion gave *Brutus* great concern, which was increaſed by the diſorders that happened daily in *Caſſius*'s camp, whoſe ſoldiers, become headſtrong and intractable ſince the death of their general, refuſed to obey the officer whom *Brutus* had put in his room. In theſe circumſtances *Brutus* yielded at laſt to the importunity of his ſoldiers, and reſolved to put an end to his own cares and thoſe of the *Roman* world, by a general and deciſive action; which, all the antients tell us, he would never have done, had he been informed of the late advantage gained by his fleet; but of that important victory he received no intelligence till twenty days after, that is, till the very evening before the fight. This ſome writers aſcribe to the negligence, others to the treachery, of his officers, but *Plutarch* to providence, which, as the ſtate of *Rome*, ſays he, now neceſſarily required a monarchy, prevented *Brutus* from receiving notice of his good ſucceſs, that it might remove the only man who was able to reſiſt the perſon whom deſtiny had appointed to be the ſole governor of the *Roman* ſtate (O). However that be, the evening before the battle, when it was too late for *Brutus* to alter his meaſures, one *Caius Clodius*, a deſerter from the enemy, came to acquaint the republican general, that the triumvirs had received advice of the loſs of their fleet, and for that reaſon were in ſuch haſte to come to a battle. But the intelligence he brought met with no credit; nay, *Brutus* would not ſo much as admit him to his preſence, taking it for granted, that he had invented the news to pleaſe him, and bring himſelf into favour [i].

Brutus's *troops begin to mutiny, and demand to be led out againſt the enemy.*

Brutus *yields to the importunity of the ſoldiery.*

And now *Brutus*, determined to put the whole to the iſſue of a general action, found himſelf obliged to uſe violence to his good-nature, and take a precaution, which, tho' neceſſary, may ſeem not altogether free from the reproach of cruelty. He had taken in the late battle a great number of priſoners, partly ſlaves and partly freemen, who required a numerous guard, which he could not well ſpare. As *Antony* therefore and *Octavianus* had ordered all their priſoners, without diſtinction, to be inhumanly maſſacred, *Brutus*, having reaſon to ſuſpect that the ſlaves he had taken were tampering with his ſoldiers, commanded them all to be ſlain. Though they deſerved to die, and their death was but a kind of retaliation upon the enemy, yet

Brutus *puts the captive ſlaves to death and ſets moſt of the freedmen at liberty.*

[i] Plut. ibid.

(O) For the empire, ſays Mad. *Dacier*, was no longer able to ſupport itſelf. It was neceſſary for it to come under the dominion of a ſingle perſon. So long as there were ſo many competitors on foot, ſo many pretenders either to the empire or the royalty, that competition would have been an inexhauſtible ſource of civil war and diſſention; and nothing was more incompatible with monarchy than *Brutus*. *Brutus* therefore was to be removed. All this, adds this learned writer, ſtrongly proves the truth of *Plato*'s ſentiments, who maintains, that of all governments monarchy is the moſt perfect; but then the monarch muſt govern according to law. So far we agree with Mad. *Dacier*. But is it to be left to the monarch to govern, or not to govern, by law, as he thinks fit? Is he to have nothing but his own will and inclination to reſtrain him? Is mankind to depend for ſecurity and happineſs upon uncertain inclinations? This ſurely is wide of the opinion of ſo wiſe a philoſopher as *Plato*, who, in preferring monarchy to all other governments, could not mean by monarchy a power without controul.

yet the flatterers of the *Cæsars* have, with great partiality and injustice, made long descants on this pretended act of cruelty, without taking notice of his clemency towards the freemen and *Roman* citizens. Of these he openly dismissed great numbers, telling them, *That with the enemy they were captives and slaves; but with him freemen and citizens of* Rome. Others he concealed himself, and helped to escape privately, perceiving that some of his commanders and friends were implacably bent upon their destruction. Among the captives was one *Volumnius* a mimic, and *Sacculio* a buffoon, who, by their unseasonable jests, of which *Brutus* took no manner of notice, provoked some of the chief officers of his army. These brought them before their general, and accused them of not being able, even in their present situation, to refrain from their abusive jests and scurrilous language. *Brutus*, having his mind taken up with other affairs, returned no answer to the accusation; but *Messala Corvinus* was of opinion, that they should be whipt publicly upon a scaffold, and, after that ignominious punishment, be sent back naked to *Antony* and *Octavianus*, which, he thought, would reflect no small dishonour on those two generals, who were not ashamed to chuse such scoundrels for their bottle-companions. At this some who were present laughed; but *Publius Casca*, who gave the first wound to *Cæsar*, *It does not become us*, said he with a serious air, *to be thus merry after the loss of* Cassius. *And as for you*, O Brutus, *you will shew what respect you bear to the memory of your fellow commander, by punishing or pardoning those who cannot forbear scoffing and speaking abusively of him. Why then*, Casca, *replied* Brutus, *do you tell me of this, and not do yourself what you think proper?* This answer was taken for his consent to the death of those unhappy wretches, who were accordingly carried away and slain [k].

Volumnius and Sacculio, *two mimics, taken prisoners.*

And put to death.

Brutus, having got rid of most of his prisoners, assembled his soldiers the day before the battle, and, in order to rouze their courage, promised them the pillage of *Thessalonica* and *Lacedæmon*, two cities which had sided with the triumvirs. This, in the opinion of *Plutarch*, is the only inexcuseable fault which *Brutus* was ever guilty of; for, if in the end *Antony* and *Octavianus*, says that writer, were much more cruel in the rewards they gave their soldiers after victory; if they drove out almost all the antient inhabitants of *Italy*, to put their soldiers in possession of their lands and cities; it is well known, that their only design and end in undertaking the war was, to obtain dominion and empire: but the great opinion the world had conceived of *Brutus* on account of his virtue, would not allow him either to conquer the enemy, or save himself, but by means truly just and honourable, especially after the death of *Cassius*, who was generally accused of putting *Brutus* upon several actions, not intirely agreeable to his mild and generous temper. But after all, *Plutarch* entertained so great an opinion of *Brutus*'s virtue, good-nature, and integrity, that he could not prevail upon himself to believe, that he made this promise of his own motion; but thinks he was in a manner forced to it by his officers, according to whose advice he both did and said many things, contrary to the bent of his own inclination, especially in whatever he thought might conduce to the bringing of *Cassius*'s soldiers into better order, who were become bold and insolent in the camp after the death of their general, but in the field cowardly and fearful, remembering, that they had suffered themselves to be shamefully overcome [l].

Brutus *promises his soldiers the spoil of two* Greek *cities.*

Brutus, having encouraged his men with promises of ample rewards after the victory, and made the necessary preparations for the next day's engagement, retired late in the night to his tent, when the spectre, which had promised to meet him at *Philippi*, is said to have appeared to him again, in the same shape as it had done before, but to have vanished in an instant, without one single word being uttered on either side; but *Publius Volumnius*, a man given to the study of philosophy, who was then in *Brutus*'s camp, and wrote an account of several other prodigies, which he supposed to have happened before this great battle (P), makes no mention of this appa-

The spectre appears again to Brutus.

[k] Plut. ibid. [l] Idem ibid.

(P) The first standard, that is, the standard belonging to the first legion, was covered with a swarm of bees. A kind of sweat in the nature of oil, and having the smell of roses, issued from the arm of a centurion, which, tho' often wiped and dried, yet continued sweating. The first man, whom *Brutus*'s troops met at the opening the gate of the camp to march into the plain, was an *Æthiopian*, or negro, whom they cut in pieces, interpreting that circumstance as an unlucky omen. When the two armies were advanced within reach of each other, two eagles, appearing in the air, fought in the space between the armies, the soldiers on both sides being silent and intent on the fight, till that, which was on the side of *Brutus*, yielded and fled, &c. (48).

(48) *Plut. ibid.*

apparition [m]. Be that as it will, *Brutus*, without taking the leaſt notice of this or any other prodigies, drew out his men the next morning, with a firm reſolution of reſtoring liberty to his country, or dying in the attempt. He choſe his ground like an able general, forming his lines at a ſmall diſtance from his camp, that he might have a ſafe retreat, in caſe of any misfortune. Then riding through the ranks, *Fellow-ſoldiers*, ſaid he, *you have deſired to engage the enemy in the open field, when you might have obtained a complete victory, by continuing inactive within your intrenchments; but this kind of victory you deſpiſed, as not honourable enough for men of your bravery; you are for purchaſing glory at the expence of your blood. It is therefore now incumbent upon you to ſummon all that boldneſs, with which you demanded battle, to maintain the honour of your* b *firſt victory, and to anſwer the truſt which I have repoſed in your valour. Whether* Rome *is to enjoy an uninterrupted happineſs and liberty, or be condemned to eternal ſlavery and endleſs calamities, this day will decide.* As for *Antony* and *Octavianus*, they could ſcarce believe their own eyes, when they firſt obſerved a coat of arms, the uſual ſignal of battle, expoſed on *Brutus*'s tent. Overjoyed at this unexpected reſolution, they ordered their men to prepare for battle; but did not quit their intrenchments before three in the afternoon, when they marched out like famiſhed lions, as *Appian* expreſſes it, againſt their prey. Their generals, the more to encourage them, promiſed to each ſoldier five hundred drachmas after the victory, painting to them at the ſame time in moſt lively colours the inexpreſſible miſeries and calamities, which they muſt c unavoidably endure, if overcome. *You have but two things to chuſe*, ſaid they, *to conquer, or periſh by the moſt miſerable of all deaths, famine.* Having thus ſpoke, they ordered their men to advance with a ſlow pace againſt the enemy, who kept their ground ready to receive them. When the two armies were in preſence of each other, *Brutus* had the mortification to ſee a brave knight, by name *Cumulatus*, whom he highly eſteemed for his valour, abandon his poſt, and riding cloſe by him, go over to the enemy. Hereupon *Brutus*, fearing others might follow the example of the treacherous knight, cauſed the ſignal of battle to be given immediately, and charged the enemy's left wing, commanded by *Octavianus*, with ſuch intrepidity, vigor, and reſolution, that all gave way before him. As *Octavianus*'s cavalry was put into the d utmoſt diſorder at the very firſt onſet, *Brutus*'s horſe broke in among the enemy's foot, and made a moſt dreadful havock of the legionaries. But while the brave *Brutus* was thus ſignaliſing himſelf in the right wing, his left, commanded by the lieutenants of *Caſſius*, men no-ways equal to that charge, was hard preſſed by *Antony*. *Caſſius*'s cavalry immediately gave way, leaving the flank of the wing, in which they were poſted, naked and unguarded. Hereupon the foot, fearing to be incompaſſed, widened their ranks to the right and left, that they might make head every way; but as this weakened them, they were at the firſt onſet broken and diſordered by the cloſe battalions of *Antony*. The plain was in an inſtant covered with the runaways ſcattered up and down, ſome of them making towards the camp, others flying to the e ſea-ſide, but moſt of them repairing to the right wing to take ſhelter among the victorious troops of *Brutus*. *Antony* did not purſue the fugitives; but, like an experienced general, marched directly againſt *Brutus*, and fell upon his rear with incredible fury. That brave commander performed on this occaſion all that could be expected from an expert general and valiant ſoldier, giving proofs in the greateſt danger of a courage and conduct, which well deſerved to be crowned with victory; but *Caſſius*'s troops, which were overthrown in the left wing, crouding in among his ranks, and carrying with them, where-ever they came, deſpair and confuſion, turned the ſcale in favour of the enemy, after *Brutus* had, for a long time, maintained his ground, with unparalleled bravery, againſt all the forces of their united armies. His f lines were at length broke and put into diſorder, notwithſtanding all he could do to rally them. He attempted ſeveral times to bring them back to the charge; but all his endeavours proved unſucceſsful, *Caſſius*'s men, who were terrified with their own defeat, communicating their fear to the reſt of the army. *Brutus* ſtood his ground with the few men he could rally; but, being ſurrounded on all ſides and overpowered by the numerous forces of *Antony* and *Octavianus*, was in imminent danger of being either cut in pieces, or falling alive into the hands of his moſt inveterate enemies. And on this occaſion it was, that moſt of *Brutus*'s beſt officers were killed in endeavouring to ſave their general, who, with their aſſiſtance, breaking through the

Brutus's ſpeech to his ſoldiers before the battle.

The ſecond battle of Philippi.

Brutus *defeats the enemy's left wing.*

But his left is defeated by Antony.

Which occaſions the defeat of the whole army.

Brutus's *gallant behaviour.*

[m] Plut. in Brut. & Cæſ. prope finem. Appian. l. iv. p. 668.

the enemy's battalions that ſurrounded them, withdrew, when abandoned by his men, from the field of battle. Among the few who attended him was one *Lucilius Lacinus*, an intimate friend of his, who obſerving a body of *Thracian* horſe, under the command of *Rhaſcus*, the brother of *Rhaſcupolis*, taking no notice of any other in the purſuit, but making directly towards *Brutus*, reſolved to ſtop them, and ſave the life of his general, at the hazard of his own. Accordingly, without acquainting *Brutus* with his deſign, he halted, till the *Thracians* came up and ſurrounded him. Then he cried out that he was *Brutus*, and, begging quarters, deſired they would carry him to *Antony*, pretending that he feared *Octavianus*, but durſt truſt him. The *Thracians*, overjoyed with their prey, and thinking themſelves wonderfully happy, immediately detached ſome of their own body to acquaint *Antony* with their good fortune; and in the mean time giving over the purſuit, returned to the field of battle with their priſoner. The report being ſpread in an inſtant all over the army, that *Brutus* was taken, and that the *Thracians* were bringing him alive to *Antony*, both ſoldiers and officers flocked together from all parts to ſee him. Some pitied his misfortune, others accuſed him of a meanneſs unbecoming his former glory, for ſuffering himſelf, out of too much love of life, to be a prey to barbarians. As for *Antony*, he was not a little concerned at this adventure, being quite at a loſs in what manner he ſhould receive. and how he ſhould treat, his illuſtrious captive: but he was ſoon delivered from his uneaſineſs; for as the *Thracians* drew near, he knew the priſoner, who had paſſed himſelf upon the *Thracians* for *Brutus*, and now addreſſing the triumvir with a generous confidence; *Be aſſured*, Antony, ſaid he, *that no enemy either has, or ever ſhall take* Marcus Brutus *alive. Forbid it ye gods, that fortune ſhould ever prevail ſo much above virtue! But let him be found dead or alive, he will certainly be found in ſuch a ſtate as is worthy of him. As for me, I have delivered myſelf up to ſave him, and am now ready to ſuffer whatever torments you think proper to inflict upon me, without demanding or expecting any quarter.* *Antony*, wonderfully taken with the fidelity, virtue, and generoſity of *Lucilius*, turned to the *Thracians*, now ſenſible of, and inraged at, their diſapointment, and addreſſed them thus: *I perceive, my fellow-ſoldiers, that you are concerned, and full of reſentment, for having been thus impoſed upon by* Lucilius; *but be aſſured, that you have met with a booty better than that which you ſought for; you were in ſearch of an enemy, and have brought me a friend. I was truly at a loſs how I ſhould have uſed* Brutus, *if you had brought him to me alive; but of this I am ſure, that it is better to have ſuch a man as* Lucilius *our friend than our enemy.* Having thus ſpoke, he embraced *Lucilius*, and commended him to the care of one of his friends. Such a generous behaviour won the heart of *Lucilius*, who ever after continued inviolably attached to the intereſt of his friend and benefactor [m]. After this both *Antony* and *Octavianus* marched with their victorious legions in purſuit of the enemy's broken and diſperſed forces, making a dreadful ſlaughter of the fugitives, and ſtrewing the whole plain with dead bodies. Some of *Brutus*'s officers, not caring to outlive the liberty of their country, would neither fly nor give ground; but died ſword in hand in the poſts aſſigned them. Among theſe were *Marcus*, the ſon of the great *Cato*; *L. Caſſius*, nephew to the deceaſed general; *C. Flavius*, one of *Brutus*'s beſt friends; *Marcus*, the ſon of *Lucullus* who conquered *Mithridates the Great*; *Demetrius*, *Apollonides*, and ſeveral other commanders of great diſtinction. Young *Cato* diſtinguiſhed himſelf on this occaſion in a very eminent manner; for after the body he commanded was put to the rout, he returned ſeveral times to the charge with the few forces he could rally, overthrew all who oppoſed him, and declaring who he was, and often repeating his father's name, fell at laſt upon a heap of dead bodies of the enemy, whom he ſacrificed to the manes of his father and the expiring republic. Such a behaviour was very ſurpriſing in a man of young *Cato*'s character; for, degenerating from the virtue of his father, he had, to that time, led an idle, indolent, and debauched life; but the glory he acquired by his death has recommended him to poſterity, as a worthy ſon of ſo great a father [n].

The contrivance of Lucilius *to ſave* Brutus.

The glorious death of young Cato.

As for *Brutus*, the contrivance of *Lucilius* gave him an opportunity of paſſing a little brook, encompaſſed with rocks, and ſhaded with trees. Being there overtaken by the night, he ſtopped in a hollow place at the foot of a great rock, being attended with a ſmall number of his friends and officers. There lifting up his eyes to heaven, he repeated two *Greek* verſes, one of which *Volumnius*, who attended him, forgot, but remem-

What happened to Brutus *after the loſs of the battle.*

[m] Plut. ibid. [n] Plut. ibid. & in Catone

remembered the other, which was the following out of the *Medea* of *Euripides*; *Puniſh, great* Jove, *the author of theſe ills*; by which it was thought he meant *Antony*, who remembered and repeated it, when, after the battle of *Actium*, he was reduced to the neceſſity of laying violent hands on himſelf. Afterwards *Brutus* named ſeverally all his friends, who had been ſlain in the battle before his face, and fetched a deep ſigh, eſpecially at the mentioning of *Flavius* and *Labeo*, whereof one was his lieutenant, and the other maſter of his workmen. In the mean time, one of his followers, who was very thirſty, and ſaw *Brutus* in the ſame condition, ran to the brook, and brought him ſome water in his helmet. While he was drinking, a noiſe being heard from the other ſide of the rivulet, *Volumnius*, taking *Dardanus*, *Brutus*'s armour-bearer, b with him, went out to diſcover what had occaſioned it. They both returned ſoon after; but finding no water, aſked what was become of it; *It is all drank*, replied *Brutus* ſmiling; *but you ſhall have ſome more fetched immediately*. But he, who had brought the firſt water, being ſent again, narrowly eſcaped falling into the enemy's hands, by whom he was dangerouſly wounded. *Brutus*, underſtanding by this that he was inveſted, exhorted thoſe who were with him to make ſome attempt to get to their camp before day-light; for he conjectured, that he had not loſt many of his men, and that thoſe who had eſcaped had taken refuge there. *Statilius* undertook to paſs through the enemy, and go by himſelf to the camp, promiſing, if it was not taken, to hold up a lighted torch for a ſignal, and return immediately. *Statilius* got c ſafe to the camp, and held up the torch, which gave *Brutus* ſome hopes of retrieving his affairs. He waited a long time for the return of *Statilius*, ſaying, *If* Statilius *be alive, he will come back*; but he was ſlain on his return by the enemy. At length *Brutus*, tired with waiting, and day now beginning to dawn, whiſpered ſomething in the ear to one of his domeſtics, by name *Clytus*, who returned him no anſwer, but burſt into tears. Hereupon, *Brutus*, taking aſide *Dardanus* his armour-bearer, had ſome diſcourſe with him in private, and afterwards addreſſed himſelf to *Volumnius* in *Greek*, conjuring him, by their common ſtudies and antient friendſhip, to draw his ſword and put an end to his life. *Volumnius*, and after him ſeveral others, anſwered him only with their tears. One of them, to divert *Brutus* from the thoughts of lay- d ing violent hands on himſelf, ſtarting up, *There is no ſtaying here any longer*, ſaid he; *we muſt all fly. Yes*, anſwered *Brutus*, *we muſt fly indeed, not with our feet, but with our hands*. Then taking each of them by the hand, told them with a cheerful countenance, *That it was an infinite ſatisfaction to him to find, that none of his friends had proved falſe to him; that he did not complain of fortune for his own, but for his country's ſake; that as for himſelf, he thought he was much more happy than thoſe who had conquered, not only in regard of what was paſſed, but even in his preſent condition, ſince he ſhould enjoy that reputation, which always follows virtue, and which tyranny and injuſtice could never deſerve* (Q). Having thus ſpoke, he beſeeched his friends to provide for their own ſafety, telling them, That he hoped *Antony* and *Octavianus*, e ſatisfied with his death, would purſue their revenge no further. He then withdrew, with two or three only of his peculiar friends. Among theſe was an *Epirote*, by name *Strato*, with whom he had contracted an acquaintance when they ſtudied rhetorick together. To him *Brutus* had recourſe, conjuring him, by their antient friendſhip, to give him the laſt proof of his affection, by performing that friendly office which the others had declined. As *Strato* could not by any means be prevailed upon to imbrue his hands in the blood of his friend, *Brutus* called one of his ſlaves; and then the faithful *Epirote*, crying out, *Forbid, ye gods, it ſhould ever be ſaid, that* Brutus *died by the hand of a ſlave for want of a friend*, covered his eyes with his left arm, and preſented the point of his ſword to *Brutus*, who threw himſelf upon it with ſuch f violence, that it pierced him through, and he expired immediately °. Some hiſtorians relate the circumſtances of his death otherwiſe, and tell us, that taking his ſword by the hilt with both his hands, he fell upon the point of it, and ran himſelf through, without

His laſt words to his friends.

The death of Brutus. *Year of the flood* 2962 *Before Chriſt* 37. *Of* Rome 711.

° Plut. ibid. Liv. l.cxxiv. Vell. Paterc. l. ii. c. 74. Appian. l. iv. p. 665, 666.

(Q) Some writers tell us, that when *Brutus* in the morning ſaw no way of eſcaping, he cried out, *O unhappy virtue! I followed thee as a ſolid good, but thou art only a mere notion, a vain empty name, or at beſt a ſlave of fortune* (49). But *Volumnius*, who was preſent, and from whoſe memoirs *Plutarch* copied the particulars of his death which we have related, makes no mention of ſuch a ſpeech, no-ways ſuitable to the character of *Brutus*.

(49) *Flor. l.* iv. *c.* 7. *Dio. l.* xlvii. *ſub finem. Vide Plut. de ſuperſtit. init.*

without the assistance of his faithful friend *Strato*. But all authors agree in this, that *Messala*, having some time after made his peace with *Cæsar Octavianus*, presented *Strato* to him, saying with tears in his eyes, *This*, *O* Cæsar, *is the man who paid the last friendly office to my beloved* Brutus.

His character

Thus fell *Brutus* in the forty-third year of his age (R), and with him fell the liberty of *Rome* and of the *Roman* people. He was a man, in whom the malice of his enemies could discern no fault (S); in whom the virtues of humanity were eminent; in whom the constant, firm, and inviolable attachment to the public good (T) formed the principal and most distinguishable part of his character, and the uninterrupted business of his life, ever in view, ever pursued; but from the inherent equity of his mind, for he was, as his historian well observes, by nature exactly framed for virtue (U), without one breach of that never to be omitted distinction of *fas* and *nefas*, right and wrong. And here it may not be altogether foreign to our purpose to

(R) *Brutus* died, according to *Velleius Paterculus*, in the thirty-seventh year of his age; but to the authority of *Velleius* we prefer that of *Cicero*, who tells us, that *Brutus* was born ten years after *Hortensius* appeared first at the bar; and that celebrated orator made his first public essay of eloquence in the consulate of *Lucius Crassus* and *Quintus Scævola*, in the year of *Rome* 658; so that *Brutus* was born in the year of the city 668, and consequently was, at the time of his death, which happened in 711, in the forty-third year of his age (49).

(S) *Those who were most his enemies*, says *Plutarch* (50), *on account of his conspiracy against* Cæsar, *if in that whole affair there was any honourable and generous action done, refer it wholly to* Brutus, *and lay whatever was barbarous and cruel to the charge of* Cassius, Brutus's *most intimate and familiar friend; but not at all like him in honesty and virtue.* Upon which words Madam *Dacier* comments thus: *It appears from this passage, that even in the days of* Plutarch, *there were some remaining, who hated the memory of* Brutus, *for the share he had in the murder of* Cæsar; *and I am of opinion, that the same hatred continues, and will do so to the end of the world.* Among slaves, she ought to have added, and persons brought up in slavish principles, who are taught to look upon the disarming of a tyrant, and the saving of their country from havock and oppression, as an henious crime; but the memory of that truly virtuous and generous patriot will be, to the end of the world, revered by all, who have any spark of zeal for the welfare of their country and the good of mankind.

(T) The public good was, as *Plutarch* observes, the only end and standard, which he proposed for his hatred and friendship. This of an enemy made him a friend to *Pompey*, and of a friend made him an enemy to *Cæsar*. When *Cæsar* and *Pompey* took up arms against each other, it was generally believed that he would have taken *Cæsar*'s side; for his father not long before had been put to death by *Pompey*: but he, thinking it his duty to prefer the interest of the public to his private resentment, and judging *Pompey*'s to be the better cause, took part with him, tho' formerly he used not so much as to salute him, or take any notice of him, deeming it a great crime to have the least conversation with the murderer of his father. But afterwards, looking upon him as the general of his country, he listed himself under his command, and set sail to *Sicily*, in quality of lieutenant to *Sestius*, whom *Pompey* had appointed governor of that island; but finding no opportunity there of exerting his zeal for the good of his country, and hearing that *Cæsar* and *Pompey* were incamped near one another and would come to a battle, upon which the whole empire depended, he hastened into *Macedon* to share in the danger. *Pompey* was so surprised at his arrival, and at the same time so pleased, that rising from his tribunal, in the sight of all his guards, he saluted and embraced him, as one of the chiefest men of his party. Thus *Brutus* embraced the party even of his father's murderer, because he thought it more just than that of *Cæsar*, and considered *Pompey* as the head of the state, of which *Cæsar* was the declared enemy. The same consideration of the public good, which reconciled him to *Pompey*, estranged him from *Cæsar*; notwithstanding the innumerable favours he had received at his hands. And what can be more generous, more heroic, for a man, than to sacrifice his highest obligations, as well as his greatest injuries, to the welfare of his country?

(U) "*Brutus*, says the author of his life, for the "sake of his virtue, was esteemed by the people, "beloved by his friends, admired by all good men, "and hated by none, no, not even by his enemies; "for he was of an extraordinary mild nature, great "magnanimity, insensible of the passions of anger, "pleasure, or covetousness; steady and inflexible "in his opinion, and zealous for whatever he "thought just and honest. That which gained him "the greatest credit and reputation among the people "was, their inviolable opinion of his uprightness "and integrity in all his undertakings; whereas no "man ever imagined, that *Pompey*, even *Pompey "the Great* himself, if he had overcome *Cæsar*, "would have submitted his power to the laws, but "would have retained the sovereign authority in "his own hands, under the specious name of consul "or dictator, or some other mild and more popular "title, with which he would have soothed the "people. As for *Cassius*, a man inclined to passion, "and carried often by his covetous humour beyond "the bounds of justice, they well knew, that he "endured all these hardships rather to obtain domi-"nion to himself, than liberty to the people. As "to the former disturbers of the peace of *Rome*, "whether a *Cinna*, a *Marius*, or a *Carbo*, it is ma-"nifest, that they, having set their country as a "stake for him who should win, did almost own, "in express terms, that they fought for empire. "But even the enemies of *Brutus* cannot lay this "accusation to his charge; nay, many have heard "*Antony* himself say, That *Brutus* was the only man "who conspired against *Cæsar* out of a sense of the "glory of the action; but that all the rest rose up "against the *man*, and not the *tyrant*, from their "own private malice and envy (51)." In this passage *Plutarch* does justice to *Brutus*'s virtue; but at the same time betrays his prejudice against *Cassius*, the motives of which we have assigned elsewhere (52). What a high opinion *Cicero* had of *Brutus*'s virtue, the orator sufficiently declares in the following word: *Bruto certe meo nullo loco deero, idque etiam si mihi cum illo nihil fuisset, facerem propter ejus singularem incredibilemque virtutem.*

(49) *Cic. in Bruto.* (50) *Plut. in Bruto.* (51) *Idem ibid.* (52) *Vide supra. not.* (N).

to illuſtrate this tranſcendent rectitude of his mind, by inſtancing his refuſal, contrary to the opinion of *Cicero* and his other friends, to employ the arts of oratory in gilding even the faireſt cauſe, when, after the death of *Cæſar*, he addreſſed himſelf to the *Roman* people. It cannot be ſuppoſed, that *Brutus*, who had long been famed for eloquence (W), could be ignorant of ſpeaking to the paſſions of men, an art too ſucceſsfully made uſe of by *Antony* on the ſame occaſion. Such then was the integrity of *Brutus*'s mind, that he could not ſtoop to employ any indecent means even in the purſuit of virtue. The death of *Cæſar* was undoubtedly juſtifiable under the government which then prevailed in *Rome* (X), notwithſtanding all the dirt that has been thrown

(W) *Plutarch* tells us in his life, that in *Latin* he was a good ſpeaker, and had, by conſtant exerciſe, attained a ſufficient excellence in making public orations and pleading cauſes; but in *Greek* he was remarkable for affecting the ſentiments and ſhort *Laconic* way of ſpeaking, eſpecially in his epiſtles, a collection of which has been publiſhed by *Aldus* in *Greek*, and by *Ranutius Florentius* in *Latin*. *Plutarch* inſtances three of them, the firſt whereof he wrote in the beginning of the war to the *Pergamenſes*, or inhabitants of *Pergamus*, thus: *I hear you have given* Dolabella *money; if you gave it willingly; you muſt own you have injured me; if unwillingly, ſhew it by giving willingly to me.* The ſecond inſcribed in the *Greek* copy to the *Bithynians*, in the *Latin* to the *Galatians*, and in *Plutarch* to the *Samians*, is couched in the following terms: *Your deliberations are tedious, your actions ſlow; what do you think will be the end?* The third was to the *Rhodians*, thus: *The* Xanthians, *ſuſpecting my kindneſs, have made their country their grave of deſpair. The* Patarenſes, *who have ſubmitted to me, have loſt nothing of their former liberty. It is in your power to chuſe the opinions of the* Patarenſes, *or the fortune of the* Xanthians (53). This epiſtle is likewiſe exhibited by *Velleius Paterculus*, but in a more diffuſed ſtyle (54). The ſpeech which *Brutus* made before *Cæſar* at *Nice*, the capital of *Bithynia*, in behalf of *Deiotarus* king of *Galatia*, is commended by *Cicero* (55), and the author of the dialogue on the *Latin* orators, which is commonly aſcribed to *Tacitus*. Tho' the king was charged with crimes of a high and dangerous nature, yet the eloquence of *Brutus* was ſo prevalent, that he preſerved to him great part of his kingdom. The liberty and vehemence with which he ſpoke on this occaſion, gave riſe to that memorable ſaying of *Cæſar* concerning him, as *Cicero* relates it in the firſt letter of his fourth book to *Atticus*: *De quo quidem ille ad quem diverti, Cæſarem ſolitum dicere, Magni refert hic quid velit, ſed quidquid volt, valde volt. Idque eum animadverti ſſe cum pro Deiotaro Niceæ diceret, valde eum vehementer & libere dicere.* And truly the natural firmneſs of his mind, as his hiſtorian obſerves (56), when once ſet on foot by the motives of right reaſon, and the principles of honeſty, which way ſoever it turned itſelf, moved with great vigor and impetuoſity, and generally effected its deſigns.

Brutus was, as we have obſerved above, a good orator; but, as he had made choice of the conciſe and grave ſtyle (57), he judged *Cicero*'s eloquence to want ſtrength (58); and *Cicero* on the other hand thought his ſtyle negligent and unconnected (59). *Brutus*'s ſtyle had another fault; it was often crouded with verſes. *Verſus hi fere excidunt*, ſays *Quintilian*, *quos Brutus ipſo componendi ductus ſtudio ſæpiſſime facit* (60). *Cicero* acknowledges, that *Brutus* very freely found fault with his taſte in point of ſtyle (61); but nevertheleſs that orator was highly pleaſed with the harangue which *Brutus* made on the death of *Cæſar*; *Eſt autem oratio*, ſays he, ſpeaking of this piece, after he had peruſed it with great attention, *ſcripta elegantiſſime, ſententiis, verbis, ut nihil poſſit ultra* (62).

Brutus was not only a good orator, but an excellent philoſopher. Of all the ſects of the *Greek* philoſophers, there was not one of which he had not been a hearer, and in which he had not made ſome proficiency; but he chiefly eſteemed the *Platoniſts*, and applied himſelf wholly to the ſtudy of the ancient academy (63). He was likewiſe well acquainted with all the branches of polite literature, and wrote ſeveral books, *viz.* one *de officiis*, cited by *Chariſius* and *Priſcian*, without all doubt the ſame which *Seneca* calls περὶ καθήκοντος (64); another *de virtute*, mentioned by *Cicero* (65) and *Seneca* (66); and a third *de patientia*, quoted by *Diomedes*. He abridged the *Roman* hiſtory of *Fannius* (67), and that of *Antipater* (68); but whether he finiſhed the abridgment of *Polybius*'s hiſtory, which he had undertaken, we know not; for *Plutarch* (69) only tells us, that the day before the great battle of *Pharſalia*, while the others were taken up with the thoughts of the next day's action, *Brutus* ſpent his whole time, till the evening, in writing that epitome. He likewiſe compoſed a panegyric on *Cato*, which *Cæſar* did not think extraordinary well penned (70).

(X) By the laws of *Rome*, the dominion of one, and conſequently the dominion of *Cæſar*, was tyranny; and any man was warranted to kill the tyrant: *eum jus faſque eſſet occidi, neve ea cædes capitalis noxa haberetur*. The only reaſon that can be alledged againſt killing *Cæſar* is, that the ſtate was irretrieveable, and a uſurper become a neceſſary evil. This argument *Seneca* urges againſt the enterprize of *Brutus* and his followers (71). But *Brutus*, *Cicero*, and the ſenate, that is, the greateſt and wiſeſt men in *Rome*, judged otherwiſe, and who was better qualified to judge? Nay, liberty was for ſome time actually reſtored; why it ſubſiſted no longer, was owing to caſualties, and to the treachery of *Octavianus*, who, after he was emperor, thought it poſſible to reſettle the old free ſtate, and propoſed once or twice to reſign. *Druſus*, his wife's ſon, was of the ſame opinion, and declared his reſolution to effect it. *Cæſar* himſelf might, by his dictatorial power, have ſuppreſſed the inſolence of particulars, revived the force of the laws, and reduced the commonwealth to her firſt principles. This would have been true glory, the only right uſe of his abſolute power, and the only amends for having aſſumed it; but, inſtead of this, he continued more and more to debauch the people, and trample upon the moſt ſacred laws of his country. Liberty and the republic were a jeſt to him; he treated the very name with contempt; *nihil eſſe rempublicam; appellationem modo ſine corpore ac ſpecie* (72). He ridiculed *Sylla* for reſigning his uſurped power; he had nothing

(53) *Plut. ibid.* (54) *Vell. Patercul. l.* ii. *c.* 70. (55) *Cic. in oratore.* (56) *Plut. ibid.* (57) *Quintil. l.* xii. *c.* 10. (58) *Vide dialog. de cauſis corr. eloq.* (59) *Auctor de cauſis corr. eloq.* (60) *Quintil. l.* ix. *c.* 4. (61) *Cic. ad Attic. l.* xiv. *epiſt.* 20. (62) *Idem ibid. l.* xv. *epiſt.* 1. (63) *Plut. in Bruto.* (64) *Seneca epiſt.* 95. (65) *Cic. Tuſcul.* 1. & *de finibus* 1. (66) *Senec. conſol. ad Helviam, c.* 9. (67) *Cic. ad Attic. l.* xii. *epiſt.* 5. (68) *Idem ibid. l.* xiii. *epiſt.* 8. (69) *Plut. ubi ſupra* (70) *Cic. ad Attic.* (71) *Senec. de benefic. l.* ii. *c.* 26. (72) *Suet. in Cæſ.*

thrown at this tranſaction by the mean and grovelling abettors of arbitrary power. a
We may ſee what the *Romans*, and *Tully*, the leaſt adventurous of men, thought of this action, by a paſſage in one of his letters to his friend *Atticus*, bemoaning the misfortunes of the times; where he ſays, *But notwithſtanding the cloud that hangs over us, I conſole myſelf in the ides of* March. *Our heroes have done every thing within their power, and with a reſolution by which they have acquired immortal glory.* Nor was the putting the deſtroyer of their conſtitution and liberties to death, by violent hands, without precedent in the *Roman* hiſtory (Y). And as to the method they made choice of, it appears adequate to the dignity of the action; for who more proper to compaſs ſuch an event, than a number of ſenators diſtinguiſhed by their attachment to liberty? or what place could be more juſtly fixed on for the tyrant of b
Rome to expire in, than that dictatorial chair, which he poſſeſſed in violation of the laws of his country? We often ſee the love of one's country the bent and inclination of very different men, influenced either by paſſion, acrimony of temper, vanity, reſentment, a luſt of power, or any other inducement: nor were all thoſe, who joined in that glorious cauſe, altogether free from ſuch ſuſpicions; for an uniform, ſteady, conſtant attachment to the public good was to be met with in *Brutus* alone. Men generally differ from themſelves as much as from one another; *Brutus* was always the ſame. If we have dwelt too long in conſidering the virtues of this great man, the mighty excellence of his character and his inviolable attachment to the public cauſe may plead our excuſe. We are not only indebted to hiſtory for the inlargement of c
our minds, but likewiſe for the improvement of our moral virtues; and to an *Engliſhman* the foremoſt of the rank in the purſuit of liberty. Who then more properly can become the object of our contemplation than *Brutus*, the genius of liberty?

The generoſity of Antony, *and cowardly ſpite of* Octavianus.

Let us now return to the plains of *Philippi*. *Antony*, being informed the next day of the death of *Brutus*, flew to the place where the body ſtill lay, beheld it with grief and tears, caſt his purple mantle of a great value over it, and charged one of his freedmen to take care of the funeral of the illuſtrious deceaſed. Some time after, being told that the ſervant had not burnt the mantle with the corpſe, and had detained part of the money which was to be expended in the funeral, he ordered him to be put to death. *Octavianus*, who had not greatneſs of ſoul enough for ſuch generous humad
nity, could not forbear ſhewing a cowardly ſpite to the dead body of *Brutus*, before whom he had a little before fled for his life. He cauſed the head of that excellent perſon

nothing in his head or heart but abſolute rule, a diadem, the title of king, and controuling the world according to his luſt; *nullos non honores ad libidinem cepit & dedit, ſpreto patriæ more*; nay, he would have his very words to go for laws, *debere homines pro legibus habere quæ dicat* (73). He was therefore lawfully ſlain, tho' not by the forms of law, which his uſurped power had rendered impoſſible. *Abuſus dominatione & jure cæſus exiſtimaretur*, ſays *Suetonius* (74)

(Y) Nor in *Brutus*'s family; for his mother *Servilia* was of the family of *Servilius Ahala*, who ſlew *Spurius Manlius*, as we have related elſewhere, for ſtirring the people up to a rebellion, and aſpiring at the ſovereign power. The famous dictator *Quintus Cincinnatus*, whoſe general of the horſe he was, commended the zeal of *Servilius*, and approved of the action (75). Whether *Brutus* was deſcended from the celebrated *Junius Bratus*, who expelled *Tarquin the Proud*, is uncertain. *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus* maintains, not out of any prejudice to *Brutus*, that he was not deſcended from him. This, ſays he, is the opinion of thoſe hiſtorians, who have examined the affairs of the *Romans* with the greateſt exactneſs (76). *Dion* poſitively affirms, that none of the race of *Junius Brutus* was left after the execution of his two ſons (77). On the other hand, *Plutarch* tells us, that *Junius Brutus* had a great many children by a ſiſter of the *Vitellii* (78); and adds, upon the authority of the philoſopher *Poſidonius*, that two indeed of *Brutus*'s ſons, who had attained to man's eſtate, were, by their father's order, put to death; but that a third, yet an infant, was left alive, from whom the family was propagated down to *Marcus Brutus*. The ſame philoſopher writes, that in his time there were ſeveral famous perſons of the family of *M. Brutus*, and of his own acquaintance, who very much reſembled the ſtatue of *Junius Brutus* (79). *Cicero* likewiſe in his *Philippics* ſpeaks of our *Brutus* as deſcended from *L. Brutus*: L. Brutus *was the man*, ſays he, *who both himſelf freed the commonwealth from the ſovereignty of kings, and has now, almoſt five hundred years after, propagated deſcendants, famed for the like virtue and the like atchievement* (80). And elſewhere (81); *If leaders were wanting to free our country, I would ſtir up the* Brutuſes, *who both daily behold the image of* L. Brutus, *and one of them that of* Ahala *alſo. Should theſe men therefore, deſcended from ſuch anceſtors, aſk counſel of ſtrangers, rather than of their own family, abroad rather than at home?* But after all, *Cicero*, who ſpeaks here as an orator, and not as an hiſtorian, is not a proper evidence to invalidate the teſtimony of *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus* and *Dion*. An orator little cares whether ſuch facts be certain or not; it is enough for him, if the facts he relates be believed by the greater part of the people. Nothing can be with any certainty determined on this head; but, all things well conſidered, we are inclined to prefer the authority of *Dion*, and of *Dionyſius*, a moſt accurate writer, to that of *Cicero* and *Plutarch*.

(73) *Idem ibid.* (74) *Idem ibid.* (75) *Plut. ibid. & Liv. l.* iv. (76) *Dio. Hal. l.* v. (77) *Dio. l.* xliv. (78) *Plut. in Valerio.* (79) *Plut in Bruto.* (80) *Cic. Philip.* 1. (81) *Idem, Philip.* 2.

person to be cut off, and charged one of his friends to carry it to *Rome*, and there lay it ignominiously at the feet of *Cæsar*'s statue [p]; but in the passage from *Dyrrachium*, a violent storm arising, it was, probably out of superstition, thrown into the sea [q]. The rest of the body was burnt by *Antony*'s orders, and the ashes conveyed in an urn to *Servilia*, *Brutus*'s mother. As for *Porcia* his wife, *Valerius Maximus* and *Nicolaus*, the *Peripatetic* philosopher, tell us, that being resolved not to outlive her husband, but so narrowly watched by her friends, that she could neither make use of poison or a dagger, she snatched some burning coals out of the fire, and shutting them close in her mouth, stifled herself, and expired in the arms of the women who watched her [r]. But we have a great deal of reason to look upon this account as fabulous, since *Plutarch* assures us [s], that, in his time, was still extant a letter of *Brutus* to his friends, wherein he lamented the death of *Porcia*, and complained of them for suffering her to die of melancholy; so that the history of the live-coals, which has been the subject of a fine epigram [t]. is no better than a fable.

The death of Porcia.

THE death of *Brutus* was no sooner known in his camp, than those who had retired thither, to the number of fourteen thousand men, submitted upon honourable terms to the two victorious generals. Others fled into the island of *Thasus*, and from thence escaped into *Asia*. *Antony* and *Octavianus* found in *Brutus*'s camp great store of arms and provisions, and immense sums of money, which enabled them to satisfy immediately some of their veterans, whom they disbanded soon after the battle, being glad to get rid of men, who, proud of their victory, began to usurp an authority even over their generals. By this famous overthrow the triumvirs established, on the ruins of the republic, the authority they had usurped, and beaome masters of the whole *Roman* empire, *Sicily* alone excepted, which was still held by *Sextus*, the son of *Pompey the Great*; but the opposition they met with from him was not very considerable, as we shall see in the following chapter.

Many of Brutus's *men submit to the conquerors.*

[p] PLUT. in Anton. & Brut. APPIAN. l. iv. p. 668. SUET. in Octavio, c. 13. [q] DIO, l. xlvii. p, 356
[r] PLUT. in Brut. [s] Idem. ibid. [t] Vide MART. l. i. epig. 43.

CHAP. XVI.

The history of Rome, *from the death of* Brutus *and* Cassius *to the perfect settling of the empire by* Octavianus.

THE first days after the battle were spent by the triumvirs, in punishing such of their enemies, as had the misfortune to fall into their hands. *Antony*, after having reproached *Hortensius* with the death of his brother *Caius*, of whom we have spoken above, caused him to be slain on his tomb. He likewise put *Varro*, an illustrious senator, to death, who had on all occasions betrayed an irreconcileable hatred to him, and could not forbear reproaching the triumvir, even when he was in his power, with his debauched and scandalous life, which, he said, he would one day end with an unhappy and tragical death. *Livius Drusus*, the father of that *Livia* who was afterwards married to *Augustus*, not caring to outlive the liberty of his country, laid violent hands on himself in his tent. *Quintilius Varus*, after having adorned himself with all the ensigns of the honours and dignities he had borne, chose rather to die by the hands of his freedmen, than to be exposed to the insults of a mercileſs enemy. *Octavianus* on this occasion betrayed a cruelty unworthy of a *Roman*, which some of his flatterers endeavour to excuse, by ascribing it, not to the natural bent of his temper, but

The triumvirs punish their enemies.

but to the long and tedious indiſpoſition, which had ſoured his humour. However that be, it is certain, that he ſhewed as much cruelty and inſolence after the battle, as he wanted courage in it. We have ſeen above what cowardly ſpite he ſhewed to the body of his deceaſed enemy, which *Antony* treated with great reſpect and tenderneſs. The mean ſoul of *Octavianus* was not capable of ſuch generous humanity: he inſulted every illuſtrious captive with bitter words and outrageous invectives, putting them to death without mercy. To one, who earneſtly begged as a particular favour, that he would ſuffer his body to be buried after his death, he anſwered, that *the ravens would ſoon regulate that matter.* When a father implored mercy for his ſon, and the ſon for the father, he commanded, with an exceſs of cruelty hardly to be met with in the hiſtory of the moſt barbarous nations, the father and ſon to fight for their lives; this barbarous fight he beheld, beheld unconcerned the ſon to ſtab his father, and then himſelf for having done it. Others tell us, that he obliged the father and ſon to draw lots for their lives, and that the father gave himſelf voluntarily up to execution to ſave his ſon, who, diſdaining to owe his life to the murderer of his father, ſtabbed himſelf in the preſence of the tyrant. Had not therefore the remaining priſoners reaſon, when they were brought before *Antony* and him, loaded with chains, to ſalute the former with the honourable title of imperator, and the latter with bitter invectives, curſes, and reproaches? Among theſe were the famous *M. Favonius*, who with the ſword at his throat reproached the mercileſs *Octavianus*, with all the freedom of a *Cynic* philoſopher [w] (Z).

The cruelty of Octavianus.

THE triumvirs, having thus glutted their revenge with the blood of many illuſtrious citizens, who on that fatal day fell into their hands, began now to deliberate about the proper meaſures for the eſtabliſhing of their authority, and the utter ſuppreſſion of thoſe who ſtill ſtood up in defence of their ancient laws and liberties. For *Pompey* was ſtill in poſſeſſion of *Sicily*; *Domitius Ahenobarbus* and *Statius Murcus*, *Brutus*'s admirals, commanded two powerful fleets, the former on the coaſts of *Macedon*, the latter in the *Ionian* ſea; *Caſſius Parmenſis* (A), one of the conſpirators, having been left in *Aſia* by *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, with a conſiderable fleet and a competent number of forces, to keep the eaſtern provinces in awe, upon the news of *Brutus*'s overthrow and death, reinforced his fleet with thirty *Rhodian* ſhips, which he manned with *Romans*, and being joined by *Clodius*, governor of *Rhodes*, at the head of three thouſand men, by *Lepidus* governor of *Crete* with the gariſon which *Brutus* had left there, by *Clodius*, *Torulus*, young *Cicero*, and many other perſons of diſtinction, who had fled into *Aſia*, he gave no ſmall umbrage to the triumvirs. In a private conference therefore between them, it was agreed, that *Antony* ſhould march into the eaſt and ſettle thoſe provinces, and that *Octavianus* ſhould lead the old troops into *Italy*, put them there in poſſeſſion of the lands which had been promiſed them, and to force young *Pompey* out of a retreat, which ſerved for an aſylum to all the zealous republicans. Before they parted they diſbanded all their veterans, except eight thouſand, after having

The republican party ſtill powerful.

[w] Vide SUET. in Julio, & DIO. l. xlvii.

(Z) *M. Favonius* had been always very intimate with *Brutus*, but nevertheleſs by him left out of the conſpiracy for the following reaſon. As *Brutus* was diſcourſing one day with him and *Statilius*, who was by ſect an *Epicurean*, and propoſing ſome queſtions to be diſputed, with a deſign to diſcover their ſentiments, *Favonius* declared his judgment to be, that a civil war was worſe than the moſt unjuſt tyranny. Though he had no ſhare in the death of *Cæſar*, nor approved of the action, yet he joined *Brutus*, ſerved him with the utmoſt fidelity to the laſt, and died with a conſtancy worthy of a *Roman* ſenator and philoſopher (81).

(A) *Caſſius Parmenſis* was one of the conſpirators, but ſome time after the battle of *Philippi* he joined *Antony*, and ſerved under him at the battle of *Actium*. Upon his defeat he returned to *Athens*, where he was murdered by *Octavianus*'s orders. He was a native of *Parma*, and thence called *Parmenſis*. As that city ſtood within the bounds of ancient *Hetruria*, which extended, as *Cluverius* ſhews, to the banks of the *Po*, no wonder that *Horace* calls him an *Hetruſcan* (82). He was, in the opinion of that inimitable writer, a great verſifier, but no extraordinary poet. He left ſuch a vaſt heap of writings behind him, that it was pleaſantly ſaid he wanted no other materials for his funeral pile.

——————*Hetruſci*
Quale fuit Caſſi rapido ferventius amni
Ingenium, capſis quem, fama eſt, eſſe libriſque
Ambuſtum propriis——————(83).

Quintilius Varus, by whom he was aſſaſſinated, is ſaid to have found a tragedy among his papers, intitled *Thyeſtes*, which he publiſhed as his own. It is at leaſt certain, that *Quintilius*, having put him to death, ſeized all his writings, among which were ſeveral tragedies, he having a particular talent at that ſorts of compoſure. The verſes upon *Orpheus*, which *Achilles Tatius* publiſhed under his name, are by the beſt judges thought to be of a later date.

(81) *Plut. in Bruto.* (82) *Horat. l. Sermon. ſatyr.* 10. (83) *Idem. ibid.*

having ſatisfied them in part with the money they had left, and what they found in *Brutus*'s camp. Of the remaining forces *Octavianus* took with him into *Italy* four legions and four thouſand horſe; *Antony* keeping with him ſix legions and ten thouſand horſe. It was alſo agreed, that *Octavianus* ſhould yield two of his legions to his collegue, and receive two others in their ſtead belonging to *Antony*, which had been left in *Italy* under the command of *Calenus*, one of *Antony*'s lieutenants [x]. Though the forty-three legions they had in the beginning of the war were by this time reduced to twenty-eight, yet they wanted vaſt ſums to pay five thouſand drachmas to each private man, and reward all the officers in proportion: this was the principle motive of *Antony*'s expedition into *Aſia*, whither he carried with him for his guard four thouſand veterans, beſides the above-mentioned forces, who were prevailed upon, though the time of their ſervice was expired, to attend him in quality of voluntiers, the like number remaining with *Octavianus* in the ſame quality and poſt [y].

Antony *and* Octavianus *parts.*

AND now the two conquerors parted, *Octavianus* taking his rout towards *Dyrrachium*, in order to return to *Italy*, and *Antony* marching into *Greece*, with a deſign to paſs over from thence into *Aſia*. *Octavianus* arrived in a few days march at *Dyrrachium*, where we ſhall leave him for a while to follow *Antony* in his memorable, but to him fatal, expedition into the eaſt. After ſo remarkable a victory, which was intirely owing to him (for *Octavianus* was not preſent in the firſt engagement, and in the ſecond was driven out of the field by the brave *Brutus*), he muſt needs viſit *Greece*, as being the country where flattery was managed with moſt delicacy. There laying aſide all majeſty, he took pleaſure in aſſiſting, like a private citizen, at the diſputes of the philoſophers in the ſchools and academies of *Athens*, in ſeeing the public ſports, and frequenting the religious ceremonies of the *Greeks*. As he was fond of being ſtyled, the *Lover of Greece*, but above all, the *Lover* of *Athens*, he adminiſtered juſtice there with a great deal of equity, and made very conſiderable preſents to the city, though he was himſelf in great want of money, his military cheſt being almoſt quite drained by the vaſt ſums he and his collegue had diſtributed among the veterans after the battle. Before he left *Attica* he cauſed an exact ſurvey to be made of the temple of *Apollo Pythius*, as if he deſigned to repair it; but he dropt that project on his arrival in *Aſia*, whither he marched with all his forces, leaving *Lucius Cenſorinus*, one of his lieutenants to govern *Greece* in his abſence. In *Aſia* all the kings and princes, who acknowledged the *Roman* power, came to make their court to him, many of them bringing with them their wives and daughters, to gain the triumvir's favour by their charms. The queens rivalled one another, who ſhould make him the moſt magnificent preſent, or appear moſt charming in his eyes. This croud of ſovereigns, who daily attended his levee and waited upon him where-ever he went, with their praiſes and ſubmiſſions, moſt agreeably ſoothed his ambitious and voluptuous temper; but nothing pleaſed him ſo much as the reception he met with at *Epheſus*. There the women went out to meet him in the habit they uſed to wear when they ſolemnized the feaſts of *Bacchus*, and the men and boys dreſt like *ſatyrs* and *fauns*. Nothing was to be ſeem throughout the town but ſpears wreathed with ivy, harps, flutes, and hautboys, while they ſtyled *Antony* in their ſongs, *Bacchus the Gracious* and *the Gentle*; and ſo indeed he was to ſome, but others he treated with great inhumanity. He pardoned all thoſe of *Brutus*'s party, who ſurrendered themſelves to him, except *Petronius*, who was one of the conſpirators, and *Quintus*, who was charged with betraying *Dolabella* to *Caſſius* in *Laodicea*. But then he ſtript ſeveral rich citizens of their eſtates to gratify his flatterers and buffoons, who often begged and obtained the eſtates of men yet living and in perfect health, making *Antony*, to whom they alone had acceſs, believe they were dead. Thus one of his cooks, having dreſſed him a ſupper to his taſte, begged and obtained as his reward the fine houſe of a wealthy citizen of *Magneſia*. But as the chief buſineſs, which had brought him into *Aſia*, was the raiſing of the neceſſary ſums for the ſatisfying of the victorious legions, he ſummoned the deputies of all the ſubjects and allies of *Rome* in thoſe parts to meet at *Epheſus*, and there, after having reproached them with aſſiſting *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, notwithſtanding the kindneſs *Cæſar* had ſhewn them, he acquainted them with the great promiſes he and his collegue had made to their twenty-eight conquering legions, amounting in all to a hundred and fifty thouſand men and upwards, and then concluded thus: *You may judge of the ſums we want from the number of our ſoldiers, and the promiſes we have made*

The obliging behaviour of Antony *to the* Greeks.

In Aſia *he is courted by kings, princes,* &c.

His behaviour towards the Aſiatics.

His ſpeech to the deputies of the Aſiatic *cities.*

[x] APPIAN. ibid. p. 672, 673. DIO, l. xlviii. p. 358. [y] APPIAN. ibid. LIV. l. CXXV. VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 74. PLUT. in Anton. DIO, ibid. p. 357, 358.

made them. This has obliged my collegue to go into Italy, *where he has taken upon him to* a
reward them with lands and houſes, from which he will be obliged to drive out the antient proprietors. But as for you, I will treat you with more humanity, being unwilling to deprive you of your inheritances; or drive you from your temples and ſepulchres of your forefathers. As you would needs run the fortune of our enemies in war; now that the gods have been pleaſed to grant the victory, not according to your wiſhes, but their own juſtice, we ought to treat you as the allies, or rather as the accomplices, of our foes, and inflict upon you ſome exemplary puniſhment. But, as the laws of humanity will not always allow the puniſhments to be proportionable to the crimes, inſtead of other penalties, we ſhall content our ſelves with a ſum of money, the ſame you gave our enemies, ten years tribute: but as you paid it to them in two years time, we require it in one. This is the only puniſhment we intend to inflict upon b
you, which we ſhould very readily forgive, were not our exigencies very preſſing. At theſe words the deputies threw themſelves at *Antony*'s feet, remonſtrating with tears in their eyes, that their aſſiſting *Brutus* and *Caſſius* could not be laid to their charge as a crime, ſince they had been forced to it by ſuch cruel uſage, as made them rather objects of pity than puniſhment; and that as to the ſums which were demanded of them, it was not in their power to raiſe them, ſince *Brutus* and *Caſſius* had ſtript them, not only of all their gold and ſilver in ſpecie, but likewiſe of their plate, the furniture of their houſes, and of all the ornaments of their cities and temples. As *Antony* continued inflexible, *Hybreas*, an orator and agent for ſome of the *Aſiatic* cities, riſing up, *Since you are determined*, ſaid he, *to double our taxes, pray take care* c
that our ſummers and autumns be doubled too; otherwiſe we ſhall never be able to ſatisfy your demands. This liberty of ſpeech did not diſpleaſe *Antony* (B), who, as *Plutarch* tells us, was as well contented to be handſomely rallied, as he was delighted in rallying others. The deputies prevailed at length, but with much ado, upon the triumvir, to be contented with the tribute of nine years to be paid in two[z]: ſo that all the princes, kings, and free ſtates of *Aſia*, were obliged to lay heavy taxes on their ſubjects for the payment of this ſum, which reduced them, after the exorbitant taxes with which *Caſſius* had loaded them, almoſt to a ſtate of beggary [a]. After this, *Antony* took a progreſs through the provinces of *Aſia*, giving every-where extraordinary demonſtrations of generoſity and good-nature. He pardoned *Lucius*, brother to *Caſſius*, and d
ſeveral others of the adverſe party, who upon the fame of his clemency flocked to him from all quarters: but he continued implacable to thoſe who had any hand in the death of *Cæſar*. The *Xanthians* he freed from all tribute, and perſuaded them to rebuild their city. To the *Rhodians*, whom *Caſſius* had treated with great ſeverity, he gave the iſlands of *Andros*, *Tenos*, *Naxos*, and *Myndus*. The inhabitants of *Tarſus* and *Laodicea* he likewiſe exempted from all taxes. Neither was he unmindful of the *Athenians*, to whom he granted the iſlands of *Ægina*, *Teos*, *Cea*, *Sciathus*, and *Peparethus* [b]: ſo that the whole weight of the exorbitant contributions, amounting to two hundred thouſand talents, fell upon the inhabitants of *Aſia*, properly ſo called, of *Syria*, *Phrygia*, *Myſia*, *Galatia*, *Cappadocia*, *Cilicia*, and *Paleſtine*. As e
he wanted ready money to pay his ſoldiers, while the tax was raiſing, he ſent all his horſe to *Palmyra* or *Tadmor* to take the plunder of that rich city, inſtead of their pay; but the inhabitants, having timely notice of the deſign, removed before their arrival, their families and effects to the other ſide of the *Euphrates*; ſo that the triumvir's

The Aſiatics *loaded with heavy taxes.*

His generoſity.

[z] Plut. in Anton. Appian. l. v. p. 673, 674. [a] Idem ibid. [b] Idem ibid. p. 675.

(B) The ſame *Hybreas* ſome time after told *Antony*, when he required more money; Aſia *has already furniſhed two hundred thouſand talents for your ſervice; if the money did not come to your hands, call thoſe to an account who levied it; but if it did, and you have already ſpent that ſum, we are all undone.* Theſe words, ſays *Plutarch*, touched *Antony* to the quick; for many things were done in his name, of which he was quite ignorant; not that he was by nature eaſily impoſed upon, but becauſe he repoſed too great confidence in the integrity of thoſe he employed. He was naturally very ſincere, but ſomewhat ſlow of apprehenſion; but as ſoon as he was made ſenſible of his faults, he was much troubled, and ready to aſk pardon of thoſe he had offended. He loved raillery, but was as well contented to be handſomely rallied, as he was pleaſed to rally others. This freedom had, as *Plutarch* obſerves, its inconvenience; for he imagined, that thoſe friends, who uſed ſo much liberty in their mirth, would never flatter or deceive him in any buſineſs of conſequence, not perceiving, that theſe ſubtle paraſites diſguiſed their flattery to make it go down the better. Upon examining any difficulty, they contrived matters ſo as not to ſeem to yield to him out of complaiſance, but becauſe his underſtanding was ſuperior to theirs (84).

(84) *Plut. in Anton.*

triumvir's cavalry returned empty. On their retreat the *Palmyrenians* returned to their habitations, but, being exaſperated by this cruel uſage, put themſelves under the protection of the *Parthians*, which gave occaſion to the ſecond *Parthian* war. [c].

Antony arriving in *Cilicia*, diſpatched from thence *Dellius* into *Egypt*, to ſummon *Cleopatra* to appear before him, and give him an account of her conduct during the war. For though ſhe had aſſiſted *Dolabella*, yet *Serapion*, her lieutenant in *Cyprus*, had joined *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, which the triumvirs had taken much amiſs, conſidering what ſhe owed to the memory of *Cæſar*. *Dellius*, who was ſent on this meſſage, was a famous hiſtorian and a man of great wit and learning, but of no principles, being one of thoſe who have always a baſe compliance for the inclinations of their maſters (C). As he was well acquainted with *Antony*'s temper, after a ſhort converſation with the queen, he eaſily judged with what ſentiments a woman of her beauty, wit, addreſs, and ſprightly converſation would inſpire him; and therefore encouraged her to go in perſon into *Cilicia*, aſſuring her, that *Antony*, who was a brave and amorous ſoldier, would receive her with all the reſpect due to perſons of her high ſtation, extraordinary merit, and wonderful qualifications. She had great faith in the words of *Dellius*; but her chief dependance was in her own beauty; and indeed never had beauty been ſignalized by more illuſtrious conqueſts: ſhe had captivated the heart of *Julius Cæſar*, of *Pompey*'s eldeſt ſon, and formerly of *Antony* himſelf, when he ſerved under *Gabinius*, governor of *Syria*; and this when ſhe was young and ignorant in the arts of love; whereas ſhe was now to meet him in the flower of her age, with all the charms of beauty, and all the artifice of riper years. But what above all inſpired her with certain confidence of rekindling the flame in *Antony*'s heart was, the quickneſs of her wit; for though there were ſome at *Rome* who rivalled her in beauty, none was to compare to her in the agreeableneſs of her converſation, and in a certain natural grace and ſweetneſs, which appeared in every thing ſhe ſaid or did, and made a deep impreſſion on all who heard her. In ſhort, the charms of her converſation were irreſiſtible, and the very tone of her voice ſo harmonious, that no inſtrument was capable of a greater variety of ſounds, and of equally ſoothing the ears of the hearers. Beſides, ſhe expreſſed herſelf with ſo much eaſe, and in ſo many different languages, that ſhe was looked upon by all as a prodigy. The moſt barbarous nations heard her with aſtoniſhment anſwer their embaſſadors without an interpreter. She underſtood, beſides many others, the *Æthiopian*, the *Troglodite*, the *Hebrew*, the *Arabian*, *Syrian*, *Median*, and *Parthian* tongues; which was the more wonderful in her, conſidering, that moſt of the kings, her predeceſſors, had not been able to learn the *Egyptian* tongue, and ſeveral of them had forgot the *Macedonian*, their original language [d]. The confidence ſhe placed in theſe extraordinary accompliſhments encouraged her more than the words of *Dellius*, or her own beauty, to appear before *Antony*. She made great preparations for her journey, taking with her vaſt ſums of money, and all the jewels, plate, and rich ornaments of the *Egyptian* kings. Many were the letters ſhe received from *Antony*, haſtening her coming; but ſhe ſeemed to make no account of his orders. At length ſhe ſet out, and arriveing at the mouth of the river *Cydnus*, ſhe embarqued on a ſmall galley, and appeared before *Antony* at *Tarſus* in *Cilicia*, in the fantaſtical manner which we have deſcribed at length in our hiſtory of *Egypt* [e]. The triumvir was ſo taken with the charms of her perſon, the quickneſs of her wit, and the agreeableneſs of her converſation, that from the firſt day he conceived a paſſion for her, which occaſioned all the future misfortunes of his life. He was never after the ſame man, but wholly taken up with the

He ſummons Cleopatra *to give an account of her conduct.*

Her charms.

She arrives at Tarſus *in* Cilicia.

[c] Appian. ibid. [d] Plut. in Anton. Joseph. antiq. l. xiv. c. 23. Appian. l. v. p. 673. Dio, l. xlviii. p. 371. [e] Vide Hiſt. Univerſal. Vol. III. p. 382.

(C) *Quintus Dellius* wrote in *Greek* an account of *Antony*'s unſucceſsful expedition againſt the *Parthians*, in which he attended him and had a chief command. He was one of *Horace*'s moſt intimate friends, who addreſſed to him the third ode of his ſecond book, containing the ſoundeſt principles of the *Epicurean* philoſophy. He was a man of great wit and learning, but of a very bad character. *Meſſala Corvinus* uſed to call him *deſultorem bellorum civilium*, that is, the *vaulter of the civil wars*. For he left *Dolabella* to ſide with *Caſſius*, then quitted *Caſſius* to join *Antony*, and at laſt abandoned *Antony* to take party with *Octavianus*. During his ſtay at the court of *Egypt*, the fair queen captivated his heart, and is ſaid not to have been diſpleaſed with the addreſſes of a man of his fine genius. In the time of *Seneca* ſeveral letters of his to that queen were handed about, written with too much familiarity (85).

(85) *Vide Senec. l. i. de clementia. c.* 10. *& M. Senec. ſuaſ.* 1. *Strabo, l.* xi. *& Lipſ. ad* 1. *Annal. Tacit.*

And captivates Antony.

the thoughts of the beautiful *Cleopatra*, he neglected all other buſineſs, and followed her into *Egypt*, ſpending there the whole enſuing winter with her in a moſt ſcandalous converſation, well ſuited to his vicious temper, but highly unbecoming a man of his age and character [f].

Octavianus *greatly indiſpoſed.*

While *Antony* was thus wallowing in pleaſures with his beloved *Cleopatra* in *Egypt*, his collegue was wholly taken up in ſettling the affairs of *Italy*, and dividing the promiſed lands among the veterans. Having imbarqued his troops at *Dyrrachium*, he croſſed the *Adriatic* gulf, without meeting with any of the enemy's fleets, and landed at *Brunduſium*; where he was taken ſo ill, that his phyſicians gave him over, and the news of his death was immediately ſpread all over *Italy*, and differently received according to the different inclinations of the people. Moſt of the ſenators looked upon this report as one of his uſual tricks to diſcover their intentions and real ſentiments; and therefore by a decree of the ſenate prayers and ſacrifices were offered up to the gods for his recovery, which ſoon followed by the favour of his native air and the vigor of his youth. As ſoon as he was in a condition to bear the fatigues of the journey, he ſet out for *Rome*, where he was received with loud acclamations, eſpecially by the populace. Some time before his arrival the faſces had been transferred from *Lepidus* and *L. Munatius Plancus* to *L. Antonius*, the brother of the triumvir, and *P. Servilius Vatia Iſauricus*; but *Fulvia*, *Antony*'s wife, a woman of a manly ſpirit and an unbounded ambition, had gained the aſcendant over the new conſuls, and governed *Rome* with an abſolute ſway. This *Octavianus* could not bear; and hence the mutual jealouſies and diſtruſts between her and the young triumvir, which at length kindled a war in the very bowels of *Italy*. *Octavianus* met with many, almoſt inſurmountable, difficulties in the diſtribution of the promiſed lands. As the public treaſury was quite exhauſted, he could not content the ſoldiery without giving up to them the ſeveral towns which he had promiſed them by way of reward after the victory; and this he was well appriſed would provoke the people. Moſt of the inhabitants of thoſe unhappy towns flocked daily in great multitudes to *Rome*: vaſt numbers of women with children in their arms, whoſe tender years and innocence moved even the triumvir's friends to compaſſion, daily filled the temples and public places with their cries and lamentations. The people on this occaſion talked with a great deal of freedom and boldneſs; *This war*, ſaid they, *has been undertaken not for the public good, but for the private views of the triumvirs, who, ſince they have reaped the advantage of it, ought to bear all the charges, and not ſatisfy their ſoldiers at the expence of ſo many diſtreſſed families.* *Octavianus* heard and patiently bore theſe complaints, with a diſſimulation peculiar to himſelf. Unwilling to give occaſion to freſh diſturbances, he borrowed what money he could; but finding he could not raiſe the ſufficient ſums to ſatisfy his ſoldiers, he broke through all difficulties, and, purſuant to his firſt deſign, allotted them the lands for their inheritance, which he had promiſed in the beginning of the war. *Cremona* a city greatly attached to the intereſt of *Brutus*, ſuffered moſt in this iniquitous diſtribution, and *Mantua*, which was but too near to a place abandoned to the mercy of the ungovernable ſoldiery, had more than her ſhare in theſe misfortunes. The prince of the *Latin* poets had like to have periſhed on this occaſion, by the hand of a centurion, named *Arrius*, who purſued him with his drawn ſword, for daring to diſpute with him the poſſeſſion of his ſmall eſtate on the banks of the *Mincius*; and would have deprived the world of the greateſt poet *Italy* ever produced, had he not happily eſcaped the fury of the inraged centurion by ſwimming croſs the river. This very adventure ſeems to have moſt of all contributed to the reputation and good fortune of that divine and inimitable writer; for it put him upon going to *Rome*, where his extraordinary talents being known to *Mæcenas* and *Aſinius Pollio*, he obtained by their intereſt the reſtitution of his farm, which is the ſubject of that excellent eclogue, the firſt of his *Bucolics*, he being then about twenty-eight years of age.

Jealouſies at Rome *between him and* Fulvia.

The prince of the Latin *poets in great danger.*

Octavianus *meets with great difficulties in the diſtribution of the lands.*

Octavianus himſelf was expoſed to great dangers in this extremely nice and difficult undertaking, the ſoldiery and people being equally exaſperated againſt him. Few of the veterans were ſatisfied with the portion of the lands allotted to them; *Antony*'s ſoldiers taxed *Octavianus* with partiality, as if he aſſigned the beſt lands to his own men and the worſt to them. *Fulvia* did not fail to improve theſe diſcontents; and being ſeconded by the conſul *Lucius*, her brother-in-law, whom ſhe eaſily gained over to her intereſt, ſhe left nothing unattempted to fire both the ſoldiers and people againſt one,

[f] Plut. Appian. Dio, ibid. Vide Hiſt. Univerſ. ubi. ſupra.

a one, who, ſhe well ſaw, was engroſſing all the power to himſelf. And indeed ſhe was attended therein with good ſucceſs, as plainly appeared from the two following accidents. A private ſoldier having taken place among the knights at a public ſhew, *Octavianus* ordered an officer to drive him from thence; hereupon a report being ſpread, by the triumvir's enemies, that the ſoldier had been aſſaſſinated by his orders, as ſoon as the ſports were over, they all crouded round him, demanding with threatenings to ſee their comrade. *Octavianus* cauſed him immediately to be ſought for and brought before them; when the ſoldier declared, that he had not received the leaſt hurt or ill uſage: the mutinous troops were not eaſily prevailed upon to believe him, as if they had been incenſed againſt him for depriving them of ſo ſpecious a

b pretence to murder their general. The other accident ſhews ſtill more plainly, to what a degree *Fulvia* and *Lucius* had eſtranged the minds of the ſoldiers from their general. He had appointed a day for his ſoldiers to meet in the field of *Mars*, in order to proceed to the diſtribution of the lands. The legionaries aſſembled accordingly at the time agreed on, but *Octavianus* not coming ſo ſoon as they expected, they began to mutiny, and ſpeak of their general with great diſreſpect; upon which *Nonnius*, one of the tribunes, ventured to remind them of their duty, and chide them for the indecency of their carriage. But the inſolent ſoldiery firſt rallied the zealous officer as a mercenary ſycophant, aud then inſulted him in a moſt outrageous manner; inſomuch, that he was forced to ſave himſelf by flight from their fury, and

c throw himſelf, finding no other means to eſcape, into the *Tiber*, where he was drowned. The mutineers drew the body out of the river, and expoſed it on the way which led to the field of *Mars*, that *Octavianus* might ſee it, and learn what might be his own fate, if he provoked their reſentment. *Octavianus*, though acquainted with this diſorder, went, contrary to the advice of his friends, to the field of *Mars*, and, only turning away his eyes from the dead body as he paſſed by it, appeared in the midſt of the aſſembly with an affected calmneſs and tranquillity. He artfully pretended to believe, that *Nonnius* had been killed in a quarrel by ſome private enemy, and, after having exhorted his ſoldiers not to carry their reſentment another time to ſuch extremities, without taking any further notice of ſuch a notorious breach of the

d military laws, he proceeded to the diſtribution of the lands, extending his liberality even to thoſe who had loſt their lives in the battle of *Philippi*, on whoſe wives and children he beſtowed that portion, which would have fallen to their lot. This falſe and iniquitous generoſity, for he gave nothing of his own, but only what he had with the utmoſt injuſtice taken from the lawful owners, had ſo good an effect on the minds of the undiſcerning multitude, that they demanded the authors of *Nonnius*'s death might be brought to condign puniſhment. The crafty general anſwered, that they would be ſufficiently puniſhed by the reproaches of their own conſcience, and the remorſe which ever attends wicked actions [g].

His ſoldiers mutiny.

His addreſs in quelling the mutiny.

Octavianus, having thus regained the affections of his ſoldiers, and being no longer

e able to bear the haughty and imperious behaviour of *Fulvia*, divorced her daughter *Clodia*, after having ſolemnly declared upon oath, that for him ſhe was ſtill a virgin. This was touching the proud *Fulvia* in the moſt ſenſible part: ſhe reſolved thenceforth to keep no meaſures with *Octavianus*, and accordingly began openly to encourage the veterans, who had ſerved under her huſband, to take arms againſt his ungrateful collegue, who, though he had no ways contributed to the victory, was now reaping all the advantage of it, with a view to ingroſs the whole power to himſelf, and exclude *Antony*, to whoſe valour the victory was entirely owing, from any ſhare in the adminiſtration. She appeared in all the aſſemblies of the people with the children ſhe had by *Antony*, and there made bitter complaints of the cruel uſage ſhe pretended

f they had received from one, who ought, with all the tenderneſs of a father, to have protected them againſt the inſults of their enemies. *Lucius*, her brother-in-law, joined her, giving out every-where, that *Octavianus* had nothing elſe in view but to inſlave *Italy*, deprive his collegue of all power, and make both the ſenate and people of *Rome* ſubſervient to his will. He pretended to act by the direction of, and in concert with, his brother, whoſe chief and main concern, he ſaid, was to preſerve the republic from the tyranny of the proud, crafty, and ambitious *Octavianus*. This diſagreement between the young triumvir on one ſide, and *Lucius* and *Fulvia* on the other, gave riſe to two different factions, and rent the republic anew into parties.

He divorces Clodia *the daughter of* Fulvia.

The

[g] Appian. Dio, ibid.

The republic rent anew into two factions.

The veterans, who had ſerved under *Antony*, and ſuch of the *Italians*, as had been driven from their ancient inheritances, ſided with *Fulvia* and *Lucius*. The friends of the late dictator, and thoſe legionaries, who were ſatisfied with the lands fallen to their ſhare, took party with *Octavianus:* ſo that all *Italy* was in a flame, and threatened with a new war ready to break out within the very walls of *Rome*, where horrible diſorders and cruel murders were daily committed, by the inſolent populace and ungovernable ſoldiery of the two oppoſite factions. To complete the misfortunes of *Rome* and *Italy*, a famine began to be felt all over the country, great part of the lands lying uncultivated ever ſince the beginning of the civil war, the ſeas being beſet with the enemy's fleets, and *Sextus Pompeius* holding *Sicily*, whence the continent, and eſpecially the capital, was ſupplied with corn. In this diſtreſs *Octavianus* would fain b have made up matters with *Fulvia* in an amicable manner; but ſhe would hearken only to the dictates of her own reſentment and the inſinuations of *Manius*, her huſband's agent, who aſſured her, that nothing but a war could force *Antony* from the arms of *Cleopatra*, and bring him into *Italy*. *Fulvia* followed the pernicious advice of *Manius*, and, abandoning *Rome*, retired to *Præneſte*, a city which had declared for her. There, forgetting her ſex, ſhe appeared with an helmet on her head and a ſword by her ſide, aſſembled ſome legions, harangued them, gave the parole, and performed all functions of a general. *Octavianus*, fearing young *Pompey* might take advantage of the miſunderſtanding between him and *Fulvia*, ſent a deputation to the camp of *Præneſte*, exhorting the female general and her brother-in-law, who, tho' c conſul, ſerved in a manner as her ſubaltern, to lay aſide all animoſities, and act in concert againſt their common enemies. The deputies, who were all of the ſenatorial order and common friends to the triumvirs, would have prevailed on *Lucius* to hearken to an accommodation, had he not been diverted from it by the implacable *Fulvia* and by *Manius*, whom *Antony* had appointed to manage his affairs in *Rome*, during his abſence. He in a ſtudied ſpeech accuſed *Octavianus* of unfair dealing with reſpect to *Antony*, as if he deſigned to ingroſs the whole power of the triumvirate to himſelf, and reduce his collegue to the ſtate of a private man, tho' the victory they had gained in the plains of *Philippi* was entirely owing to his valour: *And what other view*, ſaid he, *can the ambitious youth have in rewarding, as he has done, with lands* d *and poſſeſſions thirty-four legions inſtead of twenty-eight? His only aim is to form a ſtrong party for himſelf, at the expence of innumerable unhappy wretches, who have been driven from their inheritances to make room for his private friends and partiſans, who had no ſhare in the late war, and conſequently no claim to rewards of any kind: for their ſake he has over-run and plundered all* Italy, *not ſparing even the temples of the gods. He is now raiſing troops under pretence of making war upon* Pompey; *but it is manifeſt, he has ſomething elſe in view, which ought to give us umbrage, ſince, in the preſent ſituation of affairs, that expedition cannot ſo much as be thought of for want of proviſions and ſhipping. His real purpoſe is, without all doubt, to make himſelf formidable, and uſurp a tyrannical power, not only over the people and ſenate, but even over his collegues. If* e *therefore he is ſincerely diſpoſed to peace, let him disband his troops, give an account of the immenſe ſums which have paſſed through his hands, and for the future act in concert with thoſe who have nothing in view but the public good* [h].

Fulvia *retires from* Rome, *and forms a camp at* Præneſte.

Minius's *ſpeech againſt* Octavianus.

Both parties prepare for war.

Octavianus, upon the report of his deputies finding a war unavoidable, began to draw together his legions, as did likewiſe *Lucius* and *Fulvia*. In the mean time, ſeveral manifeſtos and declarations were publiſhed by the oppoſite parties, and ſome very ſharp letters paſſed between *Lucius* and *Octavianus*. The latter, ſeeing many of the veterans take party with his enemies, diſpatched an expreſs to *Salvidienus*, whom he had appointed his lieutenant in *Spain*, ordering him to haſten into *Italy* with the ſix legions under his command. *Salvidienus*, who had not yet reached his province, immediately turned back, repaſſed the *Alps*, and advanced with incredible expedition into *Ciſalpine Gaul* to join *Octavianus*, who have left the capital and was aſſembling his forces in that province. *Caius Aſinius Pollio* and *Publius Ventidius*, two of *Lucius*'s lieutenants, who were incamped at the foot of the *Alps*, followed *Salvidienus*, haraſſing him on his march, and cutting off his convoys, by which means they reduced him to great ſtraits. At the ſame time, *Lucius*, having aſſembled a conſiderable body of troops, advanced to meet *Salvidienus* and attack him in front, while his two lieutenants fell upon his rear. By this means, *Octavianus*'s lieutenant muſt inevitably have been

[h] Appian. ibid. Dio. l. xlviii. p. 359, 360. Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 74. Suet. in Octav. c. 62.

a been cut off with all his men, had not *Vipſanius Agrippa* with a choice body of veterans come ſeaſonably to his relief, and, poſting himſelf between him and *Lucius*, attacked the city of *Sutrium*. As the inhabitants of that place had ſignalized their attachment to the intereſt of *Lucius*, he flew to their aſſiſtance, which gave *Salvidienus* an opportunity of joining *Agrippa*, and ſeizing with him, after he had taken *Sutrium* by aſſault, all the paſſes and defiles leading to the two camps of *Pollio* and *Ventidius*. *Lucius*, after having attempted in vain to open himſelf a way ſword in hand, reſolved to retire into the city of *Peruſia*, and wait there, as in a place of ſafety, for the arrival of his two lieutenants. But *Agrippa* and *Salvidienus*, following him cloſe, inveſted the place, before he had time to reflect on the danger, to which he expoſed himſelf and his troops. *Octavianus* was no ſooner informed of the bad ſituation of *Lucius*, than he flew to *Peruſia*, and in concert with his two lieutenants carried on the ſiege with great vigor; but as he found it impoſſible to take by aſſault ſo ſtrong a place, gariſoned by a whole army, he reſolved to reduce it by famine; and with this view ſurrounded it with a line of circumvallation fifty ſix furlongs in compaſs. From his camp he drew lines quite to the *Tiber*, which he ſtrengthened with ramparts, and flanked with towers at equal diſtances, that is, about ſixty foot from one another. Theſe towers he filled with archers, ſlingers, and all ſorts of engines to prevent the enemy from receiving any convoys by water. *Lucius* on his ſide was continually haraſſing the workmen and the legions that covered them with briſk ſallies, in which his men, who were for the moſt part gladiators, had all the advantage. In one of theſe ſallies *Octavianus* himſelf narrowly eſcaped falling into the enemy's hands. In the mean time, *Fulvia* detached from her camp at *Præneſte L. Munatius Plancus* with a numerous body of choſen troops, ordering him to join *Ventidius* and *Pollio*, and with their united forces oblige the enemy either to venture a battle, or raiſe the ſiege. *Plancus*, in ſpite of *Agrippa* and *Salvidienus*, whom *Octavianus* detached againſt him, joined *Ventidius* and *Pollio*, and together with them advanced as far as *Fulginium*, within a hundred and ſixty furlongs of *Peruſia*. *Lucius* was overjoyed at their approach, which they took care to ſignify to him by fires in the night and other ſignals. He did not in the leaſt doubt, but they would exert their utmoſt endeavours, and make ſome great puſh for his relief. And ſuch indeed was their deſign; but *Plancus*, after having viewed the advantagious ſituation of the enemy, declared, that they could not attempt the relief of the place without expoſing their troops, for which they were reſponſible to *Antony*, to the greateſt dangers. His opinion prevailed, and as none of them approved of *Lucius*'s conduct, who had thus raſhly engaged in a war without his brother's knowledge, they retired, leaving their general and his troops in the utmoſt deſpair. As the beſieged were already reduced to the greateſt extremity for want of proviſions, they made a deſperate ſally, but were driven back into the city, after having fought with unparallelled bravery from nine at night till the next morning. *Lucius*, being determined to hold out to the laſt, took an inventory of all the proviſions in the place, which he daily meaſured out ſparingly to the ſoldiers and inhabitants of free condition, but allowed none to the ſlaves and ſervants of the army, though he kept them at the ſame time within the city, and had them narrowly watched, leſt they ſhould acquaint the enemy with the miſerable condition to which the gariſon was reduced. This was ſentencing an infinite number of innocent men to a moſt cruel death; a piece of inhumanity hardly to be matched in hiſtory! The unhappy wretches, reduced to this deſperate condition, wandered about the works in queſt of herbs, graſs, and roots, ſome of them even feeding upon their own ordure and the fleſh of their dead companions. At length the ſoldiers themſelves, no longer able to bear the famine, with which they were daily more and more pinched, begged leave of *Lucius* to make a general ſally, chuſing rather to die, like brave men ſword in hand, than to live under the miſeries they endured. The general approved of their choice; telling them, that they had nothing to depend upon but their own valour, and that in their preſent circumſtances they muſt either conquer or die. They reſolved therefore to make a deſperate puſh, and ſally out by break of day, to avoid the diſorders that might happen in the dark. Accordingly, having firſt provided a great number of ſpades, hooks, ſcaling ladders, and all ſorts of neceſſary tools to break down the wall, with which *Octavianus* had incloſed the city, as ſoon as day began to appear, they ruſhed out like famiſhed tygers, cut in pieces the enemy's advanced guards, filled the ditch in an inſtant, plucked up the paliſades, and began to undermine the wall, while the

Salvidienus, *one of* Octavianus's *lieutenants, reſcued out of danger by* Agrippa.

Lucius Antonius *beſieged in* Peruſia.

Lucius's *generals deſpair of relieving him.*

The cruelty of Lucius *towards the ſlaves.*

The gariſon, reduced to great ſtraits, make a deſperate ſally.

the rolling towers, which they had prepared for that purpoſe, and filled with archers and dart-men, diſcharged ſhowers of darts and arrows upon the enemy. The ground was immediately covered with dead bodies, and nothing was heard but groans and cries of dying men. *Octavianus*'s ſoldiers made a dreadful havock of the aggreſſors, their machines playing inceſſantly upon them from the ramparts, and overwhelming them with ſhowers of arrows, darts, ſtones, *&c.* But though many of them fell, the reſt, not ſo much afraid of death as of famine, continued fighting with an amazeing reſolution, and climbing up the wall, in ſpite of all oppoſition, drove the enemy from their poſts. The diſpute continued many hours with an obſtinacy and fury hardly to be expreſſed, and *Lucius*'s men, though they fought with all the diſadvantage imaginable, would have gained a complete victory, had the forces been equal; but *Octavianus*'s troops being far more numerous, and conſtantly relieved with freſh ſupplies, the beſieged, weakened with hunger, overpowered with numbers, and quite ſpent with the length of the combat, were in the end driven from off the wall. Theſe gallant men, though ſtunned with their fall, ſtill ſtrove to climb up again, encouraging with their words and geſtures their companions, who had not yet given ground. At length *Lucius*, ſurpriſed at ſuch extraordinary valour and fidelity, and knowing that their courage only ſerved to deſtroy them, commanded a retreat to be ſounded. Hereupon *Octavianus*'s men gave loud ſhouts of joy, ſtriking, according to the cuſtom of the *Romans*, when they had gained a victory, their ſwords againſt their bucklers. This thoſe brave men looked upon as an inſult, and therefore getting together the few ladders that remained, they returned to the charge with new fury; and it was with the utmoſt difficulty, and not without tears, that *Lucius* prevailed upon them to retreat. *Octavianus* that night doubled his guards, and diſpoſed ſeveral bodies of troops on the ramparts in ſuch manner, that they could eaſily relieve each other in caſe of a ſudden attack, which he apprehended [1].

Their gallant behaviour.

Lucius, finding himſelf reduced to the utmoſt extremity without any hopes of relief, reſolved at length to capitulate, and by that means ſave the lives of ſo many brave men. Accordingly he diſpatched three of the chief officers of his army to treat with *Octavianus* in his name. The crafty general received the deputies in a very polite and obliging manner, and returned this anſwer to their propoſals, that he willingly pardoned all thoſe who had ſerved under *Antony* againſt the murderers of his father; but as for the others, he inſiſted upon their ſurrendering at diſcretion. Thus he ſpoke to the deputies in common, but afterwards taking *Furnius*, one of them, aſide, he told him, that he intended to extend his mercy to the whole army, a few only excepted, who out of hatred to him had been the occaſion of all theſe diſorders. Upon the report of the deputies many illuſtrious *Romans*, who had been always declared enemies to the triumvirate, fearing to fall into the hands of *Octavianus*, with whoſe cruel and inhuman temper they were well acquainted, exhorted *Lucius* to inſiſt on the ſafety of all, and not to ſurrender upon any other terms, *Lucius* touched with compaſſion for ſo many brave men, whom he well knew *Octavianus*, if it were left to him, would ſacrifice to his revenge, reſolved to go out in perſon, and putting himſelf into the young conqueror's hands, intercede for his unhappy followers. *Octavianus* received him with great marks of eſteem and affection, and promiſed, out of the regard he owed to him and his brother, impunity to all who had taken part with him, on condition they ſurrendered without further reſiſtance, and put him in poſſeſſion of the city. *Lucius*, depending on *Octavianus*'s promiſe, ordered his men to march out the next day, and acknowledge the young conqueror for their general; which they did accordingly, and were incorporated into his troops. As for the inhabitants of *Peruſia*, who had ſhewn an inviolable attachment to *Lucius*, he ordered thoſe who compoſed the ſenate or council of the city, to be brought before him in chains, and ſentenced them all to die, contrary to the articles of agreement and the promiſe he had made. Some of thoſe unhappy men pleaded innocence, others begged mercy; but they had all one and the ſame anſwer, *Moriendum eſt, You muſt all die.* Accordingly, they were, to the number of three hundred, by his orders carried in chains to an altar raiſed to *Julius Cæſar*, and there inhumanly butchered, as victims to his manes, on the ides of *March*, the anniverſary of his death. With them were ſacrificed by the barbarous tyrant, *Caius Flavius*, *Clodius Bithynicus*, and *Canutius*, three illuſtrious ſenators of *Rome*, and zealous defenders of their antient liberties. The city

Lucius *reſolves to capitulate.*

Goes in perſon to treat with Octavianus.

The barbarous cruelty of Octavianus.

[1] Appian. Dio. ibid.

a city itſelf he delivered up to the luſt and plunder of his ſoldiers; but one *Ceſtius*, ſurnamed *Macedonicus* from his having ſerved a long time in *Macedon*, not caring to outlive the ruin of his country and the miſeries of his fellow-citizens, by ſetting fire to his own houſe, occaſioned the total deſtruction of that ancient and once powerful city. For, a high wind ariſing, the flames ſpread from houſe to houſe, and burnt with ſuch violence, that in a very ſhort time the whole city was laid in aſhes. Such was the end of this unhappy war, commonly called the *war of Peruſia*. As for *Pollio*, *Venditius*, *Plancus*, and the other commanders of *Antony*, tho' they had ſtill thirteen legions and fifteen hundred horſe, they all withdrew, and took refuge in the maritime cities, waiting there for ſuccours from *Antony*; but *Octavianus* purſuing them, b *Aſinius Pollio* went on board the fleet commanded by *Domitius Ahenobarbus*, *Brutus*'s admiral, carrying with him ſeven legions. *Plancus*, being purſued cloſe by *Agrippa*, abandoned the two legions he commanded, and went to join *Fulvia* at *Præneſte*. The legions went over to *Agrippa*, but *Plancus* together with *Fulvia* fled from *Præneſte* to *Puteoli*, and from thence to *Brunduſium*, where they both imbarqued and paſſed over into *Macedon*. The other commanders made their eſcape into *Sicily*, where they were kindly received by *Sextus Pompeius*, who, had he not been of a ſlothful and indolent temper, might have improved theſe diviſions to his advantage, and with great eaſe made himſelf maſter of all *Italy*. For *Statius Murcus*, falling out with *Domitius Ahenobarbus*, the other republican admiral, had joined him with two complete legic ons and twenty-four ſhips, carrying with him immenſe ſums, which he had extorted from the maritime cities of *Aſia*. Beſides, he had received a ſtrong reinforcement from *Cephalenia*, conſiſting of veterans who had eſcaped from the battle of *Philippi*. But the indolent *Pompey*, though in condition to invade *Italy* and cruſh the party of the triumvirs there, contented himſelf with ravaging the coaſts, acting therein more like a pirate than a general [k].

Peruſia *reduced to aſhes.*

Lucius's *generals diſperſed.*

AND now the other officers, who had ſerved under *Lucius*, being driven with their forces out of *Italy*, *Tiberius Claudius Nero*, at the head of a few veterans and a great number of ſlaves, whom he had drawn together by promiſing them their liberty, undertook to maintain the intereſt, and ſupport the ruined party, of *Lucius* in the d neighbourhood of *Naples*. *Tiberius* was deſcended from one of the moſt illuſtrious families of *Rome*, and had been honoured with great employments by *Julius Cæſar*, who had a particular eſteem for him. He had been his quæſtor, and commanded his fleet in the war of *Alexandria*, when he diſtinguiſhed himſelf on many occaſions in a very eminent manner. He was afterwards created prætor, and raiſed to the high ſtation of pontifex maximus. But notwithſtanding all the favours he had received at *Cæſar*'s hands, after his death he was not only for granting a general pardon to the conſpirators, but exhorted the conſuls to reward them, as the deliverers of their country and the avengers of their oppreſſed liberty. He had by a timely flight avoided the fury of the proſcription, and, ſiding with *Lucius* at the beginning of this war, had e ſhut himſelf up with him in the city of *Peruſia*, whence he found means to make his eſcape into *Campania*, where he raiſed the army we mentioned above. But his raw and undiſciplined troops being frightened at the approach of *Octavianus*'s victorious army, they immediately diſperſed, abandoning their general to the mercy of his cruel and implacable enemy. *Tiberius*, thus deſerted by his forces, fled in diſguiſe with his wife *Livia* and his ſon *Tiberius*, not yet two years old, to the ſea-ſide, hoping he ſhould find there ſome veſſel to convey him over to *Sicily*. *Livia* was the daughter of *Livius Druſus Claudianus*, who was killed in the battle of *Philippi*, fighting for *Brutus* and *Caſſius*. *Livius* was deſcended from the *Claudian* family, whence he had the name of *Claudianus*; but his branch had been long ſince adopted into the *Livian* f family. The only perſon of diſtinction, who followed *Tiberius* and *Livia* in their flight, was *Caius Velleius*, the grand-father of the famous hiſtorian *Velleius Paterculus*, who had ſerved with great reputation in the armies of *Pompey* and *Brutus*. But his great age and infirmities not ſuffering him to attend them over into *Sicily*, partly out of grief in parting with them, and partly through fear of falling into the hands of the mercileſs *Octavianus*, he put an end to his life with his own ſword, and by that means prevented the vengeance of the bloody tyrant. As for *Tiberius* and *Livia*, *Octavianus* purſued them cloſe; but they, after having eſcaped a thouſand dangers, attended only by one domeſtic, found a ſmall boat, which conveyed them over into *Sicily*.

Tiberius Claudius Nero *maintains the party of* Lucius *in* Campania.

Being abandoned by his troops retires with his wife Livia *into* Sicily.

[k] APPIAN. ibid. p 672, & ſeq. VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 72---77. DIO, l. xlviii. p. 362---368.

Sicily. And here we cannot help reflecting with *Velleius Paterculus* on the ſtrange a turns of fortune, which ought to teach us, that as to future events our fears are often as groundleſs as our hopes. *Livia* was flying from an enemy, whoſe affections ſhe was one day to gain and maintain to the hour of his death; and the infant ſhe carried in her arms was to ſucceed *Octavianus*, and after him rule the *Roman* empire with an abſolute ſway. *Tiberius*'s troops being diſperſed, and he fled, *Octavianus* returned to *Rome*, which he entered in triumphant robes, and crowned with laurel. Public feaſts were celebrated for ſeveral days together, and it was enacted by a decree of the ſenate and people, that *whenever any general ſhould for the future merit a triumph*, Octavianus *ſhould have a ſhare in his honour* [1].

The end of the war of Peruſia

Year of the flood 2964. *Before Chriſt* 35. *Of* Rome 713.

While *Cæſar Octavianus* was making war in *Italy* with *Lucius*, and ſettling his b affairs there with all the ſkill and addreſs of an able politician, *Antony* was paſſing his time ingloriouſly at *Alexandria*, thinking of nothing but the enjoyment of thoſe pleaſures and diverſions with which the queen entertained him, every day heightening the reliſh of them by the charms of novelty (D). But, in the mean time, all *Syria* and *Paleſtine* being grievouſly oppreſſed with the taxes that were impoſed upon them, the

1 Appian. Dio, Vell. Patercul. ibid.

(D) The poets have not given to *Omphale*, queen of *Lydia*, a greater aſcendant over *Hercules*, than hiſtory gives to the fair *Egyptian* queen over *Antony*. Like a ſecond *Hercules*, from the rough ſoldier and formidable conqueror, he became the ſlave of a bewitching woman, and the laughing-ſtock not of *Egypt* only, but of all the nations who had any knowledge of the *Roman* name. Out of complaiſance to his admired idol, he exchanged the *Roman* for the *Greek* dreſs, piquing himſelf upon appearing among the effeminate *Aſiatics*, who compoſed the queen's court, as one of them. Laying aſide all other buſineſs, he was ſolely intent on pleaſing and diverting *Cleopatra*, who never left him night nor day: ſhe played at dice with him, drank with him, hunted with him, and when he thought fit to exerciſe the few troops he had with him, which he did more for her diverſion than their improvement, ſhe was always by him. Nothing was talked of at court but feaſts, ſhews, revels, &c. Mirth, jollity and pleaſures had baniſhed all buſineſs, all ſerious thoughts. They gave their way of living a particular name, calling it the *inimitable life*. They treated one another by turns, on which occaſion their expences were beyond all meaſure. *Plutarch* gives us two inſtances of *Antony*'s extravagance, which he learnt of his grandfather *Lamprias*, who had them from one *Philotas*, a phyſician of *Amphyſſa*. *Philotas*, being acquainted with one of *Antony*'s cooks, was invited by him to ſee what ſumptuous preparations he was making for ſupper. Coming into the kitchen, he was ſurpriſed at the prodigious variety of the moſt ſcarce and expenſive things; but nothing ſtruck him ſo much as the ſight of eight wild boars roaſting intire; *Surely*, ſaid he, *You have a great number of gueſts:* but the cook, laughing at his ſimplicity, replied he,; *but There are not above twelve gueſts*, *every diſh muſt be ſerved up juſt roaſted to a turn, and if any thing is but one minute ill-timed, it is ſpoilt: for*, added he, *may be* Antony *will ſup juſt now, may be not this hour, may be not theſe two hours, becauſe he may perhaps have a mind to ſpend ſome time in drinking or talking; ſo that not one but many ſuppers muſt be had in readineſs, it not being eaſy to gueſs at his hour*. The ſame *Philotas* related, that being afterwards in the ſervice of *Antony*'s eldeſt ſon by *Fulvia*, and admitted with other domeſtics of a better rank to his table, when the young man did not dine with his father, it happened, that another phyſician, full of argument and noiſe, diſturbed and tired the company with the impertinence of his talk. *Philotas*, no longer able to bear the empiric, put this ſophiſtical ſyllogiſm to him: *There is ſome kind of fever, wherein cold water is good; every one who has a fever has ſome kind of fever; therefore cold water is good for all thoſe who have fevers.* This ſophiſm quite ſilenced the quack; at which young *Antony* was ſo pleaſed, that addreſſing himſelf to *Philotas*, and pointing to a ſide-board covered with rich plate, *Philotas*, ſaid he, *all that is yours*. *Philotas* thanked him for his good-will, but could not conceive that the young man had a power of diſpoſing of things to that value. He therefore went home without ſo much as thinking of the preſent. But he was very much ſurpriſed, when ſoon after his departure he ſaw all the plate brought home to his houſe by ſlaves followed by an officer of young *Antony*, who deſired him to put his mark upon them. *Philotas* excuſed himſelf, fearing to accept from a young man a preſent of ſo great a value. But the officer, who brought it, *What ails the man?* ſaid he, *don't you know that he, who makes you this preſent, is* Antony's *ſon, who could very well ſpare it, were it all gold? But if you will be adviſed by me, I would counſel you to accept of the value in money; for among the plate there may be ſome pieces of antiquity, or the work of ſome famous maſter, for which* Antony *may have a particular eſteem.*

But to return to *Cleopatra*; ſhe was daily contriving new diverſions for *Antony*'s entertainment; and the moſt inconſiderable trifles, when managed by her, received ſuch an air as made them agreeable diverſions. They often rambled about the ſtreets in the night, hand in hand, *Cleopatra* dreſſed like an ordinary woman, and *Antony* like a ſlave, and in that diſguiſe entering the public houſes mixed with the mob. *Cleopatra* took great delight in theſe expeditions, as they gave her room to diſplay her wit and humour in retorting the coarſe raillery of the vulgar, and relating her adventures, which ſhe did with an unparallelled grace. They frequently met with rough treatment, and ſometimes with blows. This kind of behaviour; highly unbecoming a queen and a *Roman* magiſtrate, a general and a conqueror who was at this time forty and upwards, ſeemed very ſtrange to the graver and better ſort of people; but the populace were highly pleaſed with their frolics, ſaying of *Antony*, that they had great obligations to him, for ſhewing them his comical countenance, and reſerving his tragical one for the *Romans*. Of *Antony*'s other follies, eſpecially of the pleaſant adventure that happened to him, while he was angling with *Cleopatra*, we have ſpoke in our hiſtory of *Egypt* (86).

(86) *Vol. III. p.* 681.

a the *Aradians* killed thoſe who were ſent to gather them; and, thereupon, joining the *Palmyrenians* and ſeveral petty princes of *Syria*, called in the *Parthians*, which put the whole country into the utmoſt confuſion. For the *Parthians* on this invitation paſſing the *Euphrates* under the command of *Pacorus*, their king's ſon, and *Labienus* a *Roman* general (E), overcame in a pitched battle *Saxa*, *Antony*'s lieutenant in *Syria*, and forced him to take refuge in *Cilicia*. After this victory the two generals divided their army: *Labienus* with one part of it purſued *Saxa* into *Cilicia*, where he ſlew him, defeated his army, over-ran all *Aſia-Minor*, and, forcing *Antony*'s lieutenants to make their eſcape into the iſlands, brought all places under him as far as the *Helleſpont* and the *Ægean* ſea. At the ſame time, *Pacorus*, with the other part of the army, b reduced all *Syria* and *Phœnice* as far as *Tyre*, which city alone held out againſt him, the remains of the *Roman* forces in that country having got thither before him [1]. An account of theſe ſucceſſes was brought to *Antony* at *Alexandria*, and at the ſame time news of the ill ſtate of his affairs in *Italy*, and of the unſucceſsful war which his brother *Lucius* had waged there with *Octavianus*. Hereupon recovering, as it were, from a drunken fit, he reſolved at length to leave *Cleopatra*, and march forthwith againſt the *Parthians*. With this view having got together two hundred ſhips, he ſailed to *Tyre*; but finding, on his putting in there, all the country round in the hands of the enemy, and receiving at the ſame time moſt lamentable letters from *Fulvia*, he changed his mind, and reſolved to poſtpone the war with the *Parthians*, and ſail c directly to *Italy*. Accordingly, he left *Tyre*, after having reinforced the garriſon of that place; and, ſailing by the iſlands of *Cyprus* and *Rhodes*, arrived at *Athens*, where he met *Fulvia*, whom he highly blamed as the chief cauſe of the late diſorders. In this city he received certain advice, that *Octavianus* had made himſelf maſter of *Tranſalpine Gaul*, and forced the ſon of *Calenus* after the death of his father to deliver up to him eleven legions, which he commanded in that province. As *Tranſalpine Gaul* had been, by a private agreement between the two triumvirs after the battle of *Philippi*, yielded to *Antony*, he looked upon ſuch a proceeding as an open declaration of war; and therefore putting to ſea without loſs of time, ſet ſail for *Italy*, without ſhewing the leaſt concern for *Fulvia*, whom he left ſick at *Sicyon*. This neglect and d ſcorn completed what his infidelity had begun; for ſhe died in that city ſoon after her husband's departure. *Antony* in croſſing the *Ionian* ſea was met by *Domitius Ahenobarbus*, the republican admiral, who, inſtead of oppoſing him, came on board his galley, and delivered up to him the command of his fleet, being induced thereunto by *Aſinius Pollio*, who had fled from *Italy*, as we have related above, after the ſurrender of *Peruſia*, and taken refuge on board *Domitius*'s fleet (F). The two fleets thus joined came to an anchor on the coaſt of *Epirus*, and from thence ſet ſail for *Brunduſium*. In this city *Octavianus* had five legions, which ſhut the gates againſt *Antony*, refuſing admitance, not to him, they ſaid, but to *Domitius*,, who was *Octavianus*'s

The Parthians *over-run* Syria, *and gain great advantages over* Antony's *lieutenants there.*

Antony *reſolves to return to* Italy.

The death of Fulvia.

Antony *arrives in* Italy; *and lays ſiege to* Brunduſium.

[1] Dio, Appian. ibid. & in Parthicis. Flor. l. iv. c. 9. Epit. Liv. l. cxxvii. Plut. in Anton. Joseph. antiq. l. xiv. c. 23.

(E) This *Labienus* was the ſon of *Titus Labienus*, who had been *Cæſar*'s lieutenant in *Gaul*, and one of his moſt intimate friends; but afterwards going over to *Pompey*, he became one of his moſt inveterate enemies, and was ſlain fighting againſt him in the battle of *Munda* (87). His ſon, purſuing the ſame intereſt, was ſent by *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, a little before the battle of *Philippi*, in quality of embaſſador to the *Parthian* king to ſolicit his aſſiſtance for that war; and was at the *Parthian* court, when the battle happened; by the ill ſucceſs of which being diſcouraged from returning, he continued in that country, and having prevailed with king *Orodes* to undertake this war, he was ſent with *Pacorus*, the king's ſon, to command under him (88).

(F) *Appian* tells us, that *Antony*, meeting *Domitius* in the *Ionian* ſea, drew up his fleet in line of battle, and advanced in perſon againſt him with five galleys only. *Plancus*, who was then with *Antony*, did not approve of his conduct, telling him, that *Domitius*, who had a fleet much more powerful than his, would neither ſubmit, nor ever be reconciled, to him. *Antony*, without hearkening to his reaſons, advanced boldly, and, as he drew near, one of his guards, who ſtood on the prow of his galley, cried out to *Domitius* to ſtrike his flag to the triumvir, who was of a higher rank than he. At theſe words the republican admiral, as if he had been thunder-ſtruck, ſubmitted to the ſummons, ſaluted *Antony* as his general, and, coming on board his galley, delivered up to him the command of his fleet. This event is thus related by *Appian*, but we have choſe to follow *Velleius*, who tells us with more appearance of truth, that *Pollio* had before-hand engaged *Domitius* to take party with *Antony*, by which ſignal piece of ſervice he acquitted himſelf of the many obligations he owed him. To perpetuate the memory of this remarkable event, *Antony* cauſed a medal to be ſtruck, or rather a piece of money to be coined, which is ſtill to be ſeen, with the triumvir's head, and on the reverſe the prow of a ſhip with the names of the two generals.

(87) *Cæſar. comment. & Plut. in Cæſ. Vell. Paterc. l.* ii. *c.* 78.

(88) *Dio, l.* xlviii. *p.* 371. *Flor. l.* iv. *c.* 9. *Vell. Pa-*

vianus's declared enemy. Upon this refusal *Antony* immediately blocked up the place, a and at the same time dispatched one of his officers to *Pompey* in *Sicily*, inviting that general to join interest with him against *Octavianus* and invade *Italy*. *Pompey* came readily into the proposal, made a descent, and took several cities on the coast, while *Antony* pursued the siege of *Brundusium* with great vigor. Hereupon *Octavianus*, having drawn together his legions, and detached *Agrippa* with a considerable body against *Pompey*, marched with the rest to the relief of the besieged city. But his veterans refusing to draw their swords against *Antony*, he was obliged to hearken to an accommodation, which at length was brought about by the interposition and management of *Cocceius*, *Pollio*, and the famous *Mecænas* (G). This dangerous breach being made up, and all past offences and affronts mutually forgiven, the b soldiers of the two armies, to make the friendship of their generals more lasting, desired it might be cemented with the ties of blood, and proposed a match between *Antony* and *Octavianus*'s sister *Octavia*, who was lately become a widow by the death of *Marcellus*. *Octavianus* had a great veneration and tenderness for his sister; and to do her justice, none of her sex ever had a better claim to the esteem and veneration of mankind. For though she excelled all the women of her age, *Cleopatra* herself not excepted, in beauty, yet the charms of her person were far inferior to those of her mind. Though the queen of *Egypt* had so large a share in *Antony*'s heart, yet the match was no sooner proposed to him, than he agreed to it with unexpressible satisfaction, at least in appearance. After this the two triumvirs had an interview, c in which, after mutual embraces and promises of lasting friendship, they came to a new partition of the *Roman* empire; by virtue whereof *Codropolis* (H), a town of *Illyricum*, was to be the boundary of their dominions; all from that place westward was allotted to *Octavianus*, and all eastward to *Antony:* so that the former had *Dalmatia*, the two *Gauls*, *Spain*, and *Sardinia*, and the latter all the eastern provinces quite to the *Euphrates*. *Africa* was left to *Lepidus*, who had been sent by *Octavianus* with six legions into that province some time before the arrival of *Antony*. It was agreed, that *Antony* should make war upon the *Parthians*, and *Octavianus* upon *Pompey*, if he refused to submit to reasonable conditions. *Italy* was left common to both the triumvirs for the raising of forces wherewithal to carry on these wars. To these conditions *An-* d *tony* added, that *Octavianus* should pardon *Domitius Ahenobarbus*, and likewise all those who had borne arms against him in the war of *Perusia*. The two generals thus reconciled marched together to *Rome*, where the marriage between *Antony* and the incompa-
rable

Octavianus and Antony come to an agreement.

They divide the Roman dominions.

(G) *Caius Cilnius Mecænas*, well known from the verses of *Virgil* and *Horace*, was descended from the ancient kings of *Hetruria*, but contented himself with the degree of a *Roman* knight. The *Cilnian* family was, according to *Livy* (89), one of the most illustrious of *Hetruria*. As for the surname of *Mecænas*, it was probably borrowed from some place belonging to the family; at least *Varro* tells us, that all the *Latin* names ending in *as* denote some place. *Pliny* speaks of the wines of *Mecænatium*, and ranks them among the best of *Italy: Cæsenatia vina*, says he, *& Mecænatia* (90). This illustrious *Roman* was a man of great politeness and generosity, which towards men of letters knew no bounds, whence those, who ever since his time have set up for encouragers of learning, have in all ages been honoured with his name. *Sint Mecænates, non deerunt, Flacce, Marones*, says *Martial*. But *Mecænas* was not only a generous patron to the learned; he was himself thoroughly acquainted with all the branches of polite literature, and would have proved an excellent orator, had he not been given too much to his pleasures. *Ingeniosus vir ille fuit*, says *Seneca* of him (91), *magnum exemplum Romanæ eloquentiæ daturus, nisi illum enervasset felicitas, imo castrasset*; and elsewhere (92), *Habuit Mecænas grande & virile ingenium, nisi ipse illud discinxisset*. After the battle of *Philippi* he interceded with *Octavianus* in favour of *Horace*, and obtained his pardon, though he had served under *Brutus* in quality of legionary tribune. He protected *Virgil*, and by his interest got his farm restored to him, which *Octavianus*'s soldiers had seized. He was one of *Augustus*'s chief favourites, and served him to the last with the utmost fidelity. He was a man of great penetration and address in managing the most difficult affairs; but liked his pleasures too much to engage in business, when he could decline it without disgusting his master, the gaining of whose favour was the height of his ambition. Several writers, especially *Juvenal* and *Seneca*, reproach him, and not undeservedly, with luxury, indolence, and effeminacy. But of this truly generous and bountiful patron of learning, *Meibomius* has wrote an intire volume under the title of *Mecænas*, to which we refer our readers.

(H) This city is called by *Appian Scodra*, the situation whereof agrees with that of *Codropolis*. *Scodra*, now known to the *Turks* by the name of *Escodar*, and to the *Italians* by that of *Scutari*, was anciently the capital of the country of the *Labeates*, a people of *Illyricum*, and is at present the chief city of *Albania*. It stands on the river *Drilo*, now the *Drino*, about sixty miles east of *Ragusa*. This city, which was the bulwark of *Illyricum* on the side of *Macedon*, and looked upon as one of the best fortified and most inaccessible cities in the world, is often mentioned by *Livy*, and the other *Roman* writers, who give an account of the war between the republic and *Gentius* king of *Illyricum*. *Florus* was certainly mistaken, when he placed *Scodra* in *Macedon*, and styled it the metropolis of that kingdom.

(89) *Liv. l x.* (90) *Plin. l.* xiv. *c.* 6. (91) *Senec. epist.* 19. (92) *Idem epist.* 92.

rable *Octavia* was ſolemnized with the utmoſt pomp and magnificence. When the ceremony was over, *Antony*, to give *Octavianus* an undeniable proof of the ſincerity of his intentions, diſcovered to him, that *Salvidienus* (I), one of his lieutenants, had offered him his troops and his ſervice, when *Octavianus* ſent him into *Spain*, and that he had repeated the ſame offer at *Brunduſium*. Hereupon *Octavianus* accuſed him of treachery before the ſenate, who declared him an enemy to the people of *Rome*, ſentenced him to death, and ordered thanks to be publicly returned to the gods for the diſcovery of the treaſon. At the ſame time, *Manius*, of whom we have ſpoke above, was by *Antony*'s orders put to death, as having been the chief author of the late diſturbances [m].

Antony marries Octavia, Octavianus's *ſiſter*.

b In the mean time, *Pompey*, who was maſter at ſea, keeping all the ports of *Italy*, blocked up with his numerous fleets, *Rome* was reduced to the utmoſt extremity for want of proviſions, eſpecially of corn, which was become ſo dear, that the people were ready to ſtarve. Hereupon *Antony* preſſed his collegue either to come to an accommodation with *Pompey*, or oblige him by a vigorous war to recall his fleet, and leave the ſea open for trade and navigation. *Octavianus* was more inclined to war, *Pompey* having lately taken from him the iſlands of *Sardinia* and *Corſica*; but as he wanted money to carry it on, with *Antony*'s approbation he laid two taxes on all the inhabitants of *Rome* and *Italy*, the one of four drachmas and a half for every ſlave, the other on all legacies. This ſo provoked the populace, already pinched with hunger,

Rome in great diſtreſs for want of corn.

c that they roſe in oppoſition to theſe edicts, aſſaulted *Octavianus* in the forum, and would have torn him to pieces, had not *Antony* haſtened to his aſſiſtance with a body of troops, which was incamped at the gates of the city. The rabble was ſoon diſperſed, and ſeveral of them killed, and their bodies thrown into the *Tiber*; but, as the famine ſtill continued, the populace, notwithſtanding the puniſhment of a few, grew daily more outrageous. *Antony* therefore, fearing a general inſurrection, wrote to *Lucius Scribonius Libo*, who was then in *Sicily* with *Pompey* his ſon-in-law, inviting him to *Rome* to treat there of an accommodation between *Octavianus*, *Pompey*, and himſelf. *Pompey* was overjoyed at this propoſal, as was alſo *Statius Murcus*; but *Menas*, whom ſome writers call *Menodorus*, one of *Pompey*'s infranchiſed ſlaves and a

The people riſe.

The triumvirs agree to come to an accommodation with Pompey.

d ſea officer of great experience and bravery, not only oppoſed it, but with groundleſs inſinuations intirely eſtranged *Pompey* from *Murcus*, who preſſed him with great earneſtneſs to make up all differences with the triumvirs, and reſtore *Italy* to its former tranquillity. Hereupon *Murcus* retired to *Syracuſe*, where he was murdered by ſome ſlaves, whom *Pompey* afterwards cauſed to be executed to clear himſelf from the murder. It was, however, commonly believed, that *Menas* had put him to death by *Pompey*'s orders. But, notwithſtanding *Menas*'s oppoſition, *Pompey* allowed *Libo* to go to *Rome*, in compliance with *Antony*'s invitation, where he perſuaded *Octavianus* and *Antony* to come to an interview with *Pompey*, that they might, in perſon and face to face, diſcuſs their pretenſions, and put an end to their differences. To this *Pompey*

An interview between the triumvirs and Pompey.

e conſented at the earneſt requeſt of his officers, and advanced with his fleet to the promontory formed by mount *Miſenus*, where he and *Libo* in a galley, and the two triumvirs on a kind of mole made for that purpoſe, expoſed their mutual claims and pretenſions. *Pompey* demanded to be admitted into the triumvirate inſtead of *Lepidus*, whoſe authority declined daily. This demand ſeemed very reaſonable to *Pompey*, but quite otherwiſe to *Antony* and *Octavianus*; ſo that, after a warm and long diſpute, they parted without coming to any reſolution. *Pompey*, who knew he had it in his power to reduce *Rome* and all *Italy* to the utmoſt extremity, and force the inhabitants to take up arms againſt the triumvirs, was for breaking off the conference and returning to *Sicily*. But *Libo* adviſed him to ſtay and continue the negotiations, at leaſt

[m] Plut. & Appian. ibid. Liv. epit. l. cxxvii. Dio, l. xlviii. p. 375.

(I) *Salvidienus* was the ſon of a poor peaſant, and ſpent his youth in looking after cattle. While he was thus meanly employed, his head one day appeared to his companions, as if in a flame. This he looked upon as a prognoſtic of ſome extraordinary good fortune, and therefore ſoon after liſted himſelf in the army, where by his valour he roſe to the higheſt poſts. He attended *Cæſar* in moſt of his wars, and as he had on all occaſions diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a very eminent manner, the dictator had named him one of his conſuls, who were to govern the republic in his abſence, though *Salvidienus* had not yet been admitted into the ſenate. Upon the dictator's death, he out of gratitude ſided with his ſon *Octavianus*, and had a great ſhare in all his victories. But afterwards, thinking *Octavianus* did not reward him according to his deſerts, he offered his ſervice to *Antony*, who, by baſely betraying him, was the occaſion of his death.

Pompey's demands.

leaſt by deputies, which he did accordingly. The ſecond day he dropped his pretenſion to a place in the triumvirate, but propoſed the following preliminaries: a
1. That thoſe, who had been concerned in the death of *Cæſar* ſhould only be baniſhed, and be at liberty to chuſe for their exile what place they pleaſed. 2. That ſuch, as had been proſcribed on any other account whatſoever, ſhould be allowed to return to *Rome*. 3. That the latter ſhould be reſtored to the poſſeſſion of their lands and fortunes. *Antony* and *Octavianus* abſolutely rejected the two firſt articles, and only conſented that thoſe, who were not in the number of the conſpirators, ſhould be allowed to purchaſe their eſtates. Moſt part of thoſe who were about *Pompey*, tired with ſo long and deſtructive a war, and dreading the fate of *Murcus*, declared, that they were willing to return to *Rome*, even upon the conditions propoſed by the triumvirs; which ſo diſpleaſed *Pompey*, that in the tranſport of his paſſion he tore his robe, b
calling thoſe, who ſubmitted to ſuch ſhameful conditions, vile traitors and cowardly deſerters. *Menas*, ſaid he, *is the only true friend I have in the world*; Menas *alone has given me wholeſome and diſintereſted advice*. However, at the earneſt intreaties of his mother *Mutia*, of *Julia*, *Antony*'s mother, and of *Libo*, his father-in-law, he conſented to a ſecond interview, in which, after three days debate, the following articles were agreed to by the contending parties. "1. That *Pompey* ſhould be left in

The articles of accommodation between the triumvirs and Pompey.

"poſſeſſion of *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, *Corſica*, and the adjacent iſlands, and ſhould over
"and above have *Peloponneſus* yielded up to him. 2. That he ſhould have the pri-
"vilege of demanding the conſulate, though abſent, and of diſcharging that office c
"by any of his friends. 3. That the dignity of pontifex maximus ſhould be con-
"ferred upon him, and ſeventy thouſand great ſeſterces reſtored to him out of his
"father's confiſcated eſtate. 4. That ſuch as had taken refuge with him merely out
"of fear, ſhould be allowed to return and enjoy their whole eſtate; and that the
"proſcribed perſons, who were not guilty of *Cæſar*'s death, ſhould have only the
"fourth part of their eſtates reſtored to them. 5. That trade and navigation ſhould
"be free; that *Pompey* ſhould withdraw his troops from *Italy*; that he ſhould ſuffer
"no inroads or deſcents to be made upon the coaſts, nor build more ſhips. 6. That
"he ſhould not for the future receive the ſlaves who fled to him; that thoſe who
"had bore arms under him ſhould be declared free, and that his legionaries, when d
"the time of their ſervice was expired, ſhould have their ſhare in the diviſion of lands
"with thoſe of *Antony* and *Octavianus*. 7. That he ſhould immediately ſend to
"*Rome* the corn he had retained, oblige the *Sicilians* to pay annually what corn was
"due to the republic out of their iſland, and clear the ſeas of all pirates." This treaty was ſigned by the three chiefs, and ſent to *Rome* to be depoſited there in the hands of the veſtals [n]. They then agreed to treat each other in token of their ſincere reconciliation; and it fell to *Pompey*'s lot to make the firſt entertainment. *Antony*

The triumvirs and Pompey *treat each other.*

aſked him where he deſigned to receive them? *In Carinis*, anſwered *Pompey* pleaſantly: for the word *carinæ* in *Latin* ſignifies *ſhips*, and was likewiſe the name of a ward or part of the city, where *Pompey the Great* had a ſtately palace, which *Antony* had c
ſeized. *Antony* underſtood the raillery, but was not very quick at repartees. On the day appointed for the entertainment, *Pompey*, having brought his galley near the ſhore, and made a bridge to it from the promontory, received his two gueſts with great civility and politeneſs. And here *Octavianus* ſeemed to have forgot his uſual warineſs and circumſpection; and this entertainment would have coſt both him and his collegue dear, had not *Pompey* been endowed with a truly great and generous ſoul. For while they were at table, and *Pompey* and *Cæſar*, growing warm with wine, began

Pompey's *generoſity.*

to rally *Antony* upon his amours and fondneſs for the fair *Egyptian* queen, *Menas* approaching *Pompey*, *You have now a fair opportunity*, he whiſpered him in the ear, *of revenging the death of your father and brother, and making yourſelf maſter of the whole* f
Roman *empire*; *'tis but cutting the cable, leave the reſt to me*. The blow was ſure, and the temptation violent, *Pompey*'s fleet being drawn up in order of battle, and all the triumvirs forces aſhore. However, the generous *Roman* ſcorning to purchaſe the empire of the world at the expence of his honour, after a ſhort pauſe, *Menas*, ſaid he, *may forfeit his word and reputation, but that is not becoming the ſon of* Pompey. 'Tis a great pity we have the characters of illuſtrious men only from hiſtorians, who, either out of fear or flattery, cry down the enemies of the princes, whoſe favour they courted. *Velleius Paterculus*, who wrote in the time of *Auguſtus*, and has in his hiſtory

[n] Appian. Dio, Plut. ibid.

a hiſtory miſerably perverted truth, or utterly ſuppreſſed it, paints *Pompey* in the worſt colours. But the greatneſs of mind which he diſplayed on this occaſion againſt his own intereſt, is ſufficient to bely that mercenary ſycophant, and the other flatterers of the *Cæſars*, who ought to have had ſome regard to his memory in conſideration of this generous action, which, in ſpite of all their diſguiſes, and falſe repreſentations, will recommend his name to the lateſt poſterity. *Plutarch* relates this matter ſomewhat differently; for according to him *Pompey* returned this anſwer to the propoſal of *Menas*; *This you might have done without imparting it to me; but now let us make the beſt of our preſent condition, for I cannot prevail upon myſelf to violate my faith once given.* From this anſwer it appears, that ſo great an advantage, joined to the pleaſure of revenge, was a kind of ſurpriſe upon his generoſity; but it ſerved only to make it
b break out with greater luſtre in rejecting a perfidious action, what profit ſoever might accrue from it [o]. *Antony* and *Octavianus* treated *Pompey* in their turns with great demonſtrations of ſeeming friendſhip; for the confirming of which, and cementing it with new ties, *Pompey*, who was ſincere, propoſed a match between his daughter and *M. Marcellus*, the ſon of *Octavia* by her former huſband; which *Octavianus* conſenting to, they both entered into the uſual engagements, *Pompey* for his daughter, and *Octavianus* for his nephew, who was at that time but an infant. This is the famous *M. Marcellus*, whom *Octavianus* had appointed his heir in caſe he had no iſſue male of his own, and whoſe virtues are ſo highly commended by the prince of the *Latin*
c poets [p]. Before the three chiefs parted, they named conſuls for the four following years, viz. *Antony* and *Libo* for the firſt, *Octavianus* and *Pompey* for the ſecond, *Domitius* and *Soſius* for the third, and *Antony* and *Cæſar* for the fourth. The conſuls of this year, in which the treaty was concluded, were *Cn. Domitius Calvinus* and *C. Aſinius Pollio*, who had ſucceeded *L. Antonius* and *P. Servilius Vatia Iſauricus*; but before their year expired, others, namely *L. Cornelius Balbus* and *P. Canidius Craſſus*, on what account we know not, were ſubſtituted in their room [q].

Pompey's *daughter betrothed to* M. Marcellus Octavianus's *nephew*.

And now all differences being compoſed, and for a while an end put to the civil wars, *Pompey*, taking his leave of *Antony* and *Octavianus*, returned to *Sicily*, and the other two to *Rome*, where they were welcomed with loud acclamations of the
d people, overjoyed to ſee themſelves at length delivered from a cruel famine, which had begun to rage with great fury in the capital, and all the provinces of *Italy*. The joy of the people was doubled upon the return of many illuſtrious citizens, who had been proſcribed by the triumvirs, or forced to fly their country through fear of falling into *Octavianus*'s hands after the ſurrender of *Peruſia*. Among theſe were *L. Aruntius*, *M. Junius Silanus*, *C. Sentius Saturninus*, *M. Titius*, *M. Claudius Tiberius Nero*, *M. Cicero*, the ſon of the orator, and many other citizens of great diſtinction; who after having aſſured *Pompey* of their eternal acknowledgments, returned to their native country, where they were received with thoſe marks of eſteem and affection which were due to their merit. The praiſes of *Pompey*, who had the glory of ſaving ſo
e many worthy men, and reſtoring them to their former rank, were in the mouth of every true *Roman*. And now *Antony* and *Octavianus*, after a ſhort ſtay at *Rome* (K), took leave of each other, and quitting the capital, ſet out, the former for *Greece*, and the latter for *Gaul*. Some nations beyond the *Alps* having attempted to ſhake off the yoke, *Octavianus*, to whoſe ſhare *Gaul* was fallen, marched againſt them in perſon, and having eaſily reduced them, repaſſed the *Alps*, and ſtopped in *Hetruria*. As for *Antony*, he diſpatched *Ventidius* into *Aſia* to put a ſtop to the inroads of the *Parthians*, but went himſelf no farther than *Athens*, where he ſpent the winter with his new wife *Octavia* in the ſame exceſſes of luxury, folly, and childiſh diverſions, as

The proſcribed citizens return to Rome.

Octavianus *marches into* Tranſalpine Gaul.

[o] Appian. ibid. Plut. in Antonio. [p] Vide Virg. Æneid. l. vi. v. 868, & ſeq. [q] Dio, l. xlix.

(K) While *Antony* and *Octavianus* ſtaid together at *Rome* after the concluſion of the peace, they frequently diverted themſelves with drawing lots, playing at dice, &c. when *Antony* was conſtantly the loſer. As this gave him a great deal of uneaſineſs, one day, while he was quite out of patience, an *Egyptian*, who was with him, and was deemed very ſkilful in the calculation of nativities, told him, that though the fortune that attended him was bright and glorious, yet it was overſhadowed by that of *Octavianus*; he therefore adviſed him to keep himſelf at a diſtance from that young man: *For your genius*, ſaid he, *dreads his. Yours is proud and brave, when abſent from him, but in the preſence of his unmanly and dejected.* This, no doubt, the impoſtor ſaid to make his court to *Cleopatra* by forcing *Antony* to leave *Rome*, and return to *Egypt*; wherein he ſucceeded; for *Antony*, who put great confidence in the ſkill of the *Egyptian* aſtrologer, left *Rome* ſoon after (93).

(93) *Plut. in Anton.*

as he had done the former with *Cleopatra* at *Alexandria*. Laying aſide the enſigns of his authority, he appeared at all the public games and exerciſes in the *Grecian* habit, like a private citizen of *Athens*. He often viſited the academy, and the *Lyceum*, ſpending ſometimes whole days in hearing the diſputes and conferences of the philoſophers. While he thus led an idle life at *Athens*, *Ventidius* his lieutenant was ſignalizing himſelf in the war, which he had been appointed to carry on againſt the *Parthians*. We have given elſewhere [r] a diſtinct account of the remarkable victories gained over that warlike nation by the brave *Ventidius*, and therefore ſhall not trouble the reader here with a tedious repetition of the ſame tranſactions. When news was brought to *Antony* of the ſignal advantages gained by his lieutenant, he gave a public entertainment to all the *Greeks* of any rank, exhibited ſports and ſhews, and preſided at them in perſon as moderator. As he loved wine, he was wonderfully pleaſed with the title of *Bacchus*, which divinity he took upon him to perſonate in a proceſſion he made upon the joyful tidings of the ſucceſs of his arms in the eaſt. During theſe public rejoycings the *Greeks* ſet no bounds to their flattery; they fell proſtrate before the pretended *Bacchus*, beſeeching him to marry *Minerva* the tutelar deity of their city. *Antony*, diſpleaſed with this groſs flattery, conſented to the match, but aſked a thouſand talents for the portion of the goddeſs. *Your father* Jupiter, anſwered one of the *Athenians*, *required no fortune with your mother* Semele. *'Tis true*, replied *Antony*; *but* Jupiter *was rich, and I want money*. *Antony* would abate nothing of the ſum, which was levied upon all the inhabitants, who revenged themſelves, according to their cuſtom, with ſatires and lampoons, of which his amours with *Cleopatra* were the chief ſubject. But he laughed at their jeſts, and took their money, though *Dellius*, to mortify them the more, gravely repreſented to him, that he acted therein againſt the *Roman* laws, which allowed three years for the payment of a portion [s].

Antony paſſes the winter at Athens *in idleneſs.*

Puniſhes the Athenians *for their flattery.*

IN the mean time news was brought to *Antony* of a ſecond victory gained by *Ventidius* over the *Parthians*, for which he made great rejoycings; but being informed at the ſame time, that *Pacorus* was making vaſt preparations with a deſign to invade *Syria* anew, and thinking it no ways conſiſtent with his reputation to continue idle at *Athens*, and ſuffer his lieutenant to rob him of the whole glory of this war, he aſſembled his troops early in the ſpring, and reaſſumed with the marks of his dignity all the majeſty of a *Roman* general. When his army was ready to march, he made himſelf a garland of the olive-tree conſecrated to *Minerva*, and filled a veſſel with the water of the *Clepſydra* to carry along with him (L). At length he left *Athens* after having made a grand entertainment for all the inhabitants of that populous city, and marched with all his forces into the eaſt. But before he got thither, *Ventidius* gained a third victory far more glorious than the other two; whereby he fully revenged the death of *Craſſus*, and redeemed the honour of the *Roman* name, which had ſuffered much ever ſince the battle of *Carrhæ*: for *Pacorus* himſelf, with above twenty thouſand of his beſt men, was ſlain in this battle, of which we have given a particular account in our hiſtory of the *Parthians* [t]. Had *Ventidius* purſued all the advantages of this victory, he might have extended the bounds of the *Roman* empire to the banks of the *Tigris*; but not thinking it prudent to puſh his good fortune any further, for fear of giving *Antony* umbrage, he turned his arms againſt thoſe who had revolted in *Syria* and *Phœnice* during the late war. Purſuant to this deſign, when *Antony* arrived, he was beſieging *Samoſata*, the capital of *Commagene*, whither *Antiochus*, king of that country, had retired. *Antony* on his coming thither diſmiſſed this brave commander, and ſent him to *Rome* to demand of the ſenate and people the honours of a triumph, being glad to get rid of a ſubaltern, whoſe glory eclipſed that of his general. *Antiochus* from the beginning of the ſiege had offered to *Ventidius* a thouſand talents for his pardon, and promiſed an intire obedience and ſubmiſſion to all *Antony*'s commands. But as *Antony* was then on his march, *Ventidius* ordered him to ſend his propoſals to him; which he did accordingly; but *Antony* rejecting them, the beſieged dreading his reſentment, defended the place with ſuch vigour and intrepidity, that the

Reſolves to march into the eaſt.

His lieutenant Ventidius *gains great advantages over the* Parthians.

Antony *beſieges* Samoſata.

[r] Vide Hiſt. Univerſ. Vol. IV. p. 308. [s] PLUT. in Anton. APPIAN. ibid. & DIO, ibid. [t] Vide Hiſt. Univerſ. Vol. IV. p. 308.

(L) This was a fountain in the citadel of *Athens*, and was called *Clepſydra*, as being ſometimes full of water, and ſometimes empty, like thoſe veſſels which were antiently in uſe among the *Greeks*, and alſo the *Egyptians*, to meaſure time by the running out of the water. *Antony* imagined that this water would not a little contribute to the ſucceſs of his arms.

a the *Roman* general began to repent his not accepting the firſt offer, and was in the end glad to come to an accommodation with *Antiochus* for three hundred talents, that he might raiſe the ſiege with honour, which otherwiſe he feared he ſhould be forced to do in a ſhameful manner, his ſoldiers being highly diſpleaſed with his diſmiſſing *Ventidius*, under whoſe conduct they had gained ſo many ſignal victories [u]. After this, *Antony*, having appointed *Soſius* his lieutenant in *Cilicia*, *Syria*, and *Paleſtine*, left the army under his command, and returned to *Octavia* at *Athens*.

He returns to Athens.

In the mean time new diſputes ariſing between *Pompey* and *Octavianus*, the latter was wholly intent on making the neceſſary preparations for war, being determined to lay hold of the firſt opportunity that offered to invade *Sicily*. The late treaty of b peace had regulated their pretenſions, but not their ambition; and that animoſity between *Julius Cæſar* and *Pompey the Great*, which had la d waſte the *Roman* world, was ſtill ſubſiſting in the minds of their children. The apparent ſubject of their quarrel was *Peloponneſus*, which had been yielded to *Pompey*, as we have obſerved above, in virtue of the treaty. *Octavianus* pretended that the tributes, owing from that province to the republic before the treaty, were due to the triumvirs, and that *Pompey* ought to be reſponſible for them. On the other hand *Pompey* maintained, that they had yielded him that country free from all charges. As a breach was likely to enſue, *Pompey* cauſed his old galleys to be refitted, and ſeveral new ones to be built. This was contrary to the late treaty, and therefore a plauſible pretence for c *Octavianus* to invade *Sicily*. With this view he reinforced his army with new levies, and aſſembled what ſhips he could on the coaſts of the *Adriatic* and *Tyrrhenian* ſeas. *Pompey*, informed of theſe preparations, blocked up the ports of *Italy* anew, and in a ſhort time reduced the populous capital to its former condition. The people, threatened again with a famine, began to complain, and ſeemed diſpoſed to riſe, if their grievances were not ſoon redreſſed. *A fine peace indeed!* ſaid they, *what have we gained by it but to have four tyrants inſtead of three?* But *Octavianus*, who had a numerous army on foot, continued his preparations for war both by ſea and land, without hearkening to the complaints of the diſcontented populace. He wrote to *Antony*, deſiring him to leave *Athens* for a while, and paſs over into *Italy*, that they d might confer together about the moſt proper meaſures for the cruſhing of *Pompey*, their common rival. He likewiſe acquainted *Lepidus* with his deſign, who was then in *Africa*, which had fallen to his ſhare in the laſt diviſion of the *Roman* dominions, exhorting him to get ready his fleet with all poſſible expedition, that they might act in concert, and both invade *Sicily* at the ſame time. *Antony* in compliance with his requeſt came to *Bruduſium*, but not finding him there at the time appointed, he returned to *Athens*; whether out of ſome diſtruſt he had of *Octavianus*, or becauſe he was frightened by certain prodigies, is uncertain (M). Whatever his reaſons were, he reimbarqued and returned to *Athens*, leaving a letter for *Octavianus*, wherein he exhorted him to ſtand to the conditions of the laſt treaty. As for *Lepidus*, who was e a man of a lazy and indolent diſpoſition, he ſpent the whole ſummer in making preparations, and did not leave *Africa* till the following year; ſo that the whole burden of the war fell upon *Octavianus*, whoſe boundleſs ambition would allow him no reſt, till he had got rid of ſo powerful a rival, and made himſelf maſter of the wealthy iſland he poſſeſſed. However, in the height of his cares, and warlike preparations, he found no ſmall relief in the agreeable converſation of *Livia*, with whoſe charms and refined wit he was ſo taken, that in the end he divorced his own wife *Scribonia* (N), and married her, though then big with child, her huſband *Claudius Tiberius Nero* not daring to withſtand the inclinations of ſo powerful a lover. *Livia* had one ſon by *Tiberius*, who bore his father's name, and was, three months after her marriage with *Octavianus*,

New diſputes between Pompey *and* Octavianus.

Rome *reduced again to great ſtraits.*

Octavianus *falls in love with* Livia, *and marries her.*

[u] Plut. in Anton. Appian, in Parthic. Dio, l. xlix. p. 405.

(M) One of his centries was devoured by wolves, no part of his body being left intire, except his face, which was a very bad omen. The inhabitants of *Brunduſium* told him, that at break of day they had ſeen a wolf come out of his tent.

(N) *Scribonia* was the ſiſter of *Scribonius Libo* father-in-law to *Pompey*. *Octavianus* married her with a political view, which was to divert *Pompey* by that alliance from ſiding with *Antony*, who ſeemed inclined to eſpouſe the quarrel of his brother *Lucius*, and his wife *Fulvia*; *Libo* with *Saturninus* and ſome other ſenators had already attempted to conclude a league between *Antony* and *Pompey*. *Octavianus* therefore, to gain *Libo*, who had a great aſcendant over his ſon-in-law, married his ſiſter, and had by her the famous *Julia*, of whom we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak in the ſequel of this hiſtory. But as in that marriage he had conſulted his intereſt, and not his inclination, he divorced her to marry *Livia*, who was accounted the moſt agreeable woman of her age.

Octavianus, brought to bed of another, named *Druſus*. But of theſe two children, a
and their mother *Livia*, we ſhall have frequent occaſion to ſpeak in the ſequel of this
hiſtory. The charms of *Livia*, however powerful, were not able to divert *Octavianus*
from the purſuit of his ambitious views. He continued with the ſame ardor his war-
like preparations, recalled the legions he had left in *Tranſalpine Gaul*, and aſſembled
a great number of veſſels in the ports of *Hetruria*, and at *Ravenna* on the *Adriatic*
ſea. But as his fleet was not yet in a condition to cope with that of *Pompey*, he muſt
have put off his *Sicilian* expedition till the return of *Antony*, and the arrival of *Le-*
pidus, had he not been favoured by fortune beyond his expectation. For *Menas*, the
Menas Pompey's *freedman goes over to* Octavianus. famous freedman of *Pompey*, an officer of great valour and experience in maritime
affairs, being offended with his maſter for not revenging the death of ſome of his b
freedmen killed by the ſenators who were about him, revolted to *Octavianus*, and join-
ing him with three legions, and the numerous fleet, which he commanded, delivered
up to him the iſlands of *Corſica* and *Sardinia*, over which he had been placed by his
indulgent maſter. *Octavianus* received the traytor with the greateſt demonſtrations
of friendſhip and eſteem, entertained him at his own table, allowed him the privi-
ledge of wearing a gold ring, and ſitting among the *Roman* knights, and appointed
him commander in chief of the fleet, which he brought with him. This *Pompey*
looked upon as a declaration of war, and therefore immediately ſent out *Menecrates*,
A new breach between Octavianus *and* Pompey. another freedman, and a mortal enemy to *Menas*, with a numerous ſquadron, to
ravage the coaſts of *Italy*, which he did accordingly; but being met on his return by c
a ſquadron of *Octavianus*'s fleet, commanded by *C. Calviſius*, and his antient rival
Menas, a bloody engagement enſued, in which *Menecrates* and *Menas* diſtinguiſhed
themſelves above the other commanders, the hatred, which they bore each other, ani-
mating them more than glory did others. They were both men of great courage and
intrepidity, and therefore, regardleſs of all dangers, fought with a fury hardly to be
expreſſed. At length, after a long and moſt obſtinate diſpute between the two rivals,
Menecrates being dangerouſly wounded, *Menas* boarded his galley, and made himſelf
maſter of it. Hereupon *Menecrates*, chuſing rather to die, than fall into the hands
of his mortal enemy, threw himſelf into the ſea, and periſhed in the waves. Upon
his death *Demochares*, another freedman, taking upon him the command of the fleet, d
Octavianus's *fleet defeated by* Pompey's. attacked *Calviſius*'s ſquadron ſo warmly, that he forced him to give way, took ſeveral
of his galleys, ſunk others, and drove the reſt againſt the rocks near the ſhore, where
moſt of them were daſhed to pieces; ſo that *Calviſius* eſcaped by the favour of the
night only with a few galleys, and took refuge with *Menas* in the bay of *Cumæ*[w].

Octavianus, who was then at *Tarentum*, where he had aſſembled a numerous fleet,
upon the firſt news of this engagement, reſolved to paſs the ſtreights of *Meſſana*, and
join *Calviſius* and *Menas*, for whom he was in great pain. But being attacked in that
narrow paſſage by *Pompey* and *Demochares*, who was returned to *Meſſana*, moſt of his
ſhips were either ſunk, or daſhed to pieces againſt the rocks. *Octavianus* himſelf
Octavianus *is overcome in a ſea fight by* Pompey. gained the ſhore with the utmoſt difficulty, where he narrowly eſcaped falling into e
the enemy's hands, who having landed and ſurrounded him, thought themſelves ſure
of their prey. But the knowledge he had of the country ſaved him; for being well
acquainted with the defiles of a neighbouring mountain, by by-ways he reached the
top of it, and there with a few attendants lay concealed. Having avoided one danger,
Octavianus *in great danger.* he fell into another. A ſlave of *Æmilius Paulus*, whoſe father had been proſcribed
by *Octavianus*, ſeing the triumvir without his uſual guards, thought this a favourable
opportunity of being revenged on him for his cruelty towards his old maſter; and there-
fore accoſting him with a dagger, attempted to ſtab him; but miſſing his blow, as it
was then very dark, he was immediately cut in pieces by the triumvir's attendants[x].
While *Octavianus* lay concealed on the top of the mountain, far from all danger, *Cor-* f
nificius, who commanded under him, ſtill maintained the combat with great bravery;
and having ſunk *Democharis*'s ſhip, continued fighting, notwithſtanding the great
loſs he had ſuſtained, till ſun-ſet, when *Calviſius* and *Menas* appearing unexpectedly
with their ſquadrons, *Pompey* thought it adviſeable to ſound a retreat. The next
morning *Octavianus* from the top of his mountain had the mortification to ſee moſt
of his veſſels ſtranded upon the coaſt, ſome of them half burnt, others ſtill in a flame,
and the ſea to a great diſtance covered with the wreck. But what gave him the greateſt
uneaſineſs was to ſee the enemy's fleet advancing full ſail againſt *Menas* and *Calviſius*,
who

[w] Appian. Dio, ibid. [x] Appian. l. v. Dio, l. xlviii.

a who were no ways in a condition to withſtand them. However, they drew up, but as they were ready to engage, a violent ſtorm aroſe, and the ſea began to run very high. Hereupon *Pompey* retired into the port of *Meſſana*; but *Octavianus*'s ſhips were for the moſt part either ſunk with all the men on board, or daſhed to pieces againſt the rocks and the ſhore. As the ſtorm laſted all night, *Octavianus*, to avoid ſo diſmal a ſight, went early next morning to *Vibonium*, or *Vibo*, a city of *Brutium*, whence he ſent orders to his lieutenants to guard with great care the coaſts of *Italy*, leſt *Pompey* ſhould attempt an invaſion. But he was ſo far from improving the advantages he had gained, by attacking his rival on the continent, that by an unpardonable negligence he ſuffered the poor remains of his ſhattered fleet to retire unmoleſted to

Octavianus's fleet ſhipwrecked.

b *Vibonium* [x].

And now *Octavianus*, finding himſelf without ſhips or money, and at the ſame time the people at *Rome* being ready to riſe for want of corn, he diſpatched *Mecænas* to *Antony*, ſoliciting his aſſiſtance againſt their common enemy. *Antony*, who was then in *Syria*, as we read in *Dio*, or at *Athens*, as *Appian* has it, promiſed to aſſiſt his collegue to the utmoſt of his power; and accordingly, having with all poſſible diligence aſſembled his fleet, he ſailed for *Italy* with three hundred ſhips. But in the mean time *Octavianus*, receiving news of a complete victory gained by *Agrippa* over the revolted *Gauls*, he began to think that he ſtood no more in need of *Antony*'s aſſiſtance, and would willingly have diſpenſed with his civility. He thought him already

Antony arrives in Italy.

c too powerful, and therefore under various pretences would fain have declined going to meet him. Theſe proceedings highly diſpleaſed *Antony*, who had for a long time been jealous of his collegue. However, as he deſigned to exchange with *Octavianus* part of his fleet, which would be of no uſe to him in his intended expedition againſt the *Parthians*, for land-forces, he waited a long time for him at *Tarentum*, though he had been refuſed admittance at *Brunduſium*. At length he began to grow very uneaſy, and to complain of *Octavianus* in moſt bitter and reproachful terms. Whereupon *Octavia*, who had attended him from *Greece*, though then big with child, prevailed upon him to ſend her to her brother, not doubting, but ſhe ſhould eaſily clear up all their jealouſies and ſuſpicions. As ſhe was on her journey to *Rome*, ſhe met her

Miſunderſtanding between him and Octavianus.

d brother, and had a conference with him in the preſence of his two friends *Mecænas* and *Agrippa*, whom ſhe was willing to have for witneſſes of what paſſed between them. After ſhe had with great prudence and addreſs anſwered the complaints of her brother againſt her huſband, ſhe conjured both him and his two favourites with tears in her eyes, to conſider her circumſtances, and not ſuffer her, inſtead of the moſt fortunate of women, to become the moſt miſerable; *for at preſent*, ſaid ſhe, *the eyes of the whole* Roman *people are fixed upon me, on account of the ties, which bind me to two of the greateſt men in the world, being wife to the one, and ſiſter to the other. If raſh counſels prevail, and war enſues, I ſhall be miſerable without redreſs; for on what ſide ſoever victory falls I ſhall be ſure to be the loſer.* *Octavianus*, ſoftened by the intreaties of a

Octavia *brings her brother and husband to an interview.*

e ſiſter, whom he loved with the greateſt tenderneſs, conſented to an interview with *Antony*, for which a place was choſen between *Metapontum* and *Tarentum* upon a river bearing the name of the latter. *Antony* came thither the firſt, and as ſoon as he ſaw *Octavianus* advancing, he leaped into a boat, in order to go and receive him on the other ſide the river. *Octavianus*, not to be overcome by him in civility, did the ſame, ſo that the two boats met in the midſt of the river. After they had embraced each other, they had a friendly conteſt on which ſide they ſhould land. *Antony* was for landing on *Octavianus*'s ſide, and *Octavianus* on *Antony*'s; but *Octavianus* at length prevailed, under pretence of waiting on his ſiſter, who was returned to *Tarentum*. They walked together to the town, where *Octavianus* ſpent the night without

f any other guards about his perſon, but thoſe of *Antony*, who likewiſe went the next day without guards, and paſſed the night in *Octavianus*'s camp. All little differences between them being made up in an amicable manner, it was agreed, that *Octavianus* ſhould give *Antony* two of his legions to be employed againſt the *Parthians*, and that *Antony* in return ſhould leave with him an hundred armed galleys. *Appian* ſays, that *Antony* yielded to *Octavianus* an hundred and fifty ſhips, and *Octavianus* to *Antony* twenty thouſand men. Beſides this, *Octavia* obtained for her huſband twenty ſmall ſhips, or, as *Appian* has it, ten triremes, of her brother, and of her brother a thouſand foot for her huſband. That their friendſhip and union might be more laſting, *Octavianus* betrothed his daughter *Julia*, whom he had by *Scribonia*, to *Antyllus*, *Antony*'s

Their differences made up.

[x] Appian. Dio. &c. ibid.

tony's ſon; and they both agreed, the five years of the triumvirate being now expired, a to prolong their authority for five years more, without conſulting either the ſenate or people. After this *Antony* departed once more for *Syria*. *Octavia* accompanied him as far as *Corcyra*, whence, that ſhe might not be expoſed to the dangers of that expedition, he ſent her back into *Italy*, to remain there till he had ended that war, committing her, and his children, both by her and his former wife *Fulvia*, to the care of *Octavianus* [y]. It is not unlikely, that *Antony* had already propoſed returning to *Egypt*, and therefore was glad to get rid of *Octavia*, that ſhe might not diſturb him in the enjoyment of his beloved *Cleopatra*.

Octavianus *makes great preparations for war againſt* Pompey

Octavianus, upon the departure of his collegue, began to make vaſt preparations both by ſea and land for his intended expedition againſt *Pompey*. He appointed b *Agrippa* commander in chief of his navy, and that brave officer in a few months aſſembled with indefatigable induſtry a fleet able to cope with *Pompey*'s. And now both the ſea and land-forces being ready to enter upon action, *Octavianus* reſolved to invade the iſland in three different places at the ſame time: *Lepidus*, whom he had ſent for from *Africa*, was to land at *Lilybæum* on the ſouth of the iſland; *Statilius Taurus*, who was at *Tarentum*, on the eaſt ſide at cape *Pachynum*; and *Octavianus* himſelf on the weſtern coaſt at cape *Pelorum*. As for *Agrippa*, he was with a numerous ſquadron to cruiſe off *Mylæ*, a city on the northern coaſt of the iſland, where *Pompey* was ſaid to have aſſembled all his naval forces. *Menas* had already, out of his natural levity, abandoned the party of *Octavianus*, and returned to *Pompey* with his c ſquadron, not thinking himſelf conſidered, as he deſerved, by his new maſter. *Calviſius*, though an officer of great experience in maritime affairs, was not employed in this expedition, he having incurred the diſpleaſure of *Octavianus*, for ſuffering himſelf to be over-reached by *Menas*, when he deſerted to *Pompey*. And now all things being ready, *Octavianus*'s fleets, though in different ports, ſet ſail on the day agreed on, which was that of the new moon in the month of *July*, both that day and month being ſacred to the memory of *Julius Cæſar*. But they had ſcarce put to ſea, when a violent ſtorm ariſing, defeated all *Octavianus*'s meaſures. *Statilius Taurus*, foreſeeing it, returned to *Tarentum* with the hundred and two ſhips he commanded; but the ſquadrons of *Octavianus*, *Lepidus*, and *Agrippa*, ſuffered much, that eſpecially of d *Octavianus*, who on this occaſion loſt ſix of the ſhips, which *Octavia* had given him, twenty-ſix others, and a great number of light veſſels, called by the *Latins Liburnicæ*. His own ſhip with much ado made the bay of *Velia*, where, as in all dangers he had a particular care of his own perſon, he went aſhore, leaving his friends and mariners to ſtruggle all night with the winds and waves. When he reached the ſhore, and found himſelf out of danger, rage ſucceeded fear, and tranſported him to ſuch a degree, that he could not forbear venting it upon *Neptune* himſelf, crying out, *I ſhall conquer at length; yes, I ſhall conquer*, Neptune, *in ſpite of thee*. *Lepidus*, who was come from *Africa* with twelve legions, and five thouſand *Numidian* horſe, on board eighty ſhips of war and a thouſand tranſports, after having loſt ſome of his veſſels, e landed at *Lilybæum* in ſpite of the oppoſition he met with from *Plennius*, whom *Pompey* had poſted there with ſome legions and a great number of ſlingers and archers. All the other ſquadrons were driven back, and forced to make what ports they could. *Pompey*, looking upon theſe repeated ſhipwrecks in ſummer, when the ſea is commonly calm, as viſible tokens of the favour and protection of *Neptune*, returned him ſolemn thanks for his aſſiſtance, and was ſo elated with this unexpected ſucceſs, as to ſtyle himſelf *the ſon of* Neptune. On the other hand, *Octavianus* thinking himſelf ill uſed by that deity, never forgave him; but cauſed his ſtatue ſeveral years after to be removed from the circus, where the public games were celebrated. But his chief care at preſent was, to refit his fleet, recruit his forces, and prevent the f diſturbances which the news of this diſaſter might raiſe in *Rome*. Thither he diſpatched *Mecænas*, who with his uſual addreſs ſoom calmed the minds of the people. At the ſame time, he went in perſon to the ſeveral ports, where his ſhips had taken ſhelter, and, by encouraging and amply rewarding the workmen, got his fleet refitted, and ready to put to ſea again before the end of the ſummer. In this ſecond attempt he was attended with better ſucceſs than in the former; for *Meſſala Corvinus* landed ſafe with three legions, and encamped near *Taurominium* at a ſmall diſtance from *Lepidus*; ſeveral other legions were ſet aſhore, without meeting with any conſiderable oppoſition

Octavianus's *fleet ſhipwrecked a ſecond time.*

Lepidus *lands in* Sicily.

Octavianus *refits his fleet.*

in

[y] Plut. Anton. Appian. p. 726, 727, Dio, l. xlviii. p. 390, 391.

a in other places of the iſland, and *Statilius Taurus* made himſelf maſter of cape *Scylaceum* on the continent, which *Pompey* had ſeized. But on the other hand *Papias*, one of *Pompey*'s admirals, falling in with a ſquadron, which was conveying four legions to *Lepidus*, attacked the tranſports, took ſome of them, ſunk others, and obliged the reſt to return to *Africa*. In this encounter two of *Lepidus*'s legions were either taken, drowned, or cut in pieces. In the mean time, *Octavianus*, who was then with his fleet in the port of *Strongyle*, one of the *Æolian* iſlands, obſerving all the coaſt of *Sicily* on that ſide lined with *Pompey*'s forces, left the command of the fleet to *Agrippa*, and returned to *Vibonium* to haſten the departure of the reſt of his ſhips. Upon his departure, *Agrippa*, who longed for an opportunity of ſignalizing his valour, made b himſelf maſter of *Hiera*, one of the *Æolian* iſlands, a place of the utmoſt importance. From thence he ſteered his courſe towards *Mylæ*, with a deſign to ſurpriſe *Democharis*, who had in that port a fleet of forty ſail under his command. But being informed that *Papias* was advancing to the relief of *Democharis*, he thought it adviſeable firſt to engage the former; which he did accordingly, and gained a complete victory, *Papias*, who behaved on this occaſion with unparallelled bravery, having loſt thirty galleys, and *Agrippa* only five. Upon the news of this victory, *Octavianus*, who was then at *Scylaceum*, thinking *Pompey* was blocked up by *Agrippa*, imbarqued the flower of his army, and landed in the neighboured of *Taurominium*, with a deſign to beſiege that place. But, in the mean time, *Pompey* appearing unexpectedly on the c coaſt with his fleet, both *Octavianus* and his troops were ſtruck with ſuch terror, that *Pompey* might have eaſily cut them in pieces. But he, as the day was already far ſpent, inſtead of attacking them without loſs of time, retired with his land-forces to a neighbouring mountain, and there ſpent the night, which the enemy employed in fortifying their camp. Next morning by break of day *Octavianus*, not doubting but *Pompey* would attack his camp, left the defence of it to his lieutenants, *L. Cornificius*, *Titinius*, and *Carcius*, and went on board his fleet. But flying from one danger, he fell into another; for *Pompey*, not thinking it adviſeable to attack his camp, which was well fortified, fell upon his fleet, and ſoon convinced his rival, that if he wanted conduct, he did not want courage. *Octavianus*'s fleet was put to flight at the firſt onſet, d ſeveral of his ſhips were taken, and the reſt, a ſmall number only excepted, either ſunk or burnt. As the battle was fought near the ſhore, ſuch of *Octavianus*'s men as could ſwim took refuge in the camp of *Cornificius*, but the reſt were for the moſt part either drowned or taken. As for *Octavianus* himſelf, he made his eſcape in a boat, and leaving his troops aſhore to ſhift for themſelves, made *Abala*, a city on the coaſt of *Italy*, being attended only by one domeſtic. As he was quite ſpent with the fatigue he had undergone, and overwhelmed with grief and chagrin on account of his defeat, he lay down on the open ſhore, and fell into ſo ſound a ſleep, that he was carried without waking by ſome officers, who knew him, to a camp, which *Meſſala* had formed in that neighbourhood for the defence of the coaſt (O). His firſt care e after he awaked was, to provide for the ſafety of the troops he had left in *Sicily* under the command of *Cornificius*. With this view he immediately diſpatched a meſſenger to *Agrippa*, enjoining him to ſend forthwith a ſtrong body of legionaries under the command of *Laronius* to their aſſiſtance. And indeed *Cornificius* was reduced to the utmoſt extremity. He could receive no proviſions by ſea, which was beſet by the enemy's victorious fleet, and all convoys by land were intercepted by *Pompey*'s *Numidian* cavalry. In this extremity he was forced to abandon his camp, without knowing what rout to take. At length he reſolved to march towards *Mylæ*, which *Agrippa* had ſeized, but was ſo haraſſed all the way by the enemy's parties, that his men began to deſpair, and give themſelves up for loſt. *Cornificius* with his words f and example ſupported their drooping courage, till they found themſelves ſhut up by the enemy's tooops in a narrow valley, called *the fiery brook*. As the ground was here covered all over with duſt and aſhes thrown out by mount *Ætna*, without any ſprings or rivulets, they muſt inevitably have periſhed with thirſt, or ſurrendered at diſcretion, had not the ſuccours ſent by *Agrippa*, coming very ſeaſonably, diſengaged them from the deſperate condition to which they were reduced. At the approach of the *Roman* legions, the *Numidians* retired, leaving *Cornificius* to purſue his march without

One of Pompey's *ſquadrons defeated by* Agrippa.

Pompey *defeats a ſquadron commanded by* Octavianus, *who is in great danger.*

His troops in Sicily *reduced to great ſtreights.*

But relieved by Agrippa.

(O) An accident is ſaid to have happened to him here, which, however frivolous, gave him great hopes of conquering at laſt. A large fiſh leaping out of the ſea, fell at his feet; and this the augurs, who were always conſulted on ſuch occaſions, interpreted to betoken victory to him, as if the ſea, by this tribute and ſubmiſſion, had acknowledged his power.

out the leaſt diſturbance. That general was ſo pleaſed with his retreat, that on his a
return to *Rome*, when he happened to ſup at his friends houſes, he always came home
mounted, as it were, in triumph, on an elephant, having probably made uſe of that
warlike animal in his retreat [z].

IN the mean time, *Octavianus* returning to *Sicily*, had joined *Agrippa* in the neigh-
bourhood of *Tyndaris*, where he was incamped with twenty-one legions, two thouſand
horſe, and five thouſand light-armed foot. From thence they both marched towards
Meſſana, with a deſign to beſiege that place, hoping thereby to draw *Pompey* to a
battle, who had lodged all his military ſtores, proviſions, and treaſures, in that
city. As they approached the place, *Lepidus*, whom *Octavianus* had acquainted with
his deſign, joined them with all his ſea and land forces. This triumvir, ever ſince b
his firſt landing in the iſland, had given *Octavianus* juſt reaſons to ſuſpect his inten-
tions. He took indeed, upon his arrival, ſome ſmall places on the coaſt, and beſieged
Plennius in *Lilybæum*; but afterwards acting only defenſively, he ſuffered *Octavianus*
to carry on the war by himſelf, without offering him the leaſt aſſiſtance, as if he had
maintained a private correſpondence with *Pompey*. However, upon motives, which
he diſcovered ſoon after, he approved of *Octavianus's* plan, and came to join him
Meſſana *inveſted by* Octavianus *and* Lepidus. with all his forces before *Meſſana*, which city was cloſely inveſted both by ſea and
land. *Pompey*, having aſſembled into one body all the troops he had diſperſed up
and down the iſland, poſted himſelf at a ſmall diſtance from *Octavianus*'s camp, and
at the ſame time drew together his ſeveral ſquadrons, ordering them to watch the c
motions of the enemy's fleet, which blocked up the mouth of the harbour. After
ſeveral motions and ſlight engagements between the fleets as well as the land-forces,
Pompey challenged *Octavianus* to put an end to their differences by a ſea fight with
three hundred ſhips on a ſide. This propoſal was no-ways agreeable to *Octavianus*,
who had not hitherto been attended with any great ſucceſs by ſea. However, depend-
ing upon the valour and experience of *Agrippa* on one ſide, and on the other ſuſpect-
ing the fidelity of *Lepidus*, who had according to ſome twelve, according to
others twenty, legions under his command, he accepted the challenge; and a day
was appointed for the deciſive action. Great preparations were made on both ſides
for an event, which was to decide the fate of the contending parties. When the d
day agreed on, and impatiently wiſhed for, by the two generals, came, both fleets
appeared early in the morning drawn up in battalia between *Mylæ* and *Naulochus*;
upon which the two armies ran to the ſhore, there being then a kind of truce between
them, to behold from thence the action, on which their fate in great meaſure de-
A general action at ſea between Pompey *and the two triumvirs.* pended. The ſignal was given, and the engagement began with that fury, which is
peculiar to men, who are more animated by private hatred and party-rage, as hap-
pens in civil wars, than by motives of glory and conqueſt. *Agrippa* behaved with
his uſual bravery, and *Pompey*, knowing all lay at ſtake, diſtinguiſhed himſelf from
the beginning of the action to the end in a very eminent manner. Never was victory
diſputed with more obſtinacy, the ſoldiers as well as officers of both parties fighting,
after the example of their generals, with incredible reſolution and intrepidity. The
ſea was covered to a great diſtance with dead bodies, and nothing was heard but ſhouts
of the ſoldiers and mariners encouraging each other, or cries of men periſhing in the
waves. The victory continued long doubtful, but at length all yielded to the valour
and ſuperior conduct of *Agrippa*, *Pompey*'s fleet was put to flight, and that unfortunate
Pompey *intirely defeated. Year after the flood* 2968. *Before Chriſt* 31. *Of* Rome 717. *Roman* obliged, in ſpite of his utmoſt efforts, to own himſelf conquered. Of his
numerous fleet only ſeventeen veſſels eſcaped, the reſt being taken, burnt, or ſunk [a].
Demochares, one of his admirals, was taken priſoner, but laid violent hands on
himſelf, to avoid the diſgrace of being led in triumph. *Apollophanes*, his other admiral,
yielded up himſelf and his galley to *Agrippa* in the very beginning of the action. f
What became of *Papias*, another of his freedmen, in whom he placed great truſt,
we know not, none of the ancients making any mention of him in the account they
give us of this great action. As for *Menas*, he had long before the battle with his
uſual inconſtancy and perfidiouſneſs abandoned *Pompey* the ſecond time, and gone
over with his ſquadron to *Octavianus*, who received him, rather to weaken the enemy's
party, than to ſtrengthen his own; for knowing he was not a man to be truſted, he
gave him no command, and diſplaced all the officers of the ſquadron he brought with
him. This treacherous wretch, whoſe courage and experience were worthy of a more
noble

[z] LIV. l. cxxix. VELL. PATERCUL. l. iii. c. 79. SUET. in Octavio. APPIAN. l. v. DIO, l. xlix. OROS. l. vi. c. 18. [a] LIV. VELL. PATERCUL. SUET. APPIAN. DIO. OROS. ibid. FLOR. l. iv. c. 18.

a noble mind, retired, if we believe *Horace*, with great wealth, and ſerved afterwards in the poſt of a military tribune. The glory of this victory was intirely owing to *Agrippa*; for *Octavianus*, if *Antony* is to be credited, had not the courage even to look at the two navies drawn up in battalia, but in a great fright lay down in his galley with his eyes lifted up to heaven, like one beſide himſelf, and continued in that poſture, till *Agrippa* had put the enemy to flight. Some writers, to clear their hero from the reproach of cowardice, pretend, that at the time of the engagement he was overcome with ſo profound a ſleep, that his friends with much ado waked him to give the word, and the ſignal for the charge. Be that as it will, it would ſeem very ſtrange now-a-days, if the commander in chief of a fleet or army ſhould ſay, by way of excuſe for b not diſcharging his duty during any memorable action, that he was aſleep, and did not awake till the battle was over. *Octavianus*, however, did, in ſome degree, juſtice to the valour of *Agrippa*, honouring him with a blue ſtandard, and a roſtral crown, that is, a crown, whereof the flower-work repreſented the beaks of galleys. He deſerved indeed a more ſubſtantial reward, having utterly deſtroyed the enemy's numerous fleet with the loſs of three ſhips only of his own; but we ſhall ſoon ſee him raiſed to the greateſt honours of the ſtate, and diſtinguiſhed by *Octavianus*, when abſolute maſter of *Rome*, above all the ſubjects of the *Roman* empire. As for the unhappy *Pompey*, inſtead of repairing to his land-forces, and encouraging them with his preſence, he left them at the diſcretion of the conqueror, and taking on board c his daughter and ſome of his friends who were in *Meſſana*, together with the treaſures he had lodged in that city, he paſſed the ſtreights in the night, and ſteered his courſe towards *Aſia* with ſeventeen galleys, the poor remains of a fleet of three hundred and fifty ſail. His deſign was to throw himſelf upon the mercy of *Antony*, whoſe mother *Julia* he had formerly received and entertained with great civility, when ſhe abandoned *Rome*, during the war of *Peruſia*. Upon his retreat, *Tiſienus Gallus*, one of his lieutenants, immediately ſubmitted to the conqueror with all the forces under his command. As for *Plennius*, who commanded eight legions in *Lilybæum*, upon the firſt news of *Pompey*'s defeat, he marched with incredible expedition to *Meſſana*, and threw himſelf into the place, before *Octavianus* or *Agrippa* had any intelligence d of his deſign. But ſeeing there were no hopes of relief, he took the advantage of *Octavianus*'s abſence to capitulate with *Lepidus*, who granted him honourable conditions, and incorporated the troops he commanded among his own legions. *Agrippa*, whom *Octavianus* had left to carry on the ſiege with *Lepidus*, exclaiming againſt this unfair conduct, intreating him to wait till the arrival of his collegue, which at fartheſt would be, he ſaid, next morning. But *Lepidus*, without hearkening either to his remonſtrances or intreaties, received *Plennius* into his camp, and gave up the city to be plundered by his ſoldiers. *Octavianus*, arriving at break of day, ſent ſome of his friends to his collegue's camp to complain in his name of theſe proceedings. *Lepidus*, who had now twenty-two legions under his command, anſwered with great e haughtineſs, that he would not ſuffer *Octavianus* to take upon him all the authority of the triumvirate, when he had an equal right to it. Upon this reply *Octavianus*, having firſt gained over by his emiſſaries the greateſt part of *Lepidus*'s officers, repaired to his camp attended with a ſtrong body of horſe, under pretence of making up matters with him in an amicable manner. He no ſooner appeared, than *Plennius*'s legions, whom he had already found means to debauch, flocked to him, offering him their ſervice. *Lepidus*, alarmed at this unexpected attempt, fell upon *Octavianus* at the head of his guards, killed his ſhield-bearer cloſe by him, wounded him, and obliged him to retire in ſome confuſion. However, the next day *Lepidus* had the mortification to ſee himſelf abandoned by all his troops, who with their enſigns diſplayed f marched out of their camp, in good order, to join his rival (P). The unhappy triumvir being thus left alone, quitted all the marks of his authority, and putting on a mourning robe, after having remained ſome time unregarded in the throng of thoſe who made their ſubmiſſions to *Octavianus*, threw himſelf at the feet of his collegue, and with great meanneſs begged his life, which was granted him with his eſtate, *Octavianus*

Octavianus reproached with cowardice

Pompey's flight.

Meſſana and all Sicily *ſubmit to the conqueror.*

Miſunderſtanding between Octavianus *and* Lepidus.

Lepidus abandoned by his ſoldiers, and depoſed.

(P.) *Appian* tells us, that *Octavianus* went alone to the camp of *Lepidus*, depending on his own merit, and the authority he had gained by his victories, *Pompey*'s ſoldiers looking upon him with reſpect and drawing round him. Hereupon *Lepidus* ordered his guards to diſperſe them, and fall upon *Octavianus*, who, notwithſtanding the wound he received, went to the place, where the eagles of the legions were kept, and taking one of them, exhorted the legionaries to follow him, which they did accordingly, abandoning their own general.

vianus deſpiſing him too much to take it from him. *Suetonius* is the only writer, who ſays, that *Octavianus* baniſhed him to *Circeii*, a ſmall town on the coaſt of *Latium*. That he attained to be one of the ſupreme governors of the *Roman* empire was intirely owing to fortune, he being a man without any wiſdom, valour, or activity; and therefore, after he had thus fallen from the high ſtation, to which fortune had raiſed him, he was no more regarded, but ended his life in obſcurity and contempt. Thus the whole authority of the triumvirate devolved upon *Antony* and *Octavianus*, who held the *Roman* empire divided between them, the former having all the eaſt from the borders of *Illyricum* and the *Adriatic* gulph, and the latter all the reſt [b].

a

No *Roman* general was ever at the head of ſo powerful an army as *Octavianus* was at this time in *Sicily*. He had under his command forty-five legions, twenty-five thouſand horſe, one hundred and ſixty thouſand light-armed foot, and beſides ſix hundred ſhips of war, without counting the ſmaller veſſels, which were without number. His power was now almoſt equal to his ambition; but they were both checked by the inſolence of his ſoldiers, who ſcarce ever failed to allay the joy which his victories gave him, and to put a ſtop to his further conqueſts. The war in *Sicily* being now at an end, the legionaries, reflecting on their great numbers and ſtrength, began to mutiny, and demand in a tumultuous manner their diſcharge, and the ſame rewards which had been beſtowed on thoſe who had overcome *Brutus* and *Caſſius* in the plains of *Philippi*. *Octavianus* endeavoured to appeaſe the mutineers, by telling them that he deferred giving them the rewards which were due to their valour, till the return of *Antony* from the eaſt: adding, that the *Illyrians*, who had declared war, were to be conquered before any thing elſe could be done. But the mutinous legionaries refuſed to march, till he had ſatisfied their demands. Hereupon the general, being at a loſs what to do, cauſed ſeveral crowns, bracelets, ſpears, *&c.* to be brought out for ſuch of the ſoldiers as had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the war, and ſcarlet robes for the officers; but a tribune, by name *Oſilius*, told him with a great deal of inſolence, *That he might keep thoſe bawbles for children; but as for his ſoldiers, nothing would ſatisfy them but money or land.* At theſe words the whole army ſhouted, and *Octavianus* in a great paſſion came down from his tribunal, and withdrew. The audacious tribune diſappeared that night, and was never after ſeen or heard of, no-body doubting, but he had been privately diſpatched by *Octavianus*'s orders. This made the others more cautious, but not more tractable; for whenever *Octavianus* appeared, they cried out all with one voice, *Money, or our diſcharge*; inſomuch, that he was at length obliged to diſmiſs thoſe, whoſe time of ſervice was expired, to the number of twenty thouſand. The others he pacified with large promiſes, and a donative of five hundred drachmas a man, which he levied upon the *Sicilians*. After this, having ſettled the affairs of *Sicily*, he returned to *Rome*, where he was received with all poſſible demonſtrations of joy: the ſenate in a body met him at the gates, and conducted him to the capitol, followed by all the people crowned with garlands; from the capitol, after he had returned thanks to the gods for the ſucceſs of his arms, they attended him to his palace. The next day he aſſembled the ſenate, according to cuſtom, in the temple of *Bellona*, where in a ſtudied ſpeech, which he cauſed afterward to be publiſhed, he gave the conſcript fathers an account of his expedition, and aſſured them, that he had undergone ſo many toils and dangers with no other view, but to reſtore peace and tranquillity to *Rome*. When he had ended his ſpeech, he withdrew; and the ſenators, who were no more ſwayed with the love of liberty, but a ſpirit of ſlavery, and the meaneſt flattery, decreed him ſuch honours as he himſelf was aſhamed to aſſume. However, he gave them leave to erect a ſtatue of gold to his honour in the forum with this inſcription; *To* Cæſar, *for having reſtored peace by ſea and land*, and to appoint an annual feaſt to be celebrated on the day he had overcome *Pompey*. A triumph was decreed him, but he was ſatisfied with an ovation, which honour he enjoyed on the ides of *November* [c]. After his ovation, he aſſembled the people, and having returned them thanks for the honour they had beſtowed on him, he leſſened the taxes, and forgave thoſe who had hired houſes of the public all the rents they owed to the treaſury. Thus he began to court the favour of the people at the expence of the public, being determined to lay hold of the firſt opportunity that offered of cruſhing *Antony*, as he had done *Pompey* and *Lepidus*, and aſſuming the whole

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Octavianus's ſoldiers mutiny.

He diſcharges ſome, and pacifies the others.

Honours decreed to Octavianus *by the ſenate.*

[b] Appian. l. v. p. 741. Dio, l. xlix. p. 398. Suetonius in Octavio. [c] Appian. l. v. p. 746. Dio, l. xlix. p. 400. Suet. ibid. c. 22. Oros. l. vi. c. 18.

a whole power to himſelf. As the city as well as the country had been greatly infeſted, during the late troubles, with thieves and robbers, he charged *Sabinus*, one of his lieutenants, to purſue them with fire and ſword, and eſtabliſhed at *Rome* ſeveral companies for the guard of the city under the command of an officer, whom he ſtyled *præfectus vigilum*. By this means peace and tranquillity were reſtored, not to *Rome* only, but to all *Italy*; which together with the plenty he procured, being now maſter of *Sicily*, gained the affections of the people to ſuch a degree, that ſome cities went even ſo far as to erect altars to their benefactor, eſpecially after one generous action, which inſpired them with a high opinion of his prudence and good-nature. He had found among *Pompey*'s papers a great many letters to him from ſome of the chief men

b in the ſenate. Theſe he brought into the forum, and before all the people threw them unopened into the fire, proteſting, that he ſacrified his private reſentments to the good of the public. At the ſame time he ſolemnly declared, that his intention was to reſign his authority as ſoon as *Antony* ſhould return from the *Parthian* war. This declaration, however inſincere, abſolutely gained him the hearts and affections of the undiſcerning multitude, who immediately choſe him tribune of the people for his life, hoping this new dignity might induce him to lay down the more odious title of triumvir. He readily accepted the perpetual tribuneſhip, which rendered his perſon ſacred and inviolable; but put off the ſuppreſſion of the triumvirate till the return of *Antony*, diſpatching in the mean time *Bibulus* to impart to him his reſolution. After

c this *Octavianus* left *Rome*, and marched at the head of his army againſt the *Illyrians*, who had ſhaken off the *Roman* yoke.

He courts and gains the affections of the people.

He is choſen perpetual tribune of the people.

During theſe tranſactions at *Rome*, *Pompey* occaſioned great diſturbances in the eaſt. From *Sicily* he ſailed to the iſland of *Leſbos*, where he was informed of the bad ſucceſs which had attended *Antony* in his expedition againſt the *Parthians*. Hereupon he began to entertain thoughts of taking *Antony*'s poſt in the eaſt, or at leaſt of ſharing with him the empire. With this view he ſent embaſſadors to the kings of *Pontus*, *Thrace*, and *Parthia*, ſoliciting their friendſhip, and offering them very advantagious terms. At the ſame time, he drew together what troops he could, giving out that he had no other deſign but to aſſiſt *Antony*,

d and defend himſelf againſt *Octavianus*. *Antony*, informed of theſe proceedings, commanded *Marcus Titius* to take upon him the command of the army that was quartered in *Sicily*, and watch the motions of *Pompey*. *Titius* was ordered to receive him with all poſſible marks of honour, if he yielded up himſelf and his troops; but to cut both him and his army in pieces, if he refuſed to ſubmit. But *Pompey*, before the arrival of *Titius*, had pulled off the maſk, and taken ſeveral cities of *Aſia Minor*, among the reſt *Nicæa* and *Nicomedia*. Hereupon *Titius*, taking with him *Furnius*, *Antony*'s lieutenant in *Aſia*, marched againſt him, and, having defeated his ſmall army, obliged him to ſurrender at diſcretion. As ſoon as *Antony* had notice of his being taken, he wrote to *Titius* to put him to death; but ſoon after changing his mind, he

e ſent a ſecond letter, ordering his lieutenant to ſave him. But the ſecond meſſenger arriving before the firſt, *Titius* perverſely interpreting the laſt order he received to be the laſt that was ſent him, put the unfortunate captive to death, being afraid, as he had formerly ſerved under him, but abandoned him to ſide with *Antony*, leſt he ſhould be once in a condition, if his life were ſpared, to be revenged on him for his treachery. This rendered *Titius* ſo odious to the *Roman* people, who ſtill retained a great regard for *Pompey* and his family, that they could never after bear the ſight of him, but drove him out of the circus with hiſſes and curſes, even while he was exhibiting to them games and ſhews at his own expence [d].

Pompey *raiſes new troubles in* Aſia.

But is defeated, taken priſoner, and put to death.

It was believed, that the death of *Pompey* would have put an end to all civil wars.

f But the unbounded ambition of *Octavianus* and *Antony* ſoon involved the *Roman* ſtate in new troubles. The paſſion *Antony* had for *Cleopatra*, and the extravagant preſents of whole provinces, which he beſtowed on her, ſerved *Octavianus* for a ſpacious pretence to make war upon him, though his real motive was to get rid of a competitor ſo formidable, both for his valour and the high reputation he had gained among the ſoldiery. *Antony* had left *Octavia* in *Italy*, as we have related above, and paſſed into *Syria*, whither he invited *Cleopatra*, and gave her all *Phœnice*, *Cœle-Syria*, *Cyprus*, and a great part of *Arabia* and *Judæa*. Theſe profuſe gifts much diſpleaſed the *Roman* people, who daily publiſhed ſcurrilous lampoons, cenſuring his conduct, and turning him

[d] Appian. p. 747. Dio, p. 402. Strabo, l. iii. p. 141. Liv. epit. l. cxxxii. Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 82. & 97.

Antony's prodigality offends the Roman *people.*

him into ridicule on account of the ſcandalous life he led with *Cleopatra*. Soon after he marched againſt the *Parthians* with thirteen legions, ten thouſand *Gauliſh* or *Spaniſh* horſe, and above thirty thouſand light-armed foot. But this mighty army, which made all the eaſt tremble, ſerved only to render his retreat more ſhameful, as we have related at length in our hiſtory of the *Parthians* [e]. As all the misfortunes he met with in that fatal expedition were owing to his paſſion for *Cleopatra*, which made him neglect the more proper meaſures, to follow thoſe only, which might haſten his return to that bewitching woman, the *Romans* were highly incenſed againſt him. But what moſt of all provoked them was his taking *Artabazes*, king of *Armenia*, in a moſt treacherous manner, as we have related elſewhere [f], and leading him in triumph into *Alexandria*, the *Romans* looking upon the ceremony of triumphing as appropriated wholly to their city. b

Octavianus ſtirs up the people againſt him.

Octavianus took advantage of *Antony*'s impolitic conduct, to eſtrange more and more the minds of the people from him; and when he found their ſpirits ſufficiently exaſperated, he reſolved to ſend his ſiſter *Octavia* to her huſband, that he might have a plauſible pretence to declare war, if he ſhould offer her the affront of ſending her back without ſeeing her. *Antony* was then returned from his *Parthian* expedition, and waited at *Leucopolis*, or, as *Plutarch* calls it, *Leucocome*, for the arrival of *Cleopatra*, whom he had ſent for. The queen arrived at laſt, bringing with her cloaths for the ſoldiers, and vaſt ſums of money to be diſtributed among them. Almoſt at the ſame time *Niger*, one of *Antony*'s particular friends, arrived from *Octavia*, who was already come as far as *Athens*, with letters from her to her huſband; wherein ſhe acquainted him, that ſhe had brought with her cloaths for his ſoldiers, a great many horſes, and rich preſents for his friends and officers, with two thouſand choſen men well armed to recruit the prætorian cohorts. This was very unwelcome news to the queen, who knowing *Octavia* came only to diſpute with her, and lay in her claim to, *Antony*'s affections, and dreading the preſence of ſo virtuous a rival, feigned a deep melancholy, and pretended to be dying for love of him. When ſhe was near him, ſhe beheld him with languiſhing eyes and a deſpairing countenance, like one beſide herſelf with love. She let fall tears in his preſence, and at the ſame time pretended to dry them up in haſte, and unobſerved, as if ſhe were aſhamed to have him a witneſs of her weakneſs. By theſe artifices the crafty queen gained the aſcendant over *Antony*, and prevailed upon him to ſend word to *Octavia*, that ſhe ſhould not purſue her journey into *Syria*, but to return to *Rome*. After this he waited on *Cleopatra* back to *Alexandria*, where he paſſed the winter with that lewd woman in all manner of luxury, pomp, and voluptuouſneſs. c d

Cleopatra prevails upon Antony *to ſend back* Octavia.

The virtuous behaviour of Octavia.

Octavia being returned to *Rome*, her brother ordered her to quit her huſband's houſe, ſince he had treated her ſo contemptuouſly: but the virtuous *Octavia* refuſed to obey him, ſaying, that though ſhe had a great reſpect for her brother, yet ſhe could not prevail upon herſelf to comply with his orders; and therefore conjured him not to force her to leave the houſe of a perſon, whom ſhe would always honour as her huſband in ſpite of his inconſtancy: ſhe intreated him to abandon her intereſt, and not make war upon *Antony* for an affront, which regarded her alone, ſince it would be a ſhameful thing to have it reported, that two of the greateſt commanders in the world had involved the *Roman* people in a war, the one to juſtify his miſtreſs, the other in reſentment for his ſiſter's ill uſage. *Octavianus* could not help indulging her virtuous inclinations; he allowed her to continue in her huſband's houſe, where ſhe brought up his children with extraordinary care, without making any diſtinction between her own and thoſe he had by *Fulvia*. She took under her protection all thoſe whom her huſband ſent to *Rome* to ſue for offices, aſſiſted their pretenſions with the authority her virtue gave her, and never left importuning her brother, till ſhe had obtained for them what they deſired. But nothing proved more prejudicial to *Antony*'s intereſt than this deportment of *Octavia*; his injurious treatment of a woman of her rank, merit, and virtue drew on him the reſentment of all the *Romans*, who were ſtill more provoked at what he did about this time at *Alexandria*. For having feaſted the whole people of that great metropolis, he aſſembled them in the gymnaſium, and cauſing a throne of ſilver to be erected there with two ſeats of gold, the one for himſelf, the other for *Cleopatra*, and lower ſeats at their feet for his children, he proclaimed *Cleopatra* queen of *Egypt*, *Cyprus*, *Africa*, and *Cæle-Syria*, and joined with her as her collegue *Cæſarion*, whom ſhe had by *Julius Cæſar*. As for his own children e f

Antony gives new occaſion of offence to the Roman *people.*

[e] Hiſt. Univerſ. Vol. IV. p. 308, & ſeq.

[f] Hiſt. Univerſ. ibid. p. 708.

a dren by *Cleopatra*, he gave to *Alexander* *Armenia*, *Media*, *Parthia*, and the reſt of the eaſtern provinces from the *Euphrates* to the *Indus*; to *Cleopatra*, the twin ſiſter of *Alexander*, *Libya* and *Cyrene*; and to *Ptolemy*, whom he ſurnamed *Philadelphus*, *Phœnice*, *Syria*, *Cilicia*, and all the countries of the *Leſſer Aſia* from the *Euphrates* to the *Helleſpont*; and he conferred on each of them the title of *king of kings*. What ſeemed moſt remarkable in this ſolemnity was, that *Cleopatra* appeared dreſt like the goddeſs *Iſis*, and *Antony* like the god *Oſiris*; and from that time both frequently gave audience to the people, in the attire which was thought peculiar to thoſe deities [p]. *Octavianus*, taking advantage of the general reſentment againſt *Antony*, which this diviſion of provinces occaſioned at *Rome*, accuſed him before the ſenate and people of b this and ſeveral other attempts highly injurious to the majeſty of the *Roman* empire; which *Antony* being informed of, ſent ſome of his friends to *Rome* to plead his cauſe, and accuſe *Octavianus* in his turn. The chief articles he preferred againſt him were, 1. That he had not ſhared with him the iſland of *Sicily*, which was lately taken from *Pompey*: 2. That he had not made reſtitution of the ſhips he had lent him: 3. That having abrogated the power of *Lepidus* his collegue, he had appropriated to himſelf his army, his government, and his revenues: Laſtly, that he had divided almoſt all *Italy* among his own ſoldiers, and reſerved nothing for his. To theſe accuſations *Octavianus* anſwered, that he had not diſmiſſed *Lepidus* from his government, till he had made it appear that he was unfit to govern; that as to what he had got by the war, he would divide it with *Antony*, when he gave him his ſhare of *Armenia*; and as for c *Antony*'s ſoldiers, they could not ſurely value or claim a few acres of land in *Italy*, after they had conquered all *Media*, and reduced the wealthy empire of the *Parthians* by the mighty exploits they had performed, under the conduct of their invincible general. *Antony* was ſo provoked at this biting jeſt, that though he had already marched as far as the river *Araxes* with a deſign to invade *Parthia*, he dropt that expedition, and ordered *Canidius*, one of his lieutenants, to march forthwith at the head of ſixteen legions down to the coaſts of the *Ionian* ſea, and there keep himſelf in a readineſs to paſs over into *Europe* at a day's warning. As for *Antony* himſelf, he haſtened with *Cleopatra* to *Epheſus*, where his lieutenants had got together eight hundred veſſels, of d which the queen furniſhed two hundred with twenty thouſand talents and proviſions for the whole army. *Antony* was adviſed by his friends to ſend back *Cleopatra* into *Egypt*, there to expect the event of the war; but ſhe, dreading a peace might be made in her abſence, upon condition of *Antony*'s receiving again *Octavia* and excluding her, prevailed upon *Canidius* with a large ſum of money to repreſent to *Antony*, that it was not juſt to drive away a princeſs with diſgrace, who bore ſo great a part in the charge of the war; that it would be highly impolitic to diſoblige the *Egyptians*, who made up ſo conſiderable a part of his naval forces; and finally, that *Cleopatra* was not inferior to any of the kings who attended him, in prudence and good ſenſe, as was manifeſt from her governing ſo mighty a kingdom by herſelf. It was owing to e *Octavianus*'s good fortune and *Antony*'s evil deſtiny, that this counſel took place. *Cleopatra* was allowed to ſtay, and they both left *Epheſus*, and ſet ſail for *Samos*, the place of the general rendezvous. Thither all the kings, princes, and nations from *Egypt* to the *Euxine* ſea, and from *Armenia* to *Illyricum*, were ordered to ſend men, arms, and proviſions. It was at the ſame time proclaimed, that all ſtage-players, dancers, ſingers, buffoons, *&c.* ſhould repair to the ſame iſland; ſo that ſometimes a ſhip, which was thought to be laden with ſoldiers and warlike ſtores, proved fraught with ſcenes, machines for the ſtage, muſicians, and players. Thus, while the reſt of the world was in tears, and great dread of the approaching war, joy, and all kind of pleaſures reigned at *Samos*, as if they had abandoned all other places to reſide there. Thither each city, within the limits of *Antony*'s government, was ordered to f ſend an ox to be offered in ſacrifice; and the kings, who attended him, were in a perpetual diſpute, who ſhould make the moſt magnificent feaſts: inſomuch, that it became a common queſtion among the ſpectators, *What will they do by way of triumph after the victory, ſince they make ſuch rejoycings at the opening of a dangerous war* [q]?

From *Samos*, *Antony* ſailed for *Athens*, where he lived after his uſual manner, ſpending his whole time in luxury and voluptuouſneſs. *Cleopatra*, who accompanied him, being jealous of the honours *Octavia* had received at *Athens*, inſinuated herſelf, with all the civilities imaginable, into the favour of the *Athenians*, who in requital decreed her honours

Octavianus accuſes him before the ſenate.

Articles preferred againſt Octavianus *by* Antony.

Antony *reſolves upon a war with* Octavianus.

How he ſpent his time at Samos.

And Athens.

[p] Plut. in Anton. Dio, l. xlix. p. 415, 416. & lib. l. p. 421. [q] Plut. ibid.

honours beyond the condition of mortals, and deputed ſeveral of the citizens to wait upon her at her houſe with the decree. At the head of this deputation was *Antony* himſelf, he being free of *Athens*: and, as he was choſen their ſpeaker, he harangued the queen in the name of the people. While he was at *Athens*, *C. Soſius* and *Domitius Ahenobarbus*, the conſuls of this year, were obliged to leave *Rome*, not thinking themſelves ſafe there, after they had taken upon them to defend *Antony*. They both took refuge in *Athens*, and incenſed *Antony* to ſuch a degree againſt *Octavianus*, that he ſolemnly divorced *Octavia*, and ſent proper officers to *Rome* to drive her out of his houſe. The virtuous *Octavia* obeyed without complaining, and retired to her own houſe with all his children, except *Antyllus*, his eldeſt ſon by *Fulvia*, who was with his father. She only lamented her hard fate, in ſeeing herſelf looked upon as one of the cauſes of a civil war. But men of penetration well knew, that there was only one true cauſe of the preſent breach, viz. *Octavianus*'s unbounded ambition, which, not ſatisfied with one-half of the *Roman* empire, aſpired at the whole. But he had certainly been diſappointed, had not *Antony*, according to his cuſtom, ſpent ſo much time in idleneſs and debauchery, at *Samos* and *Athens*, with that bewitching woman, who at length was the occaſion of his ruin. Had *Antony* come immediately to a final deciſion, he muſt unavoidably have carried the day, he having then with him a powerful fleet and a numerous army, whereas his rival had not yet made any preparations for a war; and beſides all *Italy* was in a ferment, on account of the extraordinary taxes which he was forced to lay on the people, for the raiſing of the neceſſary ſums; inſomuch, that it was looked upon as one of the greateſt of *Antony*'s overſights, that he put off the war till the next ſummer, by which time *Octavianus*, having quieted the people, put himſelf in a condition of diſputing the empire, with forces equal to thoſe of his enemy [r].

He divorces Octavia.

Antony *is forſaken by ſeveral of his friends.*

During *Antony*'s ſtay at *Athens*, many of his friends, being ill uſed by *Cleopatra* for oppoſing her deſign of attending *Antony* in the war, abandoned him, and came over to *Octavianus*, among the reſt *Plancus*, and *Titius* his nephew. *Plancus* on his arrival at *Rome* accuſed *Antony* before the ſenate of ſeveral crimes, with ſo much venom and bitterneſs, that *Coponius* could not forbear ſaying to him, *Surely you never obſerved what you now lay to* Antony's *charge, till the evening before your departure*, reproaching him thereby either with baſeneſs, in enduring thoſe crimes ſo long, or with ſtupidity, in not finding them out ſooner (Q). *Pollio*'s conduct was as generous, as *Plancus*'s was infamous. *Pollio* had abandoned *Antony*, and led a private life in *Italy*, ever ſince his firſt intrigues with *Cleopatra*; but yet, when *Octavianus* preſſed him to ſerve under him in this war, he anſwered frankly, *I have ſerved* Antony *better perhaps than he has rewarded me*; *however, as the favours I have received at his hands are more known than the ſervices I have done him, to avoid the imputation of ingratitude, I will not take up arms againſt him, but quietly wait the event of the war, and be at the diſcretion of the conqueror.* *Antony* had made a will in favour of *Cleopatra*, and highly injurious and diſhonourable to the *Roman* people, and lodged it with the veſtals at *Rome*. *Plancus* and *Titius*, who had been privy to all his ſecret counſels and deſigns, gave notice of it to *Octavianus*, who immediately demanded it. The religious veſtals anſwered, that they could not deliver it up, without a ſacrilegious breach of the truſt repoſed in them; but that *Octavianus* might, if he thought fit, come and ſeize it himſelf; which he did accordingly; and having firſt read it over in private, and made marks upon thoſe places which he thought moſt for his purpoſe, he called the ſenate, and cauſed it to be read to them. In this will *Antony* declared, that *Cæſarion*, *Cæſar*'s ſon

Octavianus *makes uſe of* Antony's *will to ſtir up the people againſt him.*

[r] Plut. ibid.

(Q). *Plancus* was one of *Cleopatra*'s moſt ſervile flatterers, and had been privy to all *Antony*'s intrigues, debaſing himſelf to the meaneſt employments about him, even to the writing of his love-letters to the queen and to other women. Though he had been conſul, commander in chief of an army, and governor of a province, he was not aſhamed to appear at the *Egyptian* court among common actors, buffoons, and ſtage-players, all wretches, whoſe birth was as mean as their profeſſion. At a public entertainment, to curry favour with the queen, he took upon him to perſonate *Glaucus*, and, having painted his body green, danced quite naked on the public theatre, with a crown of reeds on his head, trailing behind him the tail of a huge fiſh. This behaviour, highly unbecoming a man of his age and quality, made him appear contemptible in the eyes of the *Egyptians* themſelves. Beſides, *Antony* abuſed and reproached him for ſome extortions, whereof he had been accuſed; which, as he was already deſpiſed by the *Egyptians*, he took ſo much amiſs, that he laid hold of the firſt opportunity that offered to abandon *Antony*, and join *Octavianus*, who received him with great demonſtrations of friendſhip and affection.

a ſon by *Cleopatra*, was born in lawful wedlock, and therefore was the true heir of *Julius Cæſar*. This was diſpoſſeſſing *Octavianus* of the inheritance which he held, only as the adopted ſon of the dictator. By the ſame will he bequeathed moſt of the *Roman* territories, which were under his command, to *Cleopatra* and her children; and moreover ordered his body, where-ever he ſhould die, though at *Rome* itſelf, to be ſent into *Egypt* to *Cleopatra*, there to be buried, as ſhe ſhould direct. *Octavianus* inſiſted more eſpecially on that part of the will which related to his funeral, and on his robbing the *Roman* people of their provinces, to enrich a foreign princeſs, who was an enemy to *Rome*. As theſe charges were undeniably made good from an authentic inſtrument, they eſtranged from him the minds of many, who had hitherto pleaded b his cauſe with great zeal. Some of his friends, however, took his part, declaring, that they thought it an extraordinary and unprecedented way of proceeding to puniſh a man in his life-time, for what was not to be put in execution till after his death. Hereupon *Caius Calviſius* accuſed him of ſeveral other crimes, *viz.* that he had made a preſent to *Cleopatra* of the famous library of the kings of *Pergamus*, conſiſting of two hundred thouſand volumes; that he had ſuffered the *Epheſians* to give her the title of their queen; that he had frequently at the public audience of kings and princes received love-letters from *Cleopatra*, and read them on his tribunal; that one day, when *Furnius*, an orator of great eloquence and authority among the *Romans*, was pleading before him, he left him and the audience in the middle of their cauſe to c follow *Cleopatra*, who happened to paſs by in her chair; that at a ſolemn feaſt he had riſen from table, and trod upon her foot, which all the gueſts looked upon as the ſignal of a private meeting, *&c.* The heads of this accuſation, however ridiculous they may ſeem at preſent, were ſeriouſly propoſed by *Calviſius*, and appeared of ſuch moment and weight to *Antony*'s friends, that they ſent one *Geminius* to him to let him know, that his affairs required him to be more circumſpect, and that, unleſs he altered his conduct, he was in danger of being deprived of the office of conſul, to which he had been named for the year enſuing, of being ſtripped of all his governments, and declared an enemy to the *Roman* people. The arrival of *Geminius* alarmed *Cleopatra*, who, looking upon him as one of *Octavia*'s ſpies, ridiculed him, and made him the d conſtant jeſt of the table, where ſhe took care to have him always placed at the lower end. *Geminius* bore all her affronts and outrages with great patience, in hopes of finding at length an opportunity of talking with *Antony* in private. But he, inſtead of giving him a private audience, aſked him one night at a full table, what had brought him to *Athens*? *The buſineſs I come upon*, ſaid he, *well deſerves a ſerious conſideration, and is not to be talked of over a bottle. One thing, however, I am charged by your friends to tell you, which you may hear as well drunk as ſober; your affairs will bear a much better face, if you ſend back* Cleopatra *into* Egypt. *You have done very wiſely*, Geminius, anſwered the queen in a great paſſion, *to tell us this important ſecret, without waiting till it was extorted from you on the rack.* A few days after *Geminius*, dreading the effects of *Cleopatra*'s e diſpleaſure, made his eſcape and returned to *Rome*, whither he was followed by many of *Antony*'s friends, no longer able to bear with the ill uſage they received from the imperious queen. Among theſe were *Marcus Syllanus* and *Dellius* the hiſtorian. The latter had ſaid at an entertainment, where the wine was not to his mind, that *Antony*'s friends drank vinegar, while at *Rome Sarmentus* was ſerved with *Falernian* wine. This *Sarmentus* is mentioned by *Horace*[s], and was one of *Octavianus*'s buffoons. *Cleopatra* took this raillery ſo ill, that ſhe ordered *Dellius* to be privately murdered; but he being acquainted, by one *Glaucus* a phyſician, of her deſign, ſaved himſelf by flight and retired to *Rome*[t].

He is accuſed of ſeveral crimes by C. Calviſius.

The imperious behaviour of Cleopatra *obliges ſeveral of* Antony's *friends to forſake him.*

War declared againſt Cleopatra.

And now *Octavianus*, finding himſelf in a condition to encounter *Antony* with equal f forces, no longer delayed declaring war; but cauſed it to be decreed only againſt *Cleopatra*, for fear of provoking *Antony*'s friends, who were ſtill very numerous and powerful. However, *Antony* was deprived of the conſulate, and his government was taken from him, for ſuffering himſelf to be ruled by a woman. The decree implied beſides, that *Cleopatra* had ſo bewitched *Antony* with her charms and potions, as to bereave him of his ſenſes; and that *Antony* was not to manage the war againſt the *Romans*, but *Mardion* the eunuch, *Photinus* and *Iras*, *Cleopatra*'s waiting-women, and *Charmion*, another of her maids, who were become *Antony*'s counſellors and prime miniſters of ſtate[u]. It is ſaid, that this war was preceded by many ſigns and prodigies

[s] Horat. l. i. ſatyr. 5. [t] Plut. ibid. Dio, lib. l. p. 420. [u] Plut. ibid. Dio, p. 421, 422.

digies (R), which were all interpreted very juſtly, but not before *Antony*'s defeat. a

The forces of Octavianus *and* Antony.

The forces of the contending parties were anſwerable to the empire they ſhared between them. *Antony* had under his command all the provinces from the *Euphrates* and *Armenia* to the *Ionian* ſea and *Illyricum*, and from *Cyrene* to *Æthiopia*. *Octavianus*'s government extended from *Illyricum* to the ocean, and comprehended all the coaſt of *Africa* that was oppoſite to *Italy*, *Gaul*, and *Spain*. Many kings followed *Antony*'s fortune, and attended him in this war; namely *Bocchus* king of *Mauritania*, *Tarcondemus* or *Tarcondimotus* of *Upper Cilicia*, *Archelaus* of *Cappadocia*, *Philadelphus* of *Paphlagonia*, *Mithridates* of *Comagene*, *Adallas* of *Thrace*. Theſe attended him in perſon: but *Polemon* king of *Pontus*, *Malchus* king of *Arabia*, *Herod* king of *Judæa*, *Amyntas* king of *Lycaonia* and *Galatia*, only ſent their quotas of forces. All theſe b together made up an army of a hundred thouſand foot and twelve thouſand horſe. His navy conſiſted of five hundred ſhips of war, ſome whereof had eight, and ſome ten, banks of oars. As for *Octavianus*, he had no foreign princes in his army, which amounted only to eighty thouſand foot, but was as ſtrong in cavalry as the enemy's. He had no more than two hundred and fifty ſhips, but thoſe light, and well manned with ſailors, rowers, and ſoldiers; whereas *Antony*'s ſeemed built for oſtentation, and, beſides, were but very indifferently manned, his officers having been obliged, for want of mariners, to preſs in *Greece*, which had been exhauſted long before, carriers, labourers, and even boys; and for all this his veſſels had not their full complement [w].

They write ſharp letters to each other.

Before theſe two mighty fleets and armies came to engage, a paper war broke c out, on what occaſion we know not, between the generals, who wrote very ſharp and reflecting letters to each other. *Octavianus* reproached *Antony* with the prodigality of his entertainments and his intrigues with *Cleopatra*. *Antony*, on the other hand, put *Octavianus* in mind of the famous entertainment of the twelve gods, at which he preſided dreſt like *Apollo*, while the other gueſts, women as well as men, appeared in the attire of gods and goddeſſes, and paſſed the night in the moſt infamous debaucheries (S). To this he added his haſty marriage with *Livia* againſt all rules of decency; his divorcing *Scribonia*, becauſe ſhe would not bear with the capricious humour of that new miſtreſs; and on this occaſion all the *Roman* ladies, with whom *Octavianus* had ever carried on intrigues, were brought upon the ſtage. *Antony* in one of his d letters reproached him with the cowardice he had betrayed, in all the engagements at which he had been preſent, mentioning thoſe ſhameful circumſtances of which we have taken notice above. Hereupon *Octavianus* wrote to him, that it was childiſh to fight any longer with the pen; but that, if he would approach at the head of his army, he ſhould be ſuffered to land in *Italy* without moleſtation, that his fleet ſhould have ſafe ports, and his land-forces ground enough to incamp on and put themſelves in order of battle. In return to theſe bravadoes, *Antony* challenged his rival to a ſingle combat, though he was much older; and ſent him word, that, if he declined the challenge, he was ready to meet him at the head of his army in battle-array in the plains of *Pharſalia*, where *Cæſar* and *Pompey* had formerly decided their quar- e rel. However, nothing was done this year; *Octavianus* aſſembled with his fleet and army at *Brunduſium*, and *Antony* came as far as *Corcyra* to meet him; but, the ſummer being far ſpent and the tempeſtuous ſeaſon of the year approaching, they both retired and put their armies into winter-quarters [x].

In

[w] Plut. ibid. Dio, p. 422, 423. [x] Plut. & Dio, ibid

(T) The city of *Piſaurum*, where *Antony* had ſettled a colony, was ſwallowed up by an earthquake: a marble ſtatue of *Antony* at *Alba* was obſerved to ſweat for many days together. While he himſelf was in the city of *Patræ*, the temple of *Hercules* was deſtroyed by lightning, and at *Athens* the ſtatue of *Bacchus* was by a violent wind blown out of the *Gigantomachia*, and carried into the theatre. The *Gigantomachia* was a public edifice at *Athens*, where the battle of the gods with the giants was repreſented in painting. Theſe two latter prodigies were looked upon as very bad omens for *Antony*, who pretended to derive his pedigree from *Hercules*, and made a profeſſion of imitating *Bacchus*, cauſing himſelf for that reaſon to be called *young Bacchus*. The ſame ſtorm falling at *Athens* upon the ſtatues of *Eumenes* and *Attalus*, which had been dedicated to *Antony*, and were called *Antonii*, overturned them, without hurting others, that ſtood equally expoſed. Some ſwallows built their neſts in the ſtern of *Cleopatra*'s admiral galley, called *Antonias*; but others drove them away and deſtroyed their neſts (91.)

(S) This feaſt, which was called the *dodecatheon*, becauſe the gueſts perſonated *twelve gods* and *goddeſſes* had made a great noiſe at *Rome*, and had been the ſubject of many ſatirical epigrams. *Antony* had never been guilty of more infamous and ſcandalous debaucheries, than *Octavianus* was on this occaſion.

(91) *Plut. in Antonio.*

Octavianus's *third consulate.*

a In the mean time, the consular year expiring, *Octavianus* caused himself to be declared consul for the third time, and took *M. Valerius Messala* for his collegue in the room of *Antony*, who was to enjoy that dignity this year, according to the agreement made between the two triumvirs and *Pompey*, of which we have spoken above. *Messala* resigned the fasces on the calends of *May* to *M. Titius*, who had abandoned *Antony* together with *Plancus*, and *Titius* on the calends of *October* yielded his office to one *Cn. Pompeius*, of whose descent or services no mention is made in history.

Antony *incamps at* Actium *near his fleet.*

As soon as the season would permit, both armies took the field, and the fleets put to sea. *Antony*'s fleet sailed into the *Ambracian* gulph, between the islands of *Corcyra* and *Cephalenia*, and his army incamped at *Actium* near his fleet. *Actium* was a b small city on the south side of the mouth of the gulph in *Acarnania*. While *Antony*'s fleet was at anchor there, *Octavianus*, crossing the *Ionian* sea, surprised *Toryne*, a small city near *Actium*. This unexpected attempt occasioned great confusion in *Antony*'s camp, by reason only a few legions were yet arrived, and they had not news of the rest. But *Cleopatra*, to calm their fears, turned it into a jest; *Indeed*, said she, *we ought to tremble, now that* Cæsar *has taken* Toryne (T), alluding to the word *Toryne*, which in the language of that country signifies a *ladle*. The next morning, as soon as it was light, *Octavianus* appeared off *Actium* with his ships in order of battle. As *Antony*'s legions were not yet arrived, he had but a small number of soldiers on board his fleet, and consequently must unavoidably have been defeated, c had *Octavianus* attacked him. To divert him therefore for the present from engaging, which he knew was no difficult matter in the absence of *Agrippa*, he armed all his rowers and mariners, placed them on the decks, and sailed up into the mouth of the gulph, as if he intended to fall upon the enemy; which *Octavianus* no sooner observed, than he retreated, as *Antony* had expected. *Octavianus*'s land-forces were incamped on the other side of the mouth of the gulph of *Ambracia*, at a place where *Octavianus* afterwards built, in memory of his victory, a city which he called *Nicopolis*, or *the city of victory*. While he lay there, *Antony*, who was well acquainted with the country, found means to cut off the water from his camp, which much distressed his army y. In the mean time, the brave *Agrippa*, with a squadron and a considerable d body of land-forces, ravaged the coasts of *Greece*, intercepted all the convoys that were coming to *Antony* from *Egypt*, *Syria*, and *Asia*, and, making descents, stormed several cities, among the rest *Methona* in *Peloponnesus*, where *Bogud*, king of *Mauritania*, who had sided with *Antony* and defended the place, was killed, and the numerous garison cut in pieces. From *Methona Agrippa* sailed for *Leucas*, at a small distance from *Actium*, and in the sight of *Antony* made himself master of that island and the ships he found there. The cities of *Patræ* and *Corinth* were likewise forced to submit to him, after he had defeated *Q. Nasidius*, whom *Antony* had sent to stop the progress of his conquests. As he was returning from the coasts of *Greece* to join *Octavianus*, he fell in with *Sosius*, one of *Antony*'s admirals, who had just put to e flight *L. Taurestius*, whom *Octavianus* had sent out with a numerous squadron to watch the enemy's motions. *Agrippa* attacked him with his usual bravery, took some of his ships, sunk others, and dispersed the rest. In this engagement *Sosius* himself perished, and with him *Tracondimotus* king of *Cilicia*. At the same time, a great body of *Antony*'s cavalry, commanded by himself, was defeated by a detachment of *Octavianus*'s cavalry under the command of *Titius* and *Statilius Taurus*. These advantages, and the arrival of *Agrippa* with his victorious squadron, induced *Antony* to abandon in the night-time the camp which he had fortified over-against the enemy's, and retire to *Actium* on the other side of the *Ambracian* gulf, where the greatest part of his army lay. While he continued at *Actium*, several persons of distinction, see- *Several persons of distinction go over to* Octavianus.
f ing his fleet so unfortunate in every thing that was undertaken, and himself spending his whole time with *Cleopatra*, abandoned him and went over to *Octavianus*. Among these were the kings *Amyntas* and *Dejotarus*, and *Cneius Domitius Ahenobarbus*, the last year's consul, who, notwithstanding his affection to *Antony*, could no longer bear with the haughty and insolent behaviour of *Cleopatra*. The unexpected desertion of *Domitius*, whom *Antony* looked upon as one of his best friends, stung him to the heart:

And Octavianus *on the opposite side of the* Ambracian *gulph.*

The exploits of Agrippa.

y Plut. ibid.

(T) It is impossible to preserve the beauty of this allusion in our language. *Toryne*, which in this place is made use of as the name of a town, signifies likewise *a ladle*; and the witticism lies there, as if *Cleopatra* had said, *We ought indeed to tremble now that* Octavianus *has taken a ladle from us.*

heart: however, his carriage to him was very generous, and much againſt the will of *Cleopatra*; for he ſent after him his whole equipage, with his friends and ſervants; which ſo ſenſibly touched *Domitius*, who was ſick of a fever when he fled, that he ſoon after died, his diſtemper being increaſed by the grief of abandoning a man, who by kindneſs requited his infidelity and deſertion. The flight of *Domitius* proved extremely prejudicial to *Antony*'s intereſt, moſt men believing, that a perſon of his underſtanding and penetration would never have abandoned him, had he not thought the ruin of his party inevitable. *Antony* now began to diſtruſt even his beſt friends, and cauſed ſome of them upon bare ſuſpicions to be put to death; namely *Jamblichus*, a petty king of *Arabia*, who expired upon the rack, and *Q. Poſthumius*, a ſenator of diſtinction [z].

Canidius *adviſes* Antony *to diſmiſs* Cleopatra, *and retire.*

At length *Canidius*, commander in chief of *Antony*'s forces, arrived with the reſt of the legions, and ſoon after his arrival, as he ſaw the danger nearer, changed his mind with relation to *Cleopatra*. He adviſed *Antony* by all means to ſend her back, and retire himſelf into *Thrace* and *Macedon*, there to decide the quarrel in the open fields with his land-forces; the rather, becauſe *Dicomes*, king of the *Getæ*, was ready to join him with a great army. *It will not*, ſaid he to *Antony*, *be any diſparagement to you to quit the ſea, and leave* Octavianus *maſter of it, who in his wars with* Pompey *has gained ſo great experience in maritime affairs. But it will be renouncing both ſenſe and reaſon for you, who are one of the moſt experienced land-officers in the world, to make no other uſe of your well diſciplined and ſtout troops, than to diſperſe them on board ſeveral ſhips, and render them uſeleſs in the defence of a navy. What can be more ridiculous, more abſurd, than to depend upon the ſea and winds for a victory, which the valour and experience of your ſoldiers, whom you have tried in ſo many dangers, leave you no room to doubt of by land?* *Antony* was very much inclined to follow the advice of his prudent and faithful general; but *Cleopatra*, whoſe words were oracles with him, biaſſed him the other way, and obliged him, againſt his own judgment, to hazard the empire and his life in a ſea-fight. The perfidious and cowardly queen already entertained thoughts of flying, as *Plutarch* informs us, and was deliberating, not how to be aſſiſting to *Antony* in obtaining the victory, but how ſhe might, when all was loſt, make her eſcape with greateſt ſafety [a]. *Antony*, being now determined to put the whole to the iſſue of a general engagement by ſea, went often from his camp to the place where his fleet rid at anchor, ſometimes alone, and ſometimes attended only by ſome of his particular friends, as ſuſpecting no danger. One of *Octavianus*'s ſlaves, having by chance obſerved him, ran immediately to his maſter, and told him, that he had ſeen *Antony* walking, without any diſtruſt and ſlenderly attended, from his camp to the ſea-ſide. Hereupon *Octavianus* the ſame night ordered a party of choſen men to croſs the gulph, which at the entrance was but a mile over, and lie in wait for *Antony* on the narrow neck of land which led from his camp to the ſea. His orders were put in execution with ſuch ſecrecy, and the whole affair ſo well conducted, that had it not been for the impatience of ſome ſoldiers, who ſtarted up too ſoon, they had ſeized on *Antony*, and put an end to the war without ſhedding a drop of blood; for they took the officer who juſt walked before him, and it was with the utmoſt difficulty that *Antony* himſelf got off [b].

But Antony *reſolves upon a fight at ſea.*

Antony *in danger of falling into the enemy's hands.*

And now *Antony* being determined, out of a ſhameful complaiſance for *Cleopatra*, and againſt his own opinion as well as that of all his officers, to try his fortune by ſea, began to make the neceſſary preparations for an action, on the ſucceſs whereof depended the empire of the *Roman* world. As he was well acquainted with the effeminacy of the *Egyptians*, he was afraid they would turn their backs as ſoon as the fight began; and therefore he ſet fire to all their ſhips, except ſixty, which he ſpared, that they might ſerve as a guard for the queen. Out of the other ſquadrons from *Syria*, *Greece*, *Cilicia*, the kingdom of *Pergamus*, and *Phœnice*, he choſe the beſt galleys from three ranks of oars to ten. The reſt he condemned to the flames for want of mariners. While he was reviewing the troops that were to imbarque, an old experienced officer, who had fought often under him, and had his body covered all over with ſcars, called to him aloud, and addreſſed him thus: *O my noble general, why do you miſtruſt theſe wounds and this ſword, ſo as to put your confidence in rotten wood? Leave the water to the* Egyptians *and* Phœnicians, *men born and nurſed up in that element; but give us* Romans *the land, where we are accuſtomed to brave death, and make our*

[z] Plut. ibid. Vell. Paterc. l. ii. c. 84. Dio, lib. l. p. 427, 428. [a] Plut. Dio, ibid.
[b] Plut. ibid.

our enemies fly before us. *Antony* returned no answer; only, by his looks and the motion
a of his hand, he seemed to bid him be of good heart, though he himself was far from
being satisfied with the posture of his affairs, as manifestly appeared from his behaviour
towards the pilots, who were for leaving their sails behind; but *Antony* obliged them to
take them with them, saying, *We must not let one enemy escape*; which was putting a
good face upon a bad cause [c].

And now both fleets were ready to engage; but a violent storm, which continued
for four days together, prevented them. On the fifth, the sea being calm, they ad-
vanced towards each other in good order. *Gellius Publicola* commanded *Antony*'s *The disposition of the two fleets.*
right wing, *Cælius* the left, and *Marcus Octavius* and *Marcus Justeius* the main body.
b On *Octavianus*'s side, *Agrippa* was placed in the centre, having *Larius* on his right,
and *Aruntius* on his left. As for *Octavianus* and *Antony*, they were both, according
to some writers, in the right wing of their respective fleets; according to others, they
chose no particular place for themselves; but went each in a light vessel from one
division to another, encouraging their men, and putting them in mind of their former
exploits and victories (U). *This day*, said *Antony* to his men before the engagement,
I expect the empire of the world from your valour, and promise you rewards answerable to
so noble a conquest. *Octavianus* gave no less hopes to his men, and with more confi-
dence, having been animated by a happy omen, which he caused to be published
throughout the fleet (W.) *Antony* ordered the commanders of his ships to receive
c the enemy without stirring, but lying still as at anchor, and to keep within the mouth
of the gulf. *Agrippa* was not for attacking him in that posture; and therefore kept
about eight furlongs distant from the enemy till noon, when a gentle gale springing
up, *Antony*'s men, impatient of further delays, and trusting to the bulk and height
of their ships, put their left wing in motion. *Agrippa* beheld this with great satis-
faction, and ordered his right wing to bear back, on purpose to draw the enemy as
far out of the streights as possible, that his galleys, which were light and nimble
sailors, might have an opportunity of surrounding *Antony*'s heavy ships, whose bulk
and want of hands in proportion to their rates made them unwieldy and unfit for
service. On this side the action began; but in a different manner from what was *The battle of Actium. Year of the flood, 2973. Before Christ 26. Of Rome 722.*
d then used in sea-fights: there was no boarding, or running one ship against another,
Antony's vessels being, on account of their size, incapable of a violent motion, and,
on the other hand, *Octavianus*'s ships not daring to approach them for fear of splitting
against their sides, which were armed with strong square pieces of wood fastened to-
gether with massy pins of iron; so that this engagement resembled a land-fight, or
rather the attack of some strong place. *Octavianus*'s soldiers attacked the enemy
with pikes, javelins, darts, and several inventions of fire, which they threw among
them, while *Antony*'s men defended themselves with showers of darts and arrows,
which they discharged from their wooden towers. In the mean time, *Agrippa* ordered
Aruntius

[c] Plut. ibid. Dio, p. 428.

(U) According to *Plutarch*, *Antony* commanded the right wing in conjunction with *Publicola*. The same writer places *Octavianus* in his right wing, *Agrippa* in the left, and *Aruntius* in the centre (95). *The right wing of the* Julian *ships*, says *Velleius Paterculus* (96), *was committed to* M. Larius, *the left to* Aruntius, *and to* Agrippa *the charge of the whole.* Cæsar *was present every-where. The command of* Antony's *fleet was committed to* Publicola *and* Sosius. As to the land-forces, it is agreed on all hands, that *Taurus* commanded in chief on the side of *Octavianus*, and *Canidius* on *Antony*'s. *Antony* had on board his fleet twenty thousand legionaries and two thousand archers (97); *Octavianus* eight legions and five prætorian cohorts. As to the number of the ships, *Florus* tells us, that *Octavianus*'s fleet consisted of four hundred sail, and *Antony*'s only of half that number; but what was wanting in number, adds that writer, was made up in bulk; for all *Antony*'s ships had from six to nine ranks of oars; and besides, *they were so raised with turrets and decks, that they resembled castles and cities, making the sea groan under them, and the wind out of breath to move them* (98). But, as to the number of *Antony*'s ships, *Florus* is contradicted by *Octavianus* himself, who left written in his commentaries quoted by *Plutarch*, that he took three hundred of the enemy's ships (99).

(W) We are told, that as *Octavianus* was going out of his tent at break of day to visit his fleet, he met a countryman driving an ass. Being moved with curiosity, or rather superstition, he asked the man's name. *My name*, replied he, *is* Eutyches, *and my ass is called* Nicon. The first of these names in *Greek* signifies *happy*, and the other *conqueror*. This seemed so lucky an omen to *Octavianus*, that he no longer doubted of victory; and when afterwards he erected a trophy in that place, with the beaks of the ships he had taken, he caused two statues of brass to be erected, one representing the man, and the other his ass (100). *Pliny* adds (1), that as *Octavianus* was sacrificing before the battle, the victim was found to have a double liver.

(95) *Appian. ibid.* (96) *Vell. Paterc. l.* ii. *c.* 85, (97) *Plut. ibid.* (98) *Flor. l.* iv. *c.* 11.
(99) *Plut. ibid.* (100) *Idem ibid. Suet. in Octav. c.* 96. (1) *Plin. l.* xi. *c.* 37.

Aruntius to extend his left wing, and endeavour to hem in the enemy; which made *Publicola* advance to prevent it; but as by this motion he left the main body unguarded, *Agrippa* bore in upon it and put it in disorder. However, the victory still remained doubtful, *Antony*'s soldiers, who were all chosen men, defending themselves with incredible valour, and making a dreadful havock of all who attempted to approach them. The fight lasted several hours, with as fair a prospect of success for *Antony* as for *Octavianus*, the mariners and soldiers on board the two fleets being encouraged by the shouts of their respective armies, who waited the event of the engagement drawn up in battle array, the one on the north side, and the other on the south side, of the *Ambracian* gulf. While the two parties were thus contending, with great fury and obstinacy, for victory, *Cleopatra*'s sixty galleys, crouding all their sails, advanced unexpectedly between the two fleets. This sudden motion equally surprised both navies. *Antony*, whose centre was already in disorder, expected some gallant action from the queen, who had brought him into the present danger. He was therefore struck with amazement, when he saw the whole *Egyptian* squadron, instead of falling upon the enemy, tack about, and with a fair wind steer their course towards *Peloponnesus*. Thus historians relate the flight and desertion of the *Egyptians*, without giving any other reason for their abandoning, in so base and shameful a manner, the party they had embraced, than the timorousness of their queen, who could no longer bear the noise and terror of the battle. What they add is still more surprising. *Antony* had given too many proofs of his courage ever to be suspected of cowardice; and on this occasion not only the empire of the world, but his life, was at stake: neither had he any reason to despair of success; but, on the contrary, the intrepidity and resolution with which his men maintained the combat seemed to promise him certain victory; for tho' his centre had been put into some disorder by *Agrippa*, yet that brave and experienced commander, notwithstanding his utmost efforts, could not gain the least advantage over them, each of *Antony*'s great ships defending themselves against many of his, and keeping them at a distance with incessant showers of darts, arrows, stones, *&c.* which did great execution. But here *Antony* betrayed a weakness hardly to be imagined, and confirmed, as *Plutarch* observes, the ancient saying, that *a lover's soul lives in another body*; for, love getting the better of his ambition and of all other regards, he no sooner saw the queen's ship under sail, than, forgetting the duty of a general and renouncing the empire of the world, as if he had nothing more to apprehend than her absence, he threw himself into a galley of five ranks of oars, and, attended only by two domestics, *Scellius* and *Alexander* the *Syrian*, he abandoned his men, who were generously sacrificing their lives in his service, to follow a base woman, who had long since begun, and was now accomplishing, his destruction. As soon as he came up with *Cleopatra*'s galley, he was taken on board; but, without so much as seeing her, he placed himself at the stern, and there, leaning his elbows on his knees and his head on both his hands, as one confounded with anger and shame for his ill conduct, he continued a good while in that melancholy posture [d].

The flight of Cleopatra.

Who is followed by Antony.

THE gallant behaviour of *Antony*'s troops on this occasion cannot be sufficiently admired and commended; for tho' their general had abandoned them, and the report of his flight was spread all over the fleet, yet they fought with the same ardour and intrepidity as if he had been present, and would in all likelihood have gained the victory, which they disputed till late at night, if a stiff gale, which blew hard a-stern, had not dispersed their vessels, and given the enemy an opportunity of falling upon them, while in disorder and destitute of a leader to rally them. Three hundred ships yielded to the conqueror; but there were not above five thousand of the enemy slain in the whole action, as *Octavianus* himself left recorded in his commentaries quoted by *Plutarch* [e] (X). *Antony*'s land-forces shewed no less fidelity and affection for their general, than his marines had done. They could not be brought to believe, that a general, who had nineteen legions intire and twelve thousand horse, could basely desert them, and *Antony* above all, who had so often seen fortune in all her shapes, as

The gallant behaviour of Antony's *troops.*

His fleet is overcome.

[d] PLUT. ibid. DIO, lib. l. p. 439, 440. FLOR. l. iv. c. 11. VELL. PATERC. l. ii. c. 85. [e] PLUT. in Anton.

(X) And yet *Orosius* writes, that, on *Antony*'s side, twelve thousand men were killed and six or seven thousand wounded, of whom one thousand died of their wounds (2).

(2) *Oros. l.* vi. c. 19.

a as *Plutarch* expreſſes it, and been ſo accuſtomed to changes. They therefore expected he would ſoon appear from ſome part or other, and, putting himſelf at their head, give them an opportunity of ſhewing their fidelity and zeal for his intereſt and ſervice. When they were at laſt thoroughly perſuaded that he was fled and had deſerted them, they nevertheleſs kept in a body, tho' quite ſurrounded both by ſea and land, for ſeven days together, without hearkening to the advantagious offers made them by *Octavianus*. At length, being abandoned by *Canidius* and all their chief officers, who privately made their eſcape, they liſtened to the conditions which *Octavianus* offered them, and were incorporated among his legions. Such was the famous ſea-fight of *Actium*, ſo much ſpoken of by the ancients, eſpecially the poets of that time [f].

And his land-forces ſubmit.

b It was fought on the ſecond day of *September* of the year 722 of *Rome*, *Cæſar Octavianus* and *Meſſala Corvinus* being conſuls. As *Octavianus*, by this ever memorable victory, became ſole maſter of the whole *Roman* empire, *Dion* [g]; *Suetonius*, and after them *Aurelius Victor* and *Eutropius*, reckon from this time the years of *Octavianus*'s empire or reign.

Octavianus's *conduct towards the conquered.*

AFTER this defeat, the auxiliaries, who had ſerved under *Antony*, retired to their reſpective countries, and afterwards made their peace with the conqueror, on the beſt terms they could. Some of the princes he depoſed, others he continued in their former ſtate; but impoſed upon them, as well as upon all the free ſtates which had ſided with *Antony*, heavy fines, whereby thoſe unhappy countries were reduced to a moſt

c deplorable condition. As for the *Romans*, *Octavianus* pardoned ſome at the earneſt intreaties of his friends and his mother *Mucia*; others he puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity, following therein the natural biaſs of his temper. Among the latter was the ſon of the famous *Curio*, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf among the moſt zealous partizans of *Cæſar* the dictator, and had loſt his life in maintaining his intereſt in *Africa*, as we have related above. His ſon followed the fortune of *Antony*, and therefore, being taken priſoner at *Actium*, *Octavianus*, without any regard to the important ſervices of his father, cauſed him to be put to death [h]. As to *Antony* and *Cleopatra*, *Octavianus*, the next morning after the battle, finding his victory complete, detached a ſquadron of light galleys in purſuit of them; which *Antony* no ſooner ſaw

Antony *purſued.*

d rowing up to him, than he commanded his pilot to tack about and face them. Hereupon they all gave back, except one commanded by *Eurycles* the *Laconian*, who, making up to *Antony*'s veſſel with great fierceneſs and intrepidity, from off the deck ſhook his lance at him in a threatening manner, *Who art thou*, cried *Antony* from the ſtern, *who haſt the boldneſs to purſue me thus? I am*, anſwered he, Eurycles *the ſon of* Lachares, *brought hither by* Cæſar's *fortune to revenge my father's death.* This *Lachares* had been condemned to death by *Antony* for a robbery. However, the *Lacedæmonian*, not caring to engage ſo renowned a commander, attacked another galley, and took her, with a ſhip, on board of which was a great deal of rich plate and furniture. *Eurycles* retired, well ſatisfied with his prize; and, upon his retreat *Antony* returned to

e his former melancholy poſture, and continued ſo three days, without ſeeing the queen till he reached *Tænarus* in *Laconia*. There *Cleopatra*'s women brought them to ſee each other, and converſe as formerly, *Antony* ſhewing himſelf as fond of her as ever, even at this time, when he had all the reaſon in the world to deteſt and abhor her, as the only cauſe of his ruin. At *Tænarus* he had an account of the total defeat of his fleet; but, believing his legions ſtill held out, he wrote to *Canidius* to retreat with

He continues his fondneſs for Cleopatra.

f them through *Macedon* into *Aſia*, propoſing to renew the war there. As he was himſelf determined to retire into *Africa*, he gave one his largeſt ſhips, laden with vaſt ſums of money and gold and ſilver veſſels of an ineſtimable value, to his friends, deſiring them to ſhare it among them, and provide for their own ſafety; but they

His generoſity towards his friends.

f refuſing it with tears in their eyes, and declaring that they would always follow his fortune, he comforted them with all the goodneſs imaginable, complaining of his cruel deſtiny, which put him out of a condition of giving them ſuch tokens of his acknowledgment and gratitude, as they had given him of their fidelity and affection. He added, that he could not, without doing them the greateſt injury, ſuffer them to be involved in his misfortunes; and therefore he abſolutely commanded them to abandon him in his evil deſtiny, and conſult their own ſafety. He wrote to *Theophilus*, governor of *Corinth*, deſiring him to provide for their ſecurity, and keep them concealed, till ſuch time as they could make their peace with *Octavianus*. After this, *Antony*

[f] Vide VIRGIL. l. viii. Æneid. OVID. metamorph. l. xv. HORAT. epod. 9. & PROPERT. l. iv. eleg. 6. [g] DIO, l. iv. p. 590. & l. li. in init. [h] DIO, l. li. p. 443, 444.

Antony retired to *Africa*, whence he ſent *Cleopatra* into *Egypt*, and ſoon after followed a her thither. But of the reduction of *Egypt* by *Octavianus*, of the unhappy end of *Antony* and *Cleopatra*, and the affecting circumſtances of their death, we have given a very particular account in our hiſtory of *Egypt* [i], to which we refer our readers. All *Antony*'s ſtatues were thrown down and intirely demoliſhed, both in *Egypt* and at *Rome*. His memory was declared infamous by the ſervile ſenate, and a decree was paſſed, enacting, that none of his family ſhould ever after bear the name of *Marcus*. He died in the fifty-third, or, as ſome write, fifty-ſixth, year of his age, leaving behind him ſeven children by his three wives, *Fulvia*, *Octavia*, and *Cleopatra*; for he

The poſterity of Antony.

married the queen after his divorce with *Octavia*. What became of *Alexander* and *Ptolemy* his ſons by *Cleopatra*, we find no-where recorded; but for his daughter *Cleopatra*, the virtuous *Octavia* brought her up with her own children, and married her to *Juba* king of *Mauritania*, one of the moſt learned and virtuous princes of his age. *Antyllus*, his eldeſt ſon by *Fulvia*, was betrayed by his governor *Theodorus* to *Octavianus*'s ſoldiers, who by his orders put him to death. *Julius Antonius*, the younger brother of *Antyllus* by the ſame mother, became one of *Octavianus*'s chief favourites, *Octavia*, whoſe generoſity for that unfortunate family was without bounds, having beſtowed on him *Marcella*, one of her daughters by her firſt huſband; but he afterwards indiſcreetly engaged in a ſcandalous intrigue with *Julia*, *Octavianus*'s only daughter, which coſt him his life. *Octavia* had by *Antony* only two daughters, of whom the elder was called *Antonia Major*, and the younger *Antonia Minor*. The former married *L. Domitius Ahenobarbus*, by whom ſhe had *Cneius Domitius*, who, by *Agrippina* the daughter of *Germanicus*, was the father of the emperor *Nero*. *Antonia Minor*, who inherited both her mother's beauty and virtue, was married to *Druſus*, the ſon of *Tiberius* and *Livia*, and ſon-in-law to *Octavianus*. From this marriage came *Germanicus*, who was deſervedly eſteemed the greateſt general of his time, and the moſt accompliſhed perſon among the *Romans*, and *Claudius*, who reigned before *Nero*. *Caius*, ſurnamed *Caligula*, the ſon of *Germanicus*, did likewiſe govern the *Roman* empire; ſo that *Antony*'s family, in ſpite of their misfortunes, gave three emperors to *Rome*; whereas none of *Octavianus*'s poſterity ever enjoyed that ſovereign authority, for the attaining of which he had impiouſly trod under foot the moſt ſacred laws of his country, and, by a thouſand acts of cruelty and injuſtice, laid waſte the *Roman* world.

Octavianus ſettles the affairs of Egypt, Aſia Minor, *&c.*

But to reſume the thread of our hiſtory: *Octavianus* having reduced *Egypt*, and ſettled the affairs of that kingdom, left *Alexandria* in the beginning of *September* of the preſent year of *Rome* 723, with a deſign to return, through *Syria*, *Aſia Minor*, and *Greece*, to *Italy*. On his arrival at *Antioch*, he found there *Tiridates*, who had been raiſed to the throne of *Parthia* in oppoſition to *Phrahates*, and likewiſe embaſſadors from *Phrahates*, who were all come on the ſame errand, *viz.* to ſolicit the aſſiſtance of the *Romans* againſt each other. *Octavianus* gave a friendly anſwer both to *Tiridates* and the embaſſadors of *Phrahates*, without intending to help either; but rather with a deſign to animate the one againſt the other, and by that means to weaken both, ſo far as to render the *Parthian* name no longer formidable to *Rome*. After this, having appointed *Meſſala Corvinus* governor of *Syria*, he marched into the province of *Aſia* properly ſo called, and there took up his winter-quarters [k]. In the beginning of the next year, *Octavianus* entered his fifth conſulate, and had the following collegues, *Licinius Craſſus* to the kalends of *July*, *C. Antiſtius* to the ides of *September*, and *M. Tullius*, the ſon of the famous orator, from that time to the end of the year. He ſpent the whole winter in ſettling the affairs of the ſeveral provinces of *Aſia Minor* and the adjacent iſlands, and early in the ſpring paſſed into *Greece*, whence

He returns to Rome.

he ſet out for *Rome*, which he entered in the month *Sextilis*, afterwards called *Auguſt*, in three triumphs, which were celebrated for three days together. The firſt triumph

His triumphs.

was for his victories over the *Dalmatians*, *Pannonians*, and ſome *German* and *Gauliſh* nations, whom he had conquered before his war with *Antony*. The ſecond was for his naval victory at *Actium*; and the third for the reduction of *Egypt*. In the laſt, which was the moſt magnificent of the three, were led before the victor's chariot *Alexander* and *Cleopatra*, whom *Antony* had by the queen, and the image of the queen was carried in a bed of ſtate, with an aſp hanging at her arm. *Rome* was ſo much inriched with the immenſe treaſures brought by *Octavianus* and his ſoldiers out of *Egypt*,

[i] Hiſt. Univerſ. Vol. III. p. 687. [k] Dio, l. li. p. 447.

a *Egypt*, that the value of money fell from ten to four *per cent.* and the prices of every thing elſe roſe in proportion [l]. After his triumph, the name of *emperor* was conferred upon him, not in the common ſenſe, as it imported only a title of honour, but as it carried with it a ſovereign power and an uncontrouled authority [m].

And now *Octavianus* was at the height of his wiſhes, ſole ſovereign, ſole maſter, of the whole *Roman* empire. But, on the other hand, the many dangers which attend an uſurped power, appearing to him in a ſtronger light than ever, filled his mind with a thouſand perplexing thoughts. The natural averſion of the *Romans* to a kingly government, their love of liberty, and the ides of *March*, when his father *Julius* was murdered in full ſenate, by thoſe very men, whom he thought the moſt b devoted to his perſon, made him fear there might ariſe another *Brutus*, who, to reſtore liberty to his country, might aſſaſſinate him on his very throne. This he knew had happened to *Julius Cæſar*; whereas *Sylla*, after having laid down the authority he had uſurped, died peaceably in his bed in the midſt of his enemies. The paſſion of fear, which was ſo natural to him, outweighed in his ſoul the charms of a diadem, and inclined him to follow the example of *Sylla*. He was indeed very unwilling to part with his authority; but fear began to get the better of his ambition. However, before he came to any reſolution, he thought it adviſable to conſult his two moſt intimate and truſty friends, *Agrippa* and *Mecænas*, the former no leſs famous for his probity than his valour, and the latter a man of great penetration, and gene- c rally eſteemed the moſt refined politician of his age. *Agrippa*, ſenſible only of that ſort of glory, which is acquired by great and heroic actions, openly declared for a generous reſignation. He inlarged on the many, and almoſt inevitable, dangers which attend monarchy, inſupportable to a free people, and to men educated in a commonwealth. He did not forget the examples of *Sylla* and *Cæſar*, and cloſed his ſpeech with exhorting *Octavianus* to convince the world, by reſtoring liberty to his country, that the only motive for his taking up arms was to revenge his father's death. *Mecænas*, on the other hand, remonſtrated to him, that he had done too much to go back; that, after ſo much bloodſhed, there could be no ſafety for him but on the throne; that, if he diveſted himſelf of the ſovereign power, he would be immediately pro- d ſecuted by the children and friends of the many illuſtrious perſons, whom the miſfortune of the times had forced him to ſacrifice to his ſafety; that it was abſolutely neceſſary for the welfare and tranquillity of the republic, that the ſovereign power ſhould be lodged in one perſon, and not divided among many, *&c.* *Octavianus* thanked them both for their friendly advice, but ſhewed himſelf inclined to follow the opinion of *Mecænas*; whereupon that able miniſter gave him many wiſe inſtructions and rules of government, which are related at length by *Dion Caſſius* [n], and will ever be looked upon as a maſter-piece in politics. Among other things he told him, That he could not fail of being ſucceſsful in all his undertakings, happy in his life-time, and famous in hiſtory after his death, if he never deviated from this rule, *viz.* to govern others e as he would wiſh to be governed himſelf, had he been born to obey, and not to command. He added, That if, in taking upon him the ſovereign power, he dreaded the name of king, a name ſo odious in a commonwealth, he might content himſelf with the title of *Cæſar* or *Imperator*, and under that name, which was well known to the *Romans*, enjoy all the authority of a king. This advice *Octavianus* followed, and from that time laid aſide all thoughts of abdicating the ſovereign power; but, to deceive the people into a belief that they ſtill enjoyed their ancient government, he continued the old magiſtrates, with the ſame name, pomp, and ornaments, but with juſt as much power as he thought fit to leave them. They were to have no military power, but only their old juriſdiction of deciding finally all cauſes, except ſuch as f were capital; and tho' ſome of theſe laſt were left to the governor of *Rome*, yet the chief he reſerved for himſelf. He paid great court to the people: the very name that covered his uſurpation was a compliment to them; for he affected to call it the power of the tribuneſhip, tho' he acted as abſolutely by it, as if he had called it the dictatorial power. He likewiſe won the hearts of the populace by cheapneſs of proviſions and plentiful markets; he frequently entertained them with ſhews and ſports, and by theſe means kept them in good humour, and made them forget uſurpation, ſlavery, and every public evil; people in eaſe and plenty being under no temptation of inquiring into the title of their prince, or reſenting acts of power, which they do not immediately

Octavianus entertains thoughts of reſigning his authority.

But is diſſuaded from it by Mecænas.

He continues the old magiſtrates.

He courts the people.

[l] Dio, l. li. p. 458, 459. Suet. in Octav. c. 22. Oros. l. vi. c. 19. [m] Dio, l. lii. p. 493, 494. [n] Dio, l. lii. p. 464, &c.

And the ſenate, but diveſts them of all power.

mediately feel. As for the ſenate, he filled it with his own creatures, raiſing the number of the conſcript fathers to a thouſand. He ſupplied ſeveral poor ſenators with money out of the treaſury to diſcharge the public offices, and on all occaſions affected a high regard for that venerable body; but at the ſame time diveſted them of all power, and reduced them to mere cyphers. To prevent them from raiſing new diſturbances in the diſtant provinces, he iſſued an edict, forbidding any ſenator to travel out of *Italy* without leave; except ſuch as had lands in *Sicily* or *Narbonne Gaul*, which at that time comprehended *Languedoc*, *Provence*, and *Dauphiny*. To theſe provinces, which were near *Italy* and in a perfect ſtate of tranquillity, they had full liberty to retire when they pleaſed, and live there upon their eſtates. Before he ended his ſixth conſulſhip, he took a cenſus of the people, which was forty-one years after the laſt; and in this the number of men fit to bear arms amounted to four hundred ſixty-three thouſand, the greateſt that had ever been found before (Y). He likewiſe celebrated the games which had been decreed by the ſenate for his victory at *Actium*; and it was ordered, that they ſhould be celebrated every fifth year; four colleges of prieſt being appointed to take care of them, *viz.* the pontifices, the augurs, the ſeptemvirs, and quindecemvirs [p]. The more to gain the affections of the people, he diſannulled by one edict the many ſevere and unjuſt laws, which had been enacted during the triumvirate. He raiſed many public buildings, repaired the old ones, and added many ſtately ornaments to the city, which at this time was, if we may give credit to ſome ancient writers, about fifty miles in compaſs, and contained near four millions of ſouls, reckoning men, women, children, and ſlaves. He attended buſineſs, reformed abuſes, ſhewed great regard for the *Roman* name, procured public abundance, pleaſure, and jollity, often appearing in perſon at the public diverſions, and in all things ſtudying to render himſelf dear to the populace [q].

He adorns the city.

And now *Octavianus*, entering upon his ſeventh conſulſhip with *M. Agrippa*, the third time conſul, and finding all things ripe for his deſign, the people being highly pleaſed with his mild government, and the ſenate filled with his creatures, whoſe fortunes depended upon his holding the power he had uſurped, went, by the advice of *Agrippa* and *Mecænas*, to the ſenate-houſe, and there in a ſtudied ſpeech offered to reſign his authority, and put all again into the hands of the people upon the old foundation of the commonwealth, being well appriſed, that the greater part of the conſcript fathers, whoſe intereſts were interwoven with his, would unanimouſly preſs him to the contrary; which happened accordingly: for they not only often interrupted him while he was ſpeaking, but, after he had done, unanimouſly beſought him to take upon him alone the whole government of the *Roman* empire. He, with a ſeeming reluctancy, yielded at laſt to their requeſt, as if he had been compelled to accept of the ſovereignty. By this artifice he compaſſed his deſign, which was to get the power and authority, which he had uſurped, confirmed to him by the ſenate and people for the ſpace of ten years; for he would not accept of it for a longer term, pretending, he ſhould in that time be able to ſettle all things in ſuch peace and order, that there could be no further need of his authority; but that he might then eaſe himſelf of the burden, and put the government again into the hands of the ſenate and people. This method he took to render the yoke leſs heavy; but with a deſign to renew his leaſe, if we may be allowed the expreſſion, as ſoon as the ten years were expired; which he did accordingly, from ten years to ten years, as long as he lived, all the while governing the whole *Roman* empire with an abſolute and uncontrouled power. With this new authority the ſenate reſolved to diſtinguiſh him with a new name. Some of the conſcript fathers propoſed the name of *Romulus*, thereby to import, that he was another founder of *Rome*; others offered other titles; but the venerable name of *Auguſtus*, propoſed by *Munatius Plancus*, ſeemed preferable to all the reſt, as it expreſſed more dignity and reverence than authority, the moſt ſacred things, ſuch as temples and palaces conſecrated by augurs, being termed by the *Romans*

He makes a feint to abdicate his power.

But is compelled by the ſenate to retain it.

[o] Dio, l. liii. p. 496. & Marmor. Capuana, Tom. III. Annal. Pighii, p. 495. [p] Dio, ibid. p. 496. [q] Idem ibid.

(Y) Mention is made of this cenſus in the marble tables of *Capua* in theſe words: *In my ſixth conſulſhip with my collegue* M. Agrippa, *I numbered the people, and made a cenſus after forty-one years*, (that is, from the cenſorſhip of *Cn. Lentulus* and *L. Gellius*) *in which four hundred ſixty-three thouſand citizens were numbered.* Inſtead of this number, *Euſebius*, whom ſeveral modern writers have followed, has in his chronicle four millions one hundred and ſixty-four thouſand.

a *Romans Auguſta* (Z). *Octavianus* himſelf was inclined to aſſume the name of *Romulus*; but, fearing he ſhould be ſuſpected of affecting the kingdom, he declined it, and took that of *Auguſtus*[r], by which we ſhall henceforth diſtinguiſh him in the ſequel of our hiſtory. Though the whole power of the ſenate and people was now veſted in *Auguſtus*, yet, that he might ſeem to ſhare it with the conſcript fathers, he refuſed to govern all the provinces, aſſigning to the ſenate ſuch as were quiet and peaceable, and keeping to himſelf thoſe that, bordering upon the barbarous nations, were moſt expoſed to troubles and wars, ſaying, He deſired the fathers might enjoy their power with eaſe and ſafety, while he underwent all the dangers and labours; but by this politic conduct he ſecured all the military power to himſelf, the troops lying in the b provinces he had choſen, and the others, which were governed by the ſenate, being quite deſtitute of forces. The latter were called *ſenatorial*, and the former *imperial*, provinces. The ſenatorial were, *Africa*, that is, the ancient dominions of *Carthage*, *Numidia*, *Aſia* properly ſo called, or the ancient kingdom of *Pergamus*, *Greece*, ſtyled by moſt hiſtorians *Achaia*, *Epirus Dalmatia*, *Macedon*, *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, the iſland of *Crete*, *Libya Cyrenaica*, *Bithynia*, *Pontus*, and that part of *Spain* called *Bætica*. The imperial provinces were, the reſt of *Spain*, comprehending the provinces of *Tarracon* and *Luſitania*, all *Gaul* and *Germany*, *Cœle-Syria*, *Phœnice*, *Cilicia*, the iſland of *Cyprus*, and the kingdom of *Egypt*. Over the provinces of both ſorts were ſet men of diſtinction, *viz.* ſuch as had been conſuls or prætors, with the title of *proconſul* and *proprætor*; c but the government of *Egypt* was committed to a private knight, *Auguſtus* fearing leſt a perſon of rank, depending upon the wealth and ſituation of that country, might raiſe new diſturbances in the empire[s]. All theſe governors held their employment only for a year, and were, upon the arrival of their ſucceſſors, to depart their provinces immediately, and not fail to be at *Rome* within three months at the fartheſt[t]. This diviſion of the provinces was made, according to *Ovid*, on the ides of *January* (A); whereas he was veſted by the ſenate and people with the ſovereign power on the ſeventh of the ides of the ſame month, as is manifeſt from the *Narbonne* marbles[u]; and from that time many writers date the years of his empire. Thus ended the greateſt commonwealth, and at the ſame time began the greateſt monarchy, that had d ever been known; a monarchy, which infinitely excelled in power, riches, extent and continuance all the monarchies and empires which had preceded it; for it comprehended the greateſt, and by far the beſt, part of *Europe*, *Aſia*, and *Africa*, being near four thouſand miles in length, and about half as much in breadth. As to the yearly revenues of the empire, they have, by a modeſt computation, been reckoned to amount to forty millions of our money. But the *Romans* themſelves now ran headlong into all manner of luxury and effeminacy. The people were become a mere mob; thoſe who were wont to direct mighty wars, to raiſe and depoſe great kings, to beſtow or take away great empires, were ſo ſunk and debauched, that if they had but bread and ſhoes, their ambition went no higher. The nobility were indeed e more polite than in former times, but at the ſame time idle, venal, vicious, inſenſible of private virtue, utter ſtrangers to public glory or diſgrace, void of zeal for the welfare of their country, and ſolely intent on gaining the favour of the emperor, as knowing, that certain wealth and preferment were the rewards of ready ſubmiſſion, acquieſcence, and flattery. No wonder therefore, that they loſt their liberty, without being ever again able to retrieve it.

The title of Auguſtus *conferred upon him.*

His policy in dividing the provinces with the ſenate.

The end of the commonwealth, *Year after the flood,* 2977. *Before Chriſt:* 22 *Of* Rome 726.

C H A P.

[r] Dio, ibid. p. 567. Flor. l. iv. Liv. l. cxxxiv. [s] Dio, ibid. p. 504, 505. Tacit. annal. l. i. p. 35. [t] Idem ibid. p. 506. [u] Vide inſcript. Grut. p. 229.

(Z) So *Ovid* in the firſt book of his *faſti*:

Sed tamen humanis celebrantur honoribus omnes:
Hic ſocium ſummo cum Jove numen habet.
Sancta vocant Auguſta patres: Auguſta vocantur
Templa ſacerdotum rite dicata manu.
Hujus & augurium dependet origine verbi:
Et quodcumque ſua Jupiter auget ope, &c.

(A) *Ovid*, ſpeaking of this diſtribution of the provinces, addreſſes *Cæſar Germanicus* thus:

Idibus in magni caſtus Jovis æde ſacerdos
Semimaris flammis viſcera libat ovis;
Redditaque eſt omnis populo provincia noſtro
Et tuus Auguſto nomine dictus avus (3).

(3) *Ovid. faſt. l.* i.

CHAP. XVII.

The history of Rome, *from the perfect settlement of the* Roman *empire to the death of* Nero, *the last of the family of the* Cæsars.

THE first and chief care of *Augustus*, now absolute master of the whole *Roman* empire, was to satisfy his soldiers, and attach them more and more to his interest. With this view he dispersed them all over *Italy* in thirty-two colonies, that he might the more easily reassemble them in case of any sudden commotion. He kept twenty-five legions on foot, seventeen of which were in *Europe*, *viz.* eight on the *Rhine*, four on the *Danube*, three in *Spain*, and two in *Dalmatia*. The other eight were sent into *Asia* and *Africa*, four of them being quartered in the neighbourhood of the *Euphrates* and in *Syria*, two in *Egypt*, and two in the province of *Africa*, that is, in the ancient dominions of *Carthage*. These were constantly maintained, even in the most peaceable times, by *Augustus*, and for some ages by his successors, their whole number amounting to 170,650 men. In the neighbourhood of *Rome* were always quartered twelve cohorts, that is, about ten thousand men, nine of which were called *cohortes prætoriæ*, or *prætorian cohorts*, and the other three *cohortes urbanæ*, or *city cohorts*. They were established to guard the emperor's person, and maintain peace and tranquillity in the city. The prætorian guards had, as we shall see in the sequel of this history, a great share in all the changes and revolutions of the empire, till the reign of *Constantine the Great*, who dismissed them all in the year 312 of the christian æra.

The forces of the empire.

a

b

BESIDES these numerous and well disciplined land-forces, *Augustus* kept constantly at sea two powerful fleets, the one riding at anchor near *Ravenna* in the *Upper* or *Adriatic* sea, to command and defend *Dalmatia*, *Greece*, *Cyprus*, *Asia*, and the rest of the eastern provinces; the other at *Misenum* in the *Lower* or *Mediterranean* sea, to awe and protect *Gaul*, *Spain*, *Africa*, and the western provinces. They were likewise to keep the seas clear of pirates, to convoy the vessels which brought to *Rome* the annual tributes from the provinces beyond sea, and to transport corn and other provisions, necessary for the subsistance and relief of the city. As to the civil government, he reformed many of the ancient laws and enacted new ones; but therein affected to do nothing, without the advice and approbation of the conscript fathers. The comitia were held as formerly in the field of *Mars*; but such only were chosen for the great offices, as *Augustus* had before-hand recommended to the centuries. In short, the same officers of state, the same names, pomp, and ornaments were continued, with all the appearance of authority, but without the least power [w]. However, the senate pretended to be so well pleased with his government, that they honoured him with the title of *Pater patriæ*, or *Father of his country*. Towards the end of this year, *Augustus*, having settled affairs in the capital, left *Italy* and passed into *Gaul*, with a design to attempt the reduction of the *British* islands; but being informed, on his arrival at *Narbonne*, that the *Salassi* at the foot of the *Alps*, and the *Cantabri* and *Astures* in *Spain*, had shaken off the yoke, he sent *Terentius Varro* against the former, and marched in person against the latter, after having entered his eighth consulship, in which he chose for his collegue *Titus Statilius Taurus*, one of his lieutenants. However, before he left *Gaul*, he took a census of the inhabitants of the three provinces into which that country was then divided, and which is the first we read of made out of *Italy* [x]. On his arrival in *Spain*, he defeated the *Cantabri* in a pitched battle near *Vellica*, at a small distance from the *Iberus*, and obliged them to retire with their wives and children to one of their highest mountains, called by the ancients *Vindius*, and by the moderns the

The policy of Augustus.

He is styled Pater patriæ.

The first census out of Italy.

c

d

e

[w] Dio, ibid. p. 511. Suet. in Octavio. c. 26.

[x] Dio, l. liv. p. 535. Tacit. annal. i. c. 39. Suet. l. ii.

a the mountain of *Asturias*. But, in the mean time, *Augustus* falling sick, the whole management of the war was committed to *C. Antistius*; who having defeated the united forces of the *Cantabrians* and *Asturians* in a great battle, forced them to take refuge on another inaccessible mountain, which he surrounded with a wide and deep ditch fifteen miles in compass, and fortified at proper distances with castles and turrets. By this means, all the avenues and passes being shut up, those unhappy people were reduced to the utmost extremity for want of provisions; yet so great was their love of liberty, that, instead of yielding, they endured for a long time miseries hardly to be expressed, the women devouring their own children, and the young men the old, to support the necessities of nature. After many unsuccessful attempts to force the *Ro-*

b *man* intrenchments, the *Asturians* were at length for throwing themselves upon the clemency of the conqueror; but were therein opposed by the *Cantabrians*, who maintained, that they ought all, like brave men, die sword in hand. This dangerous contention was carried so far, that, after a sharp conflict, in which many fell on both sides, the *Asturians*, to the number of ten thousand, were driven to the intrenchments of the *Romans*, whom they begged in a most moving manner to receive them upon what terms they pleased. But *Tiberius*, the emperor's son-in-law, refusing to admit them into the camp, some of those unhappy wretches fell upon their own swords; others lighting great fires, threw themselves into them, and perished in the flames; and some put an end to their lives by drinking the juice of a venomous herb, which

c grew in the forest they possessed [x].

The Cantabrians *and* Asturians *defeated.*

They fall out among themselves.

Great numbers of the Asturians *perish with famine.*

In the mean time, the consular year being expired, *Augustus*, who still resided at *Tarracon*, whither he had retired in the beginning of the campaign, entered there on his ninth consulship, and chose for his collegue *M. Junius Silanus* [y]. This year was remarkable for the total reduction of *Spain*, after it had, for the space of two hundred years and upwards, given the *Romans* constant employment, and obliged them to keep there numerous armies. The *Cantabrians*, whom *Antistius* kept closely invested, were at length forced to surrender at discretion, to the number of twenty-three thousand. Of these ten thousand were incorporated among the *Roman* auxiliaries to be employed against the *Asturians*, the rest were disarmed, and sold to the

d best bidder; but most of them laid violent hands on themselves, despising their lives, after the loss of their liberty and arms [a]. *Cantabria*, now *Biscay*, being thus intirely reduced, *Augustus* divided his army into two bodies; the one he detached, under the command of *Titus Carisius*, into *Lusitania*, whither some of the *Asturians* had retired, and the other he led himself into their country. The *Asturians* in *Lusitania* were in a battle, which lasted two days, and was one of the most bloody that had ever been fought, intirely defeated by *Carisius*, who could not help owning, that the *Asturi-*

ans equalled in valour the *Romans* themselves. On the other hand, *Augustus* and *Antistius* entering the country of those brave, but unfortunate, people, cut most of them in pieces, and made themselves masters of all their cities and strong-holds. Thus

e were the two most warlike nations of *Spain* forced at length to receive the yoke, and bear it, without being ever after able to recover their ancient liberty. *Augustus*, before he left the country, built several cities to keep the rebellious *Spaniards* in awe, among the rest *Cæsar Augusta*, now *Saragosa*, and *Augusta Emerita*, now *Merida*, so called because it was founded by *Augustus*, and peopled by his veterans called in *Latin Emeriti* [b]. He likewise built a stone-bridge over the *Iberus*, to facilitate the march of the *Roman* troops from one province to another.

And also the Asturians.

The Cantabrians *utterly subdued.*

This year several wars were carried on with equal success in other parts. *Marcus Crassus*, one of *Augustus*'s lieutenants, overcame the *Mœsians*, a fierce and savage people beyond the *Danube*. *M. Vincius* gained considerable advantages over some

f nations of *Germany*, for which the title of *Imperator* was conferred upon *Augustus*, under whose auspices *Vincius* had fought. *Terrentius Varro*, surnamed *Murena*, reduced the *Salassi*, and obliged them to submit to such terms as he thought proper to impose upon them. After they had delivered up their arms, *Varro* sent forty thousand of their youth to *Eporedia*, now *Ivrea*, where they were condemned to slavery for the term of twenty years. *Augustus* divided their lands among the soldiers of his guard, and founded in the new colony a city, which he called *Augusta Prætoria*, now known by the name of *Aosta* [c]. The whole glory of this expedition was ascribed to *Augustus*, tho' he was then in *Spain*, and a stately monument erected by a decree of the senate

The Salassi *subdued.*

to

[x] Oros. l. vi. c. 22. [y] Suet. in Octav. c. 26. [a] Oros. ibid. Dio, l. liii. Vell. Paterc. l. ii. [b] Suet. in Octav. Dio, ibid. p. 514. Oros. ibid. [c] Dio, Suet. ibid. Epit. Liv.

to his honour in the midſt of the *Alps*, on which were engraved the names of forty-three nations inhabiting thoſe mountains, who were ſaid to have been ſubdued by him, and brought under the *Roman* yoke [d]. a

Cornelius Gallus *baniſhed.*

While *Auguſtus* was waging war with the rebellious *Spaniards*, *Cornelius Gallus*, to whom *Virgil* inſcribed his tenth and laſt eclogue, was condemned to perpetual baniſhment by the ſenate, for having ſpoken with too much liberty of *Auguſtus*. He had been appointed by the emperor, who loved and eſteemed him on account of his fine genius, the firſt governor of *Egypt*, which he oppreſſed in a moſt tyrannical manner, ſtripping the moſt wealthy cities of the country, particularly the famous city of *Thebes*, of all their ornaments, and laying heavy taxes on the inhabitants. Puffed up with pride, he ruled more like an abſolute monarch, than a ſubordinate magiſtrate, b erecting ſtatues to himſelf in the chief cities of that kingdom, and inſcribing his own name and feats on the pyramids. Such extraordinary proceedings obliged *Auguſtus* to recall him, to brand him with infamy, and forbid him his houſe and the provinces under his command. Hereupon *Gallus* uttered many diſreſpectful ſpeeches againſt the emperor; for which, as well as for his rapines, extortions, and other miſdemeanours, he was, by the unanimous ſuffrages of the ſenate, condemned to baniſhment; but he prevented the execution of the ſentence, by falling on his own ſword [e]. *Auguſtus*, whoſe favour he had gained by his military exploits and the elegance of his poetical compoſitions, is ſaid to have wept, when he received in *Spain* the news of his death, complaining, that he alone was not allowed to ſet what bounds he pleaſed c to his reſentment. However, he returned thanks to the ſenate for the zeal they had ſhewn on this occaſion for the ſafety of his perſon and the glory of his name [f]. This year died *Amyntas* king of *Piſidia*. He had been ſecretary to old king *Dejotarus*, and raiſed by *Marc Antony*, whom he ſerved with great fidelity, to the throne, which *Auguſtus* ſuffered him to enjoy, but would not allow him to tranſmit it to his poſterity; ſo that *Piſidia*, with *Galatia* and *Lycaonia*, upon his death, were reduced to a *Roman* province, and firſt governed by *M. Lollius* in quality of proprætor [g].

He lays violent hands on himſelf.

Piſidia, Galatia, *&c. become a* Roman *province.*

During *Auguſtus*'s ſtay in *Spain*, *Agrippa*, who had remained in *Rome*, was no leſs employed in adorning with magnificent ſtructures that ſtately metropolis, than others were in extending its dominions. Among the many public edifices he built d at his own charges, the moſt remarkable were, the porch and temple of *Neptune*, the hot baths, called *Thermæ Agrippæ*, and the *Pantheon*, a celebrated temple, ſo named, according to *Dion*, from the many images of the gods with which it was embelliſhed, or rather from its arched roof, which reſembled the heavens. This wonderful ſtructure was finiſhed this year, in the ninth conſulſhip of *Auguſtus*, and is preſerved intire to this day. While *Auguſtus* continued at *Tarracon*, his health not allowing him yet to ſet out on his return to *Rome*, he had the ſatisfaction to ſee the moſt remote nations of the north and the eaſt, that is, the *Scythians*, the *Sarmatians*, the *Indians*, and the *Seres* (B), courting his friendſhip with embaſſies and rich preſents [h]. *Florus* tells

The Pantheon.

The Sarmatians, Scythians, *&c. ſent embaſſadors to* Auguſtus.

[d] Dio, p. 513, 514. Plin. l. iii. c. 20. [e] Strabo, l. xvii. p. 819. Ammian. Marcel. l. xvii. Dio, l. liii. p. 512. Euſea. in Chron. [f] Suet. in Octav. c. 66. Dio, ibid. [g] Dio, p. 514. Eutrop. l. vii. Sext. Ruf. in breviar. Euseb. in chron. [h] Flor. l. iv. c. 12. Suet. ibid. c. 21. Oros. l. vi. c. 21. Eutrop. l. vii.

(B) The *Seres*, the ſame people whom we now call the *Chineſe*, are thought to have been the firſt who made ſilk; whence *ſilk* was called *ſerica*, and *a ſilken garment ſericum*, by the *Greeks* as well as by the *Latins*. From the country of the *Seres*, that is, from *China*, ſilk was brought into *Perſia*, and from *Perſia* into *Greece* and *Italy*. It was firſt brought into *Greece* on *Alexander*'s conquering *Perſia*, and from thence into *Italy* in the flouriſhing times of the *Roman* empire. It was for a long time very dear in theſe weſtern parts, being weight for weight of equal value with gold; for the *Perſians*, to keep this manufacture to themſelves, would not allow the ſilk-worms to be carried out of *Perſia*, or any one to paſs from thence into the weſt, who were ſkilled in the management of them. But the emperor *Juſtinian*, who died in the year of the chriſtian æra 565, looking upon it as a great hardſhip, that his ſubjects ſhould purchaſe this manufacture of the *Perſians* at ſo dear a rate, ſent two monks into *India*, to learn there how the ſilken manufacture was managed, ordering them to bring with them on their return ſome ſilk-worms, that he might ſet up the manufacture in his own dominions. Theſe monks on their return told him, that the ſilk-worms could not be brought ſo long a journey, but the emperor underſtanding from them that their eggs might, he ſent them back for them; and by this means great quantities of theſe eggs were brought to *Conſtantinople*. From theſe eggs have been propagated all the ſilk-worms and ſilk trade, which have been ſince that time in *Europe*. The ancients were ſo ignorant how ſilk was made, that they believed it was produced, like cotton, from trees. For a long time it was worn only by women, it being thought a great inſtance of luxury and effeminacy for a man to wear a ſilken garment. In the beginning of the reign of *Tiberius*, a law was made, ne

a tells us, that the *Seres* were four years on their journey, and that they preſented *Auguſtus* with pearls, precious ſtones, and elephants. The fame of *Cæſar*'s moderation in the midſt of his victories was that chiefly prompted thoſe diſtant nations, if we believe *Suetonius* [i], to ſolicit his friendſhip. This year ended with two marriages, *viz.* of *Cleopatra Selene*, the daughter of queen *Cleopatra* by *Antony*, with *Juba* king of *Getulia*, of whom we have ſpoken above, and of *Julia*, *Auguſtus*'s daughter by *Scribonia*, with *Marcellus*, his ſiſter *Octavia*'s ſon by her firſt huſband, a youth of extraordinary accompliſhments, and already adopted by *Auguſtus*, who had no hopes of iſſue by his wife *Livia*, whom he paſſionately loved. As the emperor was ſtill kept in *Spain* by the bad ſtate of his health, the ceremonies uſed by the *Romans* on b ſuch occaſions were performed with all imaginable pomp and magnificence by *Agrippa* [k].

THE enſuing year, *Auguſtus* entered upon his tenth conſulſhip, having *C. Norbanus Flaccus* for his collegue; but whether he was then in *Spain*, on his journey, or at *Rome*, is uncertain. Upon his return to the capital, which happened in the end of the preceding year or the beginning of this, the ſenate conferred a greater authority upon him than ever, freeing him from the obligation of all laws, and impowering him to govern the republic according to his arbitrary will and pleaſure. At the ſame time, by a ſolemn oath they approved of all his acts, and decreed, that *Marcellus*, tho' then not above ſixteen years of age, ſhould, on account of his extraordic nary merit, have a place in the ſenate among thoſe of the prætorian rank, and that he might ſtand for the conſulate, ten years ſooner than he was allowed by the laws. It was likewiſe ordained in favour of *Tiberius*, ſon-in-law to *Auguſtus*, that he might ſtand for the curule officers, five years ſooner than the uſual time. Theſe decrees were no ſooner paſſed, than *Marcellus* was made ædile, and *Tiberius* quæſtor [l]. This year was remarkable for an expedition againſt the ſouthern *Arabs*, undertaken by *Ælius Gallus*, a *Roman* knight, and the third governor of *Egypt* under *Auguſtus*. The emperor being informed, that *South Arabia* abounded in gold, ſilver, and other riches, reſolved either to make them his friends by treaties, and ſo open a way for commerce with them, or by conqueſt to make them his ſubjects. He had alſo this fard ther view, *viz.* in caſe he ſhould, either as a friend or conqueror, get footing in that country, to open himſelf an eaſy way for the ſubduing of the *Troglodites*, their country being ſeparated from *South Arabia* only by the narrow ſtreights, now called the ſtreights of *Babelmandel*, through which the *Arabian* gulf diſcharges itſelf into the ſouthern ocean. For the carrying on of this expedition, *Auguſtus* furniſhed *Gallus* with ten thouſand men; *Herod* king of *Judæa* ſent him five hundred drawn out of his own guards; and *Obodas* king of the *Nabathæan Arabs* a thouſand more, under the command of *Syllæus* his chief miniſter. *Syllæus* undertook to be *Gallus*'s guide in this expedition; but with no other view than to betray him, and make the undertaking miſcarry. *Gallus* had propoſed to march through the country of the *Nabae thæans*, and from thence into *South Arabia*, or *Arabia Felix*; but *Syllæus* falſly informing him, that there was no ſafe paſſage thither by land, he built a hundred and thirty tranſports at *Cleopatris*, a port at the bottom of the *Arabian* gulf or *Red* ſea, and, putting his army on board of them, ſailed for *Leucocome*, a maritime city of the *Nabathæans*, on the other ſide of that ſea. As this was a very dangerous navigation, on account of the many rocks and ſhelves which are in that part of the *Arabian* gulf, and *Syllæus* conducted them the worſt way through it, he was fifteen days in his paſſage, and loſt a great many ſhips. Upon his landing, his whole army was ſeized with a diſtemper common in that country, which obliged him to continue inactive, at *Leucocome* and in that neighbourhood, the remaining part of the ſummer and f the following winter. Early next ſpring, he ſet out from *Leucocome*, and, after a moſt painful march of ſix months ſouthward, being led by the treacherous *Syllæus* through ways almoſt impaſſable, he arrived at length on the borders of *Arabia Felix*.

New honours conferred on Auguſtus.

The unſucceſsful expedition of Ælius Gallus *into* Arabia Felix.

He is betrayed by Syllæus.

Upon

[i] SUET. ibid. [k] DIO, ibid. p. 515. [l] Idem ibid.

ne veſtis ſerica viros fœdaret, that is, *that no man ſhould diſhonour himſelf by wearing a ſilken garment* (4); and *Lampridius* reckons it one of the moſt infamous parts of *Heliogabalus*'s character, that he was the firſt man who wore *holoſericum*, that is, *a garment which was all of ſilk* (5).

(4) *Tacit. annal. l.* ii. *c.* 33. (5) *Vide Prid. connect. & Voſſ. in etym. ad vocem* Sericum, *& de idololat. l.* iv. *c.* 90. *& Salmaſ. in notis ad Tertullian. de pall. ad Solin. & ad hiſt. Auguſt.*

Upon his approach, *Sabus*, king of the country, fled, abandoning his metropolis, a called by *Strabo* the city of the *Agrans*, which *Gallus* took by aſſault. From thence he continued his march ſouthward, and arrived the ſixth day at a river, where he was met by a numerous body of *Arabs*, who had aſſembled with a deſign to diſpute his paſſage; but *Gallus*, falling upon them, cut ten thouſand of them in pieces, with the loſs of two men only. He then, without further oppoſition, made himſelf maſter of *Anneſtus*, *Aſca*, *Maguſum*, *Tommacum*, *Labeccia*, *Mariaba*, a city ſix miles in compaſs, *Athrula*, where he left a garriſon, and *Caripeta*. From *Caripeta* he penetrated farther into the country, and, after ſome days march, came to *Marſyabæ*, a city of the *Rhamanites*,, who were governed by a petty prince named *Ilaſarus*. He beſieged the place; but was obliged, after ſeveral unſucceſsful attempts, to drop that enterprize b for want of water. In the mean time, his men being ſeized with various diſtempers, occaſioned by the heat of the climate and the unwholſomeneſs of the air, water, and herbs of the country, and great numbers of them dropping off daily, he thought it adviſeable to march back into the country of the *Nabathæans*, and from thence purſue his rout into *Egypt*. Accordingly, having by this time diſcovered the treachery of *Syllæus*, he ſet out on his march homeward, under the conduct of more faithful guides, and came in ſix days to *Anagrana*; whence, after having put to flight king *Sabus*,, who attempted to haraſs him on his march, he purſued his journey to *Negra*, called alſo *Hygra*, a maritime city of the *Nabathæan* country, which he reached in ſixty days; whereas he had ſpent ſix months in marching from thence to the confines c of *Arabia*. At *Negra* he imbarqued his troops, and having croſſed the *Arabian* gulf in eleven days, he landed at *Myos Hormus* on the *Egyptian* ſide; and from thence, by the way of *Coptus*, led back the poor remains of his army to *Alexandria*, after having ſpent two years in this unhappy expedition. In the ſeveral ſkirmiſhes he had with the enemy, he loſt only ſeven men; but the far greater part of his forces periſhed, either by famine or diſeaſes [m]. Some of the medicinal compoſitions, which he invented againſt the diſtempers that reigned in his army, are mentioned by *Galen*, and among the reſt treacle, which on his return he preſented to *Auguſtus*, telling him, that it had ſaved the lives of many of his ſoldiers [n]. The bad ſucceſs, that had attended *Ælius* in this expedition, deterred both him and others from any further attempts d on that country; ſo that the inhabitants of *Arabia Felix* in the eaſt, and the *Scots* in the north, as we ſhall obſerve hereafter, were the only people who continued to enjoy their liberties to the downfal of the *Roman* empire, while all the other nations of the then known world groaned under the yoke.

He defeats the Arabs, *and takes ſeveral cities.*

He drops the enterprize, and returns to Egypt.

Candace, *queen of* Ethiopia, *invades* Egypt.

WHILE *Ælius Gallus* was employed with part of the *Egyptian* army in this expedition, *Candace*, queen of *Ethiopia*, invading the province of *Thebais* in *Upper Egypt* with a great army, ſurpriſed the cities of *Syene*, *Elephantina*, and *Phyllis*, carried the *Romans* who gariſoned them into captivity, overthrew *Auguſtus*'s ſtatues, and laid waſte the whole country. Hereupon *C. Petronius*, at that time governor of *Egypt*, having with all imaginable expedition got together a body of ten thouſand foot and e eight hundred horſe, marched againſt the warlike queen, and coming up with her in the neighbourhood of *Pſelcha*, a city of *Ethiopia* on the banks of the *Nile*, obliged her to give battle, defeated her army, tho' thirty thouſand ſtrong, and made himſelf maſter of *Pſelcha*, a city of *Ethiopia* on the ſide of *Egypt*. From *Pſelcha Petronius* penetrated above eight hundred miles into the country; and after having paſſed thoſe deſarts, where the whole army of *Cambyſes* is ſaid to have been by a ſudden ſtorm buried in the ſand, he took, without oppoſition, the cities of *Premnis*, *Aboccis*, *Phturis*, *Cambyſes*, *Atteva*, and *Stadiſis*; which laſt place ſtood near the cataracts of the *Nile*. Encouraged with this ſucceſs, the *Roman* general advanced to *Napata*, f which *Dion* calls *Tenape*, the metropolis of the kingdom, which he took and deſtroyed, and from thence marched forward, till at length being able to proceed no farther by reaſon of the great deſarts, nor ſtay there any longer on account of the exceſſive heats of the climate, he was obliged to turn back. Having therefore put a gariſon of four hundred men into *Premnis*, one of the ſtrongeſt fortreſſes of *Ethiopia*, and ſupplied it with proviſions for two years, he returned to *Alexandria*, carrying with him many thouſand captives, whom he ſold for ſlaves, except one thouſand, in which number were the chief commanders of *Candace*'s army; and thoſe he ſent as a preſent to *Auguſtus*. The queen of *Ethiopia*, upon the firſt notice of the departure of the *Romans*, having

But is defeated by Petronius, *who takes ſeveral of her cities.*

[m] DIO, ibid. p. 516—524. STRABO, l. xvi. p. 780. & l. ii. p. 118. & l. xvii. p. 820. JOSEPH. antiq. l. xv. c. 12. & de bell. Judaic. l. i. c. 16. PLIN. l. vi. c. 28. [n] GALEN. de antidot. l. ii.

a having assembled new forces, attacked with great vigor the garison they had left at *Premnis*; but *Petronius* returning with a quickness and expedition hardly to be imagined, she was obliged not only to raise the siege, but to conclude a peace upon terms very advantagious to the *Romans*. However, *Augustus* afterwards remitted the tribute, which she was, pursuant to the treaty, to pay yearly to the *Roman* people, and restored to her all the cities which *Petronius*, had seized [o].

The queen concludes a peace with the Romans.

During these transactions in the east, the *Asturians* and *Cantabrians* attempted anew the recovery of their liberty; and having by a stratagem surprised a considerable body of *Romans*, put them all to the sword. But *Ælius Lama*, whom *Augustus* had left governor of that part of *Spain*, soon revenged their death, laying waste the b whole country with fire and sword, and cruelly massacring most of their young men who were able to bear arms: by which means he reduced them in less than a month to an intire subjection [p].

The Cantabrians *and* Asturians *rebel, but are soon reduced*

The following year, *Augustus*, being in his eleventh consulship with *Cn. Calpurnius Piso*, fell into a dangerous distemper, which brought him to the point of death. When he thought himself past recovery, he sent for the curule magistrates and the chief men of the senatorial and equestrian order, who came immediately to attend him, not doubting, but he designed to name in their presence his successor, and intail the empire on his family. They were therefore greatly surprised to see the dying emperor, without uttering a single word, put into the hands of his collegue *Calpurnius* c *Piso* his last will, and with it a book of his own writing, which contained a distinct and minute account of all the towns, provinces, allies, forces, riches, and taxes of the whole *Roman* empire. The contents of his will, which was to be opened only after his death, were never known; but, from his not naming a successor and his delivering to the chief magistrate, in so critical a juncture, an account of the revenues and forces of the empire, they all concluded, that his design was to put the commonwealth once more into the hands of the senate and people. His ring he delivered in the presence of all to *Agrippa*, signifying thereby, as was then interpreted; that if they desired to be governed by one man, they could not chuse a person more fit for so great a trust than *Agrippa*. As for *Marcellus*, his son-in-law, his nephew, and his son by adoption, d whom every one expected he would name for his successor, he seemed to have entirely forgot him. This unexpected behaviour of *Augustus* at the point of death, when his sincerity could not be reasonably questioned, gained him the affections of the people, above any thing he had hitherto done in their behalf. They thought him more worthy of being solemnly deified and ranked among the gods, in regard of the disinterested love he shewed for his country, than his father *Julius* on account of all his warlike exploits. But the apotheosis of *Augustus* was put off for many years; for *Antonius Musa*, a famous *Greek* physician, and brother to *Euphorbus* physician to *Juba* king of *Mauritania*, by cooling potions and the use of the cold bath, restored him to his health, to the great real, or seeming, satisfaction of the senate and people, who im- e mediately ordered a statue of brass to be erected to *Musa* over-against that of *Æsculapius*, a distinction never before granted to any freed-man. He was also allowed to wear a gold ring, and all persons of his profession were for ever, out of gratitude to him, exempted from all manner of taxes and tributes [q]. The recovery of *Augustus* occasioned great rejoicings in the city; medals were struck, many of which have reached our times, and the most magnificent sports exhibited that had ever been seen in *Rome*. We are told, that some fathers, then on their death-beds, commanded their children to sacrifice victims in their name by way of thanksgiving to *Jupiter Capitolinus*, with this inscription, *The day of our death was the day of* Augustus's *recovery* [r]. The emperor, as soon as he was in a condition to appear abroad, went to the senate-house, and, after having thanked the fathers in most obliging terms for the concern f they had shewn during his illness, and the joy they had expressed on his recovery, he opened his will, and offered to read it to the assembly, in order to convince them, that he had appointed himself no successor, but left them at full liberty either of re-establishing the ancient form of government, or chusing for themselves a sovereign; but they all cried out with one voice, That they would not by any means suffer him to take that trouble, which was to no purpose, since they were, without any further proof, fully convinced of the sincerity of his intentions, and his disinterested zeal for the public welfare [s].

Augustus *at the point of death.*

His behaviour on that occasion.

Antonius Musa *restores him to his health.*

Rejoicings at Rome *for his recovery.*

The

[o] Strabo, l. xvii. p. 820. Dio, l. liv. p. 524, 525. Plin. l. vi. c. 29. [p] Dio, p. 523, 524.
[q] Idem, p. 517, & seq. [r] Suet. in Octavio. [s] Suet, & Dio, ibid.

Misunderstanding between Marcellus *and* Agrippa.

THE behaviour of *Augustus* during his illness occasioned a misunderstanding between *Marcellus* and *Agrippa*. The former thinking himself injured by his uncle, who had preferred to one of his own family a man of a mean descent, a mere soldier of fortune, expressed his resentment, not against the emperor, but against his favourite, treating him on several occasions with great contempt. On the other hand, *Agrippa* was not a man to bear with any ill usage. The emperor therefore, to prevent the evil consequences of their mutual jealousies, thought it advisable to part them; and accordingly appointed *Agrippa* governor of *Syria*, who immediately left *Rome*, but went no farther than *Mitylene* in the island of *Lesbos*, whence he sent his lieutenants to govern the provinces committed to his care [a].

New honours heaped upon Augustus.

AND NOW *Augustus*, thinking his authority sufficiently established, resigned the fasces, after having held them nine years together, to *P. Sestius*, a man of an unblemished character, but a constant and faithful friend to *Brutus*, under whom he had served in the battle of *Philippi* in quality of proquæstor, and whose memory he still reverenced, keeping his picture in his house, and commending on all occasions the zeal of that brave patriot for the welfare of his country. The senate was so affected with this impartial conduct of *Augustus*, in preferring a man of *Sestius*'s character to many of his own friends, who aspired at the same dignity, that they heaped new honours upon him, declared him perpetual proconsul of the *Roman* empire, impowered him to assemble the senate when he pleased, and, what he valued above all other prerogatives, allowed him to exercise the authority of the tribuneship, and enjoy all the privileges annexed to that dignity, not only within the walls of *Rome*, but in the most distant provinces. Such an ample and unlimited power was without precedent; but the emperor readily accepted it, as it rendered his person sacred, and secured him against all outrages and insults, whether in words or actions. His successors never parted with this power; but, after the example of *Augustus*, caused it to be recorded in public registers in these terms; *Tribunitiæ potestatis primum, secundum, &c.* [u]. Thus were the *Romans*, by raising the authority of their emperors, daily rivetting their own chains. In the consulate of *Cn. Calpurnius Piso* and *L. Sestius*, *Phrahates* king of *Parthia* being restored to the throne by the *Scythians*, *Tiridates*, whom the *Parthians* had chose in his room, being obliged to save himself by flight, came to *Rome*, with the chief men of his party, to solicit the assistance of *Augustus*, promising to hold the kingdom of him, in case he was restored by his means to the throne. On the other hand, *Phrahates*, hearing he had fled to *Rome*, sent ambassadors after him to defeat his designs, and to demand of *Augustus* the delivery of his rebellious slaves, as he styled them, and the release of his son, whom *Tiridates* had put into his hands at *Antioch*, when he passed through that city on his return to *Italy* after the reduction of *Egypt*. *Augustus* introduced the embassadors of the contending parties to the senate; but after they had pleaded the cause of their respective princes before the fathers, without consulting them, he answered the ambassadors himself in the same manner as he had done before at *Antioch*, *viz.* That he would not deliver *Tiridates* into the hands of *Phrahates*, nor assist either of them against the other. However, to gratify both in something, he gave *Tiridates* leave to live at *Rome*, ordering him out of the public treasury an allowance suitable to his rank, and sent back to *Phrahates* his son, on condition that he should restore all the captives and ensigns taken from *Crassus* and *Antony*. This *Phrahates* promised; but did not perform till three years after [x]. This year *Marcellus* was seized with a hectic fever, which *Antonius Musa* undertook to cure; but the remedies he prescribed, the same which had saved the life of *Augustus*, were commonly believed to have occasioned his death, which happened in the nineteenth year of his age, to the inexpressible grief of *Augustus*, his mother *Octavia*, and the *Roman* people, whose hearts he had won by his extraordinary accomplishments, obliging behaviour, and uncommon modesty. Tho' this year proved very sickly, and many were carried off by the reigning distempers, yet the ambitious *Livia* was generally charged with the death of that hopeful youth, whom she was believed to have dispatched by means of *Antonius Musa*, to make room for *Tiberius* and *Drusus* her own children. His funeral obsequies were performed with the utmost magnificence

Tiridates at Rome.

Augustus's answer to his embassadors, and to those of Phrahates.

in

[t] Dio, l. liii. p. 518. Vell. Paterc. l. ii. c. 91. Joseph. antiq. l. xi. c. 13. Suet. ibid. c. 66.
[u] Dio, ibid. p. 518, 519. Vide Noris de Cenotaph. Pisana, & L. Cæs. p. 191. & Anton. Pagi. critic. in annal. Baronii, p. 109. [x] Dio, ibid. Justin. l. xlii. c. 5.

a in the *campus Martius*, *Auguſtus* himſelf, who was his neareſt relation, pronouncing, according to cuſtom, his funeral oration [y].

THE next year, *M. Claudius Marcellus Æſerninus* and *L. Arruntius* being conſuls, a dreadful plague raged in *Rome* and all the other cities of *Italy*; which, as the lands were left untilled, was attended with a general famine. The *Tiber* overflowed, and laid great part of the city under water. Lightning fell on the *Pantheon*, and there daſhed to pieces ſeveral ſtatues, *&c.* The populace imagining, that the gods viſited them with theſe, and threatened them with greater calamities, becauſe they had ſuffered *Auguſtus* to lay down the conſulate, ſurrounded the ſenate-houſe, and threatened to ſet fire to it, unleſs the fathers immediately created him dictator. The

b conſcript fathers readily complied with their requeſt; whereupon the people repaired in great crouds to the houſe of *Auguſtus*, with twenty-four axes and faſces, intreating him to accept of the dictatorſhip; but he wiſely declined the envy and danger of that title, having already all the power and authority annexed to it. However, that he might not ſeem to deſpiſe the favours of the people, he accepted the office of general purveyor, which had been formerly conferred on *Pompey the Great*, and took care to ſupply the city with great plenty of proviſions, appointing annually two perſons for that purpoſe, who had diſcharged the prætorſhip two years before. As to the office of perpetual cenſor, he could by no means be prevailed to take it upon him; but named to that important employment *Paulus Æmilius Lepidus*, brother to the triumvir, by whom he had been proſcribed, and *L. Munacius Plancus*, formerly one of

c *Antony*'s moſt zealous partizans; but *Lepidus* dying ſoon after, and *Plancus*, who was a man of a moſt infamous character, being no ways qualified to cenſure the vices of others, *Auguſtus* took upon himſelf to perform the functions, tho' he declined the title, of that magiſtracy, and enacted many excellent laws relating to the reformation of manners, which gained him the love and eſteem of the whole city. He ſuppreſſed ſeveral private aſſemblies, and reformed others; from the ædiles he tranſferred the care of the public ſhews and ſports to the prætors, whom he reduced to ten, and would not allow them to exhibit the uſual ſports at their own charges, but obliged the people to contribute a ſmall ſum for their own diverſions, and paid the

d reſt out of the public treaſury. As the ædileſhip was the firſt ſtep to public honours, the young noblemen often ſpent their whole fortunes, and reduced themſelves to beggary, by the expenſive ſhews with which they entertained the people, in hopes of being raiſed by their ſuffrages to the ſuperior magiſtracies; and it was to obviate this abuſe, that *Auguſtus* committed the celebrating of the games to the prætors, and would have the charges attending them divided between the people and the public treaſury. To the curule ædiles he committed the care of extinguiſhing fires, allowing them for that ſervice ſix hundred ſlaves, who were bought and maintained at the public expence. He likewiſe ordered by a particular edict, that none ſhould exhibit the ſhew of gladiators without leave from the ſenate, and then only twice a year, and

e with no more than one hundred and twenty combatants. As many perſons of rank, women as well as men, had of late debaſed themſelves to act and dance upon the ſtage, *Auguſtus* reſtrained ſuch ſcandalous practices, by forbidding, under the ſevereſt penalties, any of the ſenatorial or equeſtrian order to appear on the ſtage, and extending this prohibition to the children and grand-children of ſenators [z]. In theſe regulations he exerted the power and authority of an abſolute prince and legiſlator; but in other things uſed great condeſcenſion, affecting to appear in courts of judicature like a private perſon, and even to plead for his friends, or attend them when cited before the prætors or other judges. This complaiſance often drew inſults upon him from the adverſe parties, as it happened in the caſe of one *M. Primus*, who was accuſed

f of having made an irruption into the country of the *Odryſians*, while he was governor of *Macedon*. *Primus* maintained, that he had been ordered by *Auguſtus* to make war upon the *Odryſians*; whereupon *Auguſtus*, appearing ſoon after in court, was aſked by the prætor, Whether *Primus*'s plea was true or no? The emperor anſwered, That *Primus* was certainly miſtaken, ſince he was very ſure he had given no ſuch orders. This open and poſitive declaration left no room for any reply; which ſo provoked *L. Murena*, who pleaded for *Primus*, that he could not help aſking the emperor with great boldneſs and anger, *What buſineſs he had there? and what had brought him to a place where he was neither expected nor wanted? The public good*, replied

Auguſtus *wiſely declines the dictatorſhip, and the office of perpetual cenſor.*

Enacts ſeveral excellent laws.

His moderation.

[y] DIO, p. 517, 519. VELL. PATERC. l. ii. c. 93. TACIT. annal. 2. VIRG. Æneid. l. vi, [z] DIO, ibid. p. 521—524. SUET. ibid.

replied *Auguſtus* with great calmneſs and moderation. This deportment gained him a
the eſteem of many; but others, who were enemies to *Auguſtus* in their hearts, and
Conſpiracy againſt Auguſtus. wiſhed to ſee the ancient form of government reſtored, laid hold of this opportunity to ſtir up *Murena*, and to enter into a conſpiracy with him againſt the tyrant of *Rome*, as they ſtyled him. *Murena* and *Fannius Cæpio*, the former a man of an unblemiſhed character, and the latter the greateſt debauchee in *Rome*, took upon them the whole management of the plot, for the execution of which a day and place was already appointed. But, in the mean time, *Murena* diſcloſed the whole to his ſiſter *Terentilla*, and ſhe to her huſband *Mecænas*, who gave notice of it to the emperor, after having adviſed his brother-in-law and the other conſpirators to abſcond, till ſuch time as he ſhould obtain, as he hoped to do, their pardon. But *Auguſtus* would not hearken to b
the intreaties either of *Mecænas* or *Proculeius*, who was brother to *Murena*, and in ſuch favour with the emperor, that he had been long in ſuſpenſe, whether he ſhould
Is diſcovered and the conſpirators puniſhed. beſtow his daughter *Julia* on him or *Marcellus*. As *Auguſtus* proved inflexible, the conſpirators were ſummoned to take their trials, and not appearing, interdicted by a majority of ſuffrages fire and water, throughout the whole extent of the *Roman* empire. *Cæpio* was conveyed in the night-time by a faithful ſlave to the *Tiber* in a baſket, and put on board a ſmall veſſel which landed him at *Oſtia*. From *Oſtia* the ſlave conducted him ſafe to *Laurentum*, and from thence to *Cumæ*, where he was betrayed by another ſlave to a centurion, who cut off his head and carried it to *Rome*. *Murena* was diſcovered in *Rome*, and aſſaſſinated by *Auguſtus*'s emiſſaries. As the con- c
ſpirators were abſolved by the votes of ſome of the judges, the emperor, fearing ſuch criminals might for the future go unpuniſhed, enacted the two following laws, *viz.* That all guilty perſons who refuſed to appear, ſhould be condemned to the ſame puniſhments, which would have been inflicted upon them, if they had been regularly tried and convicted; and that for the future the judges in criminal caſes ſhould deliver their opinions, not in writing, but openly and by word of mouth. Leſt the ſeverity he ſhewed on this occaſion, and the new laws he enacted, might eſtrange the minds of the people from him, he took no notice of the odd behaviour of old *Cæpio*, who not only ſet at liberty the ſlave who had conveyed his ſon out of *Rome*, but ſentenced the other to be crucified, after having cauſed him to be led through all the d
ſtreets of *Rome* with a writing, which expreſſed the cauſe of his puniſhment. At this time, *Auguſtus*, out of complaiſance to the ſenate, whom his ſeverity towards two
The provinces of Cyprus *and* Gaul *delivered up to the ſenate.* men of rank might have provoked, delivered up to the conſcript fathers the provinces of *Cyprus* and *Narbonne Gaul*, which, from this time, began to be ranked among the proconſular provinces, and to be governed by magiſtrates ſent thither by the ſenate[a]. This ſame year, the *Cantabrians* and *Aſturians* revolted anew; but were ſoon brought under ſubjection by *C. Furnius*. Many of the *Cantabrians*, finding they could not ſhake off the yoke, choſe rather to lay violent hands on themſelves than to bear it; ſo deep was the love of liberty imprinted in the hearts of that brave people[b]!

And now *Italy* and all the provinces in the weſt enjoying a profound tranquillity, e
Auguſtus reſolved to take a progreſs into the eaſt, and with this view ſet out for *Sicily* towards the end of the year, leaving the people at full liberty to chuſe for conſuls whom they pleaſed. At the time therefore appointed for the great elections the centuries met, and with one conſent raiſed to the conſulate *Auguſtus*, and gave him *M. Lollius* for his collegue; but he refuſing to accept of that dignity, and even to name another in his room, the centuries met a ſecond time, when ſuch diſorders were
Diſturbances in Rome *on account of the elections.* raiſed in the comitia, by the ambition of two competitors, *L. Silanus* and *Q. Æmilius Lepidus*, that the wiſer citizens thought it proper to acquaint *Auguſtus* therewith, and ſolicit him to return to *Rome*, and with his preſence put a ſtop to the conteſts and diviſions, which the oppoſite factions had raiſed in the city. *Auguſtus* heard the f
account of theſe diſturbances with a ſecret ſatisfaction, hoping they would convince the moſt zealous and obſtinate republicans, that they were no longer capable of governing themſelves as formerly. However, leſt the quarrels of two ſuch men, who had a great number of clients and were allied to moſt of the chief families in *Rome*, ſhould produce a civil war, he ſent for the candidates, reprimanded them ſeverely, and commanded them to keep at a diſtance from *Rome* till the election was over. But this did not reſtore tranquillity to the city; the friends of the two competitors ſupported their reſpective intereſt with the ſame warmth as if they had been preſent; but

[a] Dio, l. liv. p. 523. & l. liii. p. 504. [b] Idem ibid.

a but at length *Lepidus*'s party prevailed, and he was choſen conſul. However, *Auguſtus*, to prevent ſuch diſturbances for the future, as he could not be always at *Rome* himſelf, judged it neceſſary to create a new magiſtrate, whoſe province ſhould be to maintain peace and tranquillity in the metropolis. *Agrippa* ſeemed to him the moſt proper perſon for ſo great a command. He therefore diſpatched a meſſenger to him, ordering him to quit the iſland of *Leſbos* and repair to him in *Sicily*. On his arrival, to procure him more reſpect and authority in his new employment, he commanded him to divorce *Marcella*, tho' daughter to *Octavia* and *Auguſtus*'s niece, and to marry his daughter *Julia*, the widow of *Marcellus*. We are told, that *Mecænas* promoted this match, by ſuggeſting to *Auguſtus*, when he conſulted him about b it, that ſince he had already made *Agrippa* ſo great and powerful, he ought either to cut him off, or unalterably attach him to his intereſt by marrying him to his daughter [b]. The marriage was celebrated with the utmoſt pomp and magnificence, and *Agrippa* immediately after took his leave of *Auguſtus*, and ſet out for *Rome*, where he diſcharged his new office with great applauſe, being equally beloved by the ſenate and people.

Agrippa *made governor of* Rome.

He marries Julia, Auguſtus's *daughter*.

In the mean time, *Auguſtus*, having ſettled the affairs of *Sicily*, paſſed over into *Greece*, where he ſhewed particular marks of his favour to the *Lacedæmonians*, on whom he beſtowed the iſland of *Cithera* and five cities, as a reward for the kindneſs they had formerly ſhewn to *Livia*, when ſhe fled with her huſband and ſon c out of *Italy*. The *Athenians* he puniſhed for having erected ſtatues to *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, and afterwards ſided with *Antony*. He took from them the iſland of *Ægina* and the city of *Eretria*, forbidding them for the future to ſell the right of citizenſhip, which brought them in vaſt ſums, the *Romans* themſelves glorying in being free of *Athens* [c]. From *Greece Auguſtus* ſailed to *Samos*, and there wintered.

Early in the ſpring, *M. Apuleius* and *P. Silius Nerva* being conſuls, *Auguſtus* left *Samos*, and croſſed over into *Aſia*, ſettling the affairs of the provinces through which he paſſed, in as abſolute a manner as if they had belonged to himſelf and not to the ſenate. He deprived the *Cyzicans* of their liberty, for having whipt and put to death ſome *Roman* citizens. The ſame puniſhment he inflicted on the inhabitants d of *Tyre* and *Sidon*, judging this the moſt effectual method of putting an end to the factions, which reigned in theſe two cities, and were attended with frequent murders. As he drew near the borders of *Parthia*, *Phrahates* king of that country, dreading a foreign war, as he was univerſally hated by his ſubjects, not only ſent back to him all the enſigns and captives taken by the *Parthians*, in their wars with *Craſſus* and *Antony*, but yielded to all the conditions which *Auguſtus* required, giving four of his ſons with their wives and children as hoſtages for the performance of them [d]; whereupon *Juſtin* obſerves, that *Auguſtus* did more by the greatneſs of his name, than any other commander could have done by a long and bloody war [e]; but *Tacitus* tells us, that not the fear of *Auguſtus*, but the diffidence *Phrahates* had of his own people, e induced him thereunto [f]; and with him agree *Strabo* [g] and *Joſephus* [h] (C). However, *Auguſtus*, no leſs proud of having thus recovered the *Roman* eagles and captives, than

Auguſtus *paſſes into the eaſt*.

Phrahates *ſends back to him the* Roman *eagles and enſigns*.

[b] Dio, ibid. p. 525. Vell. Paterc. l. ii. c. 93. Suet. in Octavio. [c] Dio, ibid. [d] Dio, ibid. [e] Justin. l. xlii. c. 5. [f] Tacit. annal. l. ii. c. 1. [g] Strabo, l. vi. p. 288. [h] Joseph. antiq. l. xviii. c. 3.

(C) So far as we can gather from their writings, the whole matter ſeems to have paſſed in the following manner: A very beautiful *Italian* woman, named *Thermuſa*, having been formerly ſent by *Auguſtus* to *Phrahates* as a preſent, the king entertained her firſt as his concubine, and afterwards, on her bringing him a ſon, married her, and declared her queen. In this ſtation ſhe gained an abſolute aſcendant over him, which ſhe made uſe of to ſecure the ſucceſſion to her ſon. With this view ſhe propoſed to *Phrahates* the putting of his other ſons, whoſe names were *Saroſpades*, *Ceroſpades*, *Phrahates*, and *Vonones*, into the hands of the *Romans*. *Phrahates*, not thinking himſelf ſafe againſt his ſubjects, ſo long as there were any of the race of *Arſaces* of an age fit to govern, readily complied with the queen's propoſal; and accordingly, when matters were made up between him and *Auguſtus*, and hoſtages demanded for the ſecuring of the terms of that agreement, he delivered his four ſons into the hands of *Auguſtus*, who carried them to *Rome*, where they remained many years. As for *Thermuſa*'s ſon, who was named *Prahatices*, he was bred up to ſucceed his father in the kingdom. The *Parthians* were ſo ſuperſtitiouſly addicted to the race of *Arſaces*, that *Phrahates* well knew they would bear him, ſo long as they had no other of that family of an age fit to be ſet up to reign in his room; and this was, according to *Strabo* and *Joſephus* (6), the reaſon why *Phrahates* ſo readily yielded up his ſons to the *Romans*; but at length his deſtruction came from what he thus projected for his ſafety, as we have related in our hiſtory of the *Parthians* (7).

(6) *Vide Strab. & Joſeph. ubi ſupra.*

(7) *Vide Hiſt. Univerſ. Vol. IV. p.* 314.

than if he had overcome the *Parthians* in battle, ſent orders to the ſenate to ſhut up the temple of *Janus*, which he had opened on his ſetting out for the eaſt, and to offer ſacrifices, by way of thankſgiving to the gods, for the ſucceſs which had attended him in this expedition. To perpetuate the memory of an action, which he looked upon as the moſt glorious of his whole reign, on his return to *Rome*, he cauſed a temple to be built in the capitol to *Mars the Avenger*, upon the plan of that which had long before been built in honour of *Jupiter Feretrius*. In this new temple were hung up the military enſigns, which the king of *Parthia* had reſtored, as monuments of the homage which that proud monarch had paid to *Auguſtus* [i]. At the ſame time *Auguſtus* ſettled the affairs of *Armenia*. *Artabazes*, king of that country, having been taken priſoner by *Antony* and carried to *Alexandria*, as we have related above, *Artaxias* his ſon, whom *Dion* calls *Artabazes*, ſucceeded him. But he having made himſelf obnoxious to his ſubjects by a moſt tyrannical and oppreſſive reign, they complained of him to *Auguſtus*, deſiring to have *Tigranes*, his younger brother, who was then at *Rome*, to reign over them in his ſtead. *Auguſtus* complied with their requeſt, and ſent *Tiberius*, the ſon of *Livia*, who had attended him into the eaſt, with an army into *Armenia*, to drive out *Artaxias* and place *Tigranes* on the throne. But *Artaxias* being killed by his own ſubjects before the arrival of *Tiberius*, and *Tigranes* thereupon admitted, without oppoſition, to ſucceed him, the young *Roman* had no opportunity of ſignalizing himſelf by any military exploits. However, he crowned the new king with great pomp and magnificence, placing the diadem upon his tribunal, and obliging *Tigranes* to receive it of him, as if he had been indebted to him for his kingdom [k]. *Velleius Paterculus*, the great flatterer of *Tiberius*, tells us, that, entering *Armenia* at the head of his legions, he reduced the whole country, and obliged the *Armenians* to receive *Tigranes*, whom he calls *Artavaſdes*, for their king. He adds, that the *Parthians* were ſo terrified at his approach, and the fame of his name and exploits, that they ſent back to *Auguſtus* the *Roman* enſigns and captives [l]. But all other writers aſcribe the recovery of the enſigns to *Auguſtus*, and agree, that *Tiberius* performed nothing worth mentioning. This year, *Julia*, who had had no children by her firſt huſband *Marcellus*, brought *Agrippa* a ſon, who was named *Caius*, and on whoſe birth-day a perpetual ſacrifice, with other ſolemnities, was decreed by way of thankſgiving to the gods [m]. Towards the end of the ſummer, *Auguſtus* left *Syria*, and being attended by *Herod*, king of *Judea*, to the ſea ſide, he imbarqued and ſailed for *Samos*, where he paſſed the enſuing winter. In the mean time, the conſular year being expired, *Auguſtus* was named conſul in the aſſembly of the people, and *C. Sentius Saturninus* given him for his collegue. But *Auguſtus* declining that office, the factions revived, and the *campus Martius* was turned into a field of battle, many perſons being killed in the fray; inſomuch, that *Auguſtus*, to put a ſtop to the diſorders that were raiſed on this occaſion by the ambitious competitors, was obliged to name a collegue to *Sentius* of his own authority. The perſon he pitched upon was *Q. Lucretius Veſpillo*, who had been formerly proſcribed by the triumvirs, but at this time ſerved under *Auguſtus* in quality of lieutenant. Theſe two magiſtrates together with *Agrippa* maintained peace and tranquillity in the city, by puniſhing with the utmoſt ſeverity the ring-leaders of the late tumult [n].

Auguſtus *appoints* Tigranes *king of* Armenia.

Who receives the crown of Tiberius.

Caius Cæſar *born.*

A ſecond embaſſy to Auguſtus *from the king of* India.

While *Auguſtus* reſided at *Samos*, he received a ſecond embaſſy from the king of *India*, ſoliciting an alliance with him, The embaſſadors, as we are informed by *Nicolas of Damaſcus*, who ſaw them as they paſſed through *Antioch*, delivered to *Auguſtus* a letter in the *Greek* tongue, wherein the king of *India* told him, that though he reigned over ſix hundred kings, yet he had ſo greet a value for his friendſhip, that he ſent his embaſſy on ſo long a journey on purpoſe to deſire it of him; that he was ready to meet him in what place ſoever he pleaſed to appoint; and that upon the firſt notice he would aſſiſt him to the utmoſt of his power in whatever was right. This letter he ſubſcribed by the name of *Porus king of* India. The ſix hundred kings, whom he boaſted to reign over, were the *rajas*, or petty princes, who governed the kingdom under him, ſeveral of whoſe deſcendants remain to this day, who, paying an annual tribute to the *Great Mogol*, govern their ſubjects with an abſolute authority. Of the embaſſadors, who firſt ſet out from *India*, three only reached the preſence of *Auguſtus*, the others dying by the way. Of the three ſurviving one was *Zarmar* a gymnoſophiſt, who following *Auguſtus* to *Athens*, there burnt himſelf in

[i] Suet. ibid. Dio, p. 526. [k] Dio, ibid. [l] Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 94. [m] Dio, p. 526. [n] Dio, ibid.

a in his preſence, as *Calanus*, another of that ſect, had formerly done in the preſence of *Alexander*, it being cuſtomary for the gymnoſophiſts to put an end to their lives, by throwing themſelves on their funeral piles, when they thought they had lived long enough, or apprehended ſome misfortune [o]. Among the preſents which they brought were huge vipers, ſerpents ten cubits long, a river tortoiſe three cubits long, a partridge bigger than a vultur, and ſeveral tygers, the firſt that had ever been ſeen either by the *Greeks* or *Romans* [p]. *Auguſtus* early in the ſpring left *Samos*, after having declared the inhabitants free, and returned to *Rome*, where he was received with loud acclamations and all poſſible marks of honour, his bringing back the military enſigns and priſoners taken in the *Parthian* wars being what the *Romans* valued beyond
b the greateſt victories. *Auguſtus* himſelf took ſo much pride in having thus retrieved the glory of the *Roman* name among foreign nations, that he cauſed a great number of medals, many of which have reached us, to be ſtruck with this legend on the reverſe, *Signis receptis*. The poets of his time made, as is well known, his recovering of the enſigns and priſoners, the common topic of their flatteries [q]. Three triumphal arches were decreed him by the ſenate, an altar was erected to *Fortune* with this inſcription, *Fortunæ reduci*; and it was ordained, that the day of his arrival in the capital ſhould be annually ſolemniſed with ſacrifices, ſports, ſhews, *&c.* and diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Auguſtalia*, or *the feaſt of* Auguſtus. This year died the prince of the *Latin* poets in the fifty-firſt year of his age, having bequeathed a conſiderable part
c of his great wealth to *Auguſtus* and *Mecænas*, his two chief patrons and benefactors. He had deſigned to attend *Auguſtus* into the eaſt, but was obliged by the bad ſtate of his health to remain at *Naples*, whence he paſſed over to *Athens* to meet *Auguſtus* on his return from the iſland of *Samos*. The emperor received him with uncommon marks of kindneſs and eſteem; but he, leaving *Athens* ſoon after to viſit the antiquities of *Megara* in the hot ſeaſon of the year, fell ſick there, but nevertheleſs imbarqued for *Italy*, and reached *Brunduſium*, where he expired ſoon after his arrival. As he had not yet put the laſt hand to his *Æneid*, he ordered by his will that inimitable performance to be burnt; but *Auguſtus* ſaved *Troy*, we may ſay with an ancient poet, from a ſecond conflagration, and by that means preſerved for all future ages
d a moſt perfect pattern of epic poetry. *Virgil*'s body was, according to his own appointment, conveyed to *Naples*, and there laid in a monument erected for that purpoſe on the road from *Naples* to *Puteoli*. On the monument was engraved a diſtich wrote by the poet himſelf, wherein he gave a modeſt account of his birth, his death, the place of his burial, and his works (D) [r].

Virgil *dies.*

But to return to *Auguſtus*; as there reigned at this time in *Rome* a general depravation of manners, and the city was in a manner over-run with all kinds of vices, the ſenate prevailed upon *Auguſtus* to accept the office of cenſor for five years. At the ſame time, they conferred upon him the conſular power for life, ordaining, that he ſhould always have twelve axes and faſces carried before him, and ſhould ſit in a curule
e chair between the conſuls. At the ſame time, they entreated him to make new laws, offering to bind themſelves by oath to the obſervance of them. But the emperor refuſed an oath, which he judged uſeleſs, intimating, that if his laws were good, they would obſerve them without that tie; if not, their oath would be ineffectual [s]. And now the preſence of *Agrippa* being no longer neceſſary in *Rome*, *Auguſtus* diſpatched him into *Gaul* to ſtop the incurſions of the *Germans*, who, having paſſed the *Rhine*, committed horrible diſorders in the countries ſubject to *Rome*. But, at the approach of ſo renowned a commander, they repaſſed the river, and ſheltered themſelves in their woods. Hereupon *Agrippa*, having ſettled the affairs of that country, and left a ſufficient number of troops to guard the banks of the *Rhine*, the boundary
f between *Gaul* and *Germany*, paſſed from thence into *Spain*, where the *Cantabrians*, notwithſtanding their former loſſes, had raiſed new diſturbances. Moſt of their youth had a few years before been taken priſoners, and ſold for ſlaves to the neighbouring nations; but, having found means to break their chains, they had cut the throats of their maſters, and returning into their own country, fortified themſelves there, and attacked with incredible fury the *Roman* garriſons. *Agrippa* marched againſt them with

Auguſtus *cenſor.*

Agrippa *marches againſt the* Germans.

His expedition againſt the Cantabrians.

[o] Dio, p. 527. Strabo, l. xv. p. 719, 720. [p] Strabo, ibid. [q] Vide Faſt. l. v. Horat. l. iv. od. 15. &c. [r] Vide Tib. Donat. in vita Virgilii. [s] Dio; Suet. ibid.

(D) The diſtich is as follows:

Mantua me genuit: Calabri rapuere; tenet nunc
Parthenope: cecini paſcua, rura, duces.

with great expedition, but, on his arrival in their country, he met with ſo vigorous a a
reſiſtance from that brave and gallant people, that his ſoldiers began to deſpair of
ever being able to reduce them. As the *Cantabrians* had waged war with the *Romans*
for two hundred years and upwards[s] they were well acquainted with their manner of
Their bravery. fighting, no ways inferior to them in point of courage, and now become deſperate,
as well knowing, that if they were conquered, after having ſo often attempted to
recover their liberty, they muſt expect the moſt ſevere uſage and cruel ſlavery.
Animated with this reflection, they fell upon the *Romans* with a fury hardly to be ex-
preſſed, put them to flight in ſeveral rencounters, and defended themſelves, when
attacked by the enemy, with ſuch intrepidity and reſolution, that *Agrippa* afterwards
owned, that he had never, either by ſea or land, been engaged in a more dangerous b
expedition. That brave commander was obliged to uſe intreaties, menaces, and to
brand ſome of his legionaries with ignominy, before he could bring them to enter the
liſts with ſo reſolute and formidable an enemy. But having at length with much ado
prevailed upon them to try the chance of an engagement in the open field, he ſo
animated them by his own example, that, after a moſt obſtinate diſpute, he gained in
the end a complete victory, which indeed coſt him dear, but put an end to that
deſtructive war. All the *Cantabrians* fit to bear arms were cut in pieces, their caſtles
and ſtrong-holds were taken and razed, and their women, children, and old men,
none elſe being left alive, were obliged to abandon the mountainous places and ſettle
in the plain. Thus *Agrippa* completed the reduction of a brave nation, which had c
kept the *Roman* arms employed for the ſpace of two hundred years, that is, ever
ſince the time of *Scipio Africanus*, the firſt *Roman* who made war in *Spain*. The final
The final reduction of Cantabria. reduction of *Cantabria* and the quieting of all *Spain* was judged both by the ſenate
and *Auguſtus* well worthy of a triumph; but *Agrippa* modeſtly declined that honour,
aſcribing the whole glory of ſo ſucceſsful an expedition to *Auguſtus*, under whoſe
auſpices he had fought. He was well acquainted with the jealous humour of the
emperor, no ways renowned for military atchievements; and therefore, to avoid giving
him the leaſt umbrage, he artfully leſſened his own glory for fear of eclipſing his,
which, he knew, might be attended with dangerous conſequences[t]. *Agrippa* on his
return to *Rome* applied himſelf wholly to the embelliſhing of the city with new edifices, d
and ſupplying it with great plenty of water, which proved no leſs ornamental to that
great metropolis, than convenient and uſeful to the vaſt multitudes of people who
flocked thither from all parts of the then known world. The waters, *Virgo*, *Julia*,
and *Tepula*, were by him conveyed, at his own expence, into the city, by aqueducts, of
a moſt maguificent ſtructure, and for the moſt part ſupported by large and beautiful
columns of marble. The aqueducts of the waters, *Appia* and *Marcia*, which con-
Rome *embelliſhed by* Agrippa. veyed into *Rome*, we may ſay, whole rivers, were by him repaired at a vaſt charge.
In ſhort, to *Agrippa* chiefly is *Rome* indebted for that great plenty of wholſome water,
which it enjoys to this day, perhaps above all the cities in the world; and to this
Auguſtus alluded, when he pleaſantly anſwered the people, who complained to him e
of the ſcarcity and dearth of wine, that *Agrippa had taken care they ſhould not die of
thirſt*[u]. Towards the end of this year, *Auguſtus* granted a triumph to *Lucius Cornelius
Balbus* for having ſubdued the *Garamantes*, a people of *Africa*, hitherto unknown to
The Garamantes *ſubdued.* the *Romans*. *Balbus* made himſelf maſter of that country, which lay between *Africa*
properly ſo called, that is, the ancient dominions of *Carthage*, *Lower Æthiopia*, and
Getulia, extending by that means the limits of the *Roman* empire as far as the river
Nigris. Such an important conqueſt *Auguſtus* judged well worthy of a triumph, which
was accordingly granted to *Balbus*, though he was not ſo much as a native of *Italy*,
but born at *Gades* in *Spain*, and lately admitted to the rights of a *Roman* citizen. He
had the glory of being the firſt foreigner who was honoured with this mark of f
diſtinction, *Auguſtus* wiſely overlooking ancient cuſtoms, to honour and reward valour
without diſtinction in men of all nations[w]. This year *Ælius Gallus*, præfect of
Egypt, made a progreſs into the upper parts of that country, as far as *Syene* and the
borders of *Ethiopia*, in which *Strabo* the geographer attended him, who tells us, that
at *Thebes* he ſaw the ſtatue of *Memnon*, which, according to the poets[x], ſaluted the
ſun at his firſt riſing with an harmonious ſound. He adds, that being one morning
on

[t] Dio, p. 528. SUET. in Octavio. [u] CASSIOD. l. vii. epiſt 6. FRONT. in aquæduct. [w] Faſti Capit. Dio, ibid. PLIN. l. v. c. 5. SOLINUS, c. 32. [x] Vide JUVENAL. ſatyr. 15. DIONYS. in Perieg. v. 249. & alios.

a on the place, he heard the ſound without knowing how it was produced, but ſuſpected it came from ſome of thoſe who were there preſent, and not from the ſtatue [y].

THE next year, *P. Cornelius Lentulus* and *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus*, either brothers or relations, being conſuls, *Auguſtus* prorogued his authority for five years more, the firſt ten years of his ſovereign power being near expired. This, he well knew, would ſtir up the zealous republicans againſt him; and therefore, dreading the fate of his father *Julius*, he took care never to appear in public, but armed with a breaſt-plate under his robe; and, to deprive them of all hopes of ever ſeeing the ancient form of government reſtored, he made *Agrippa*, as it were, his partner in the ſovereign power, conferring upon him an authority almoſt equal to his own, and the high prerogative of the tribune-

b ſhip for the ſpace of five years; ſo that the few republicans, who ſtill remained, being well appriſed, that if they ſhould cut off *Auguſtus*, *Agrippa* might eaſily ſtep into his place and revenge his death, as he was greatly adored both by the people and ſoldiery, gave over all thoughts of any further attempts for the recovery of their liberty [z]. The firſt thing *Auguſtus* undertook after the prorogation of his power was, to reform the ſenate, many perſons of no birth and of infamous characters, having been admitted into that venerable body, during the confuſion of the civil wars. In order to purge the ſenate of ſo many unworthy members, he agreed with *Agrippa*, whom he took for his collegue in the cenſorſhip, to reduce the number of the fathers from a thouſand to ſix hundred; but, to avoid the odium of chuſing them all himſelf,

c he named only thirty, empowering each of them to elect five: of the five each of them named one only was to be choſen, and he by lot; ſo that thirty only were elected at a time; but as ſoon as that election was over, five others were named by each of the thirty electors, and one of the five choſen by lot as before. Though each of the thirty electors had bound himſelf by a ſolemn oath not to elect any of his own relations, or perſons unworthy of that rank, yet in ſome of their tablets were found the names of men of moſt infamous characters, while others of known probity were excluded. This unjuſt partiality induced *Auguſtus* and *Agrippa* to change the method of election, and ſince they could not depend upon others, to name the reſt themſelves to the number of ſix hundred; wherein to do them juſtice, they proceeded with the utmoſt impar-

d tiality, chuſing only men of merit, and by that means reſtoring the ſenatorial order to its former ſplendor. Thoſe who were degraded, to the number of four hundred, were allowed to appear at the public ſhews with the ancient badges of their dignity, and to ſtand for the firſt offices, as if they had been ſtill members of the ſenatorial order. But, notwithſtanding this diſtinction, many of them were ſoon after put to death, for having, as it was ſuppoſed, conſpired againſt the emperor; though *Tacitus* tells us [a], that *Auguſtus* laid hold of this opportunity to get rid of ſuch as he ſuſpected of being republicans in their hearts, and ſecret enemies to abſolute power. Some writers think he followed, in putting many of the degraded ſenators to death, the old maxim, that *a prince ought to cut off thoſe whom he has once provoked.* Be that as it will,

e it is certain, that *Auguſtus* for ſome time after betrayed a great fear of being aſſaſſinated, admitting no body to his preſence, but after a narrow ſearch, whether they had any arms concealed under their garments, and forbidding even the ſenators to approach his chair more than one at a time. This precaution gave the fathers an opportunity of making a propoſal, which was highly agreeable to the timorous emperor. They offered to watch night and day at the door of his room each in his turn, to guard his perſon. But while they were conſulting about their propoſal, *Antiſtius Labeo*, a learned civilian and a man of great humour, pretending to ſleep, ſnored very loud, and waking as it were all on a ſudden, *Don't depend upon me*, ſaid he, *to guard the emperor; for I ſhall be apt to fall aſleep, and prove more troubleſome to him than ſer-*

f *viceable.* The ſenators could not forbear laughing, and *Auguſtus* aſhamed of his cowardice, made them drop the propoſal, when they were ready to confirm it by a decree [b].

Auguſtus, having thus reſtored the ſenate to its ancient ſplendor, applied himſelf in the next place to the reforming of ſeveral abuſes in the city. He decreed, that ſuch, as ſhould be convicted of having purchaſed the ſuffrages of the people with money, ſhould be excluded from all public offices for the ſpace of five years. That the people, who uſed to ſell their votes, might not be ſufferers by this law, he cauſed large ſums to be diſtributed among them, on condition, that they ſhould not require any thing of the

Auguſtus *heaps new honours upon* Agrippa.

Reforms the ſenate.

Several of the degraded ſenators put to death for conſpiring againſt the emperor.

Auguſtus *reforms ſeveral abuſes.*

[y] STRABO, l. xvii. p. 816. [z] DIO, p. 529. [a] TACIT. annal. l. x. [b] DIO, & SUET. ibid.

the candidates. To check the debauchery of the *Roman* youth, which at this time a was greater than ever had been known, he laid heavy taxes upon ſuch as continued unmarried after a certain age, and encouraged with great rewards the procreation of lawful children. He allowed the patricians and plebeians to intermarry, declaring, that though a patrician ſhould marry a *liberta* or freed-woman, his children ſhould rank among the patricians. However, he excepted the ſenators, whom he would not allow to marry under their rank; and becauſe the *Hortenſian* family had been by the civil wars reduced almoſt to beggary, he preſented young *Hortenſius* with a large ſum, which put him in a condition of marrying a woman of diſtinction. The looſe behaviour of the married women was what chiefly deterred the young *Romans* from marriage; but *Auguſtus*, who had himſelf debauched many, not ſparing even the b wife of his great friend *Mecænas*, refuſed to put a ſtop to that diſorder, ſaying, that he left the care of married women to their husbands. Having reformed many abuſes in the ſtate, he applied his thoughts to matters of religion, calling in a great many prophetic books, which were then in vogue, and cauſing moſt of them, to the number of two thouſand volumes, to be burnt as ſpurious, reſerving only thoſe which were commonly aſcribed to ſome of the *Sibyls*. Theſe alſo he ſubjected to a ſtrict examination, and retained ſuch only as were on this trial judged genuine; the reſt he committed to the flames, but thoſe that were judged genuine he cauſed to be copied by the pontifices themſelves, and lodged them in two golden cabinets, which he placed in the temple of *Apollo* built by him in his palace[c]. Theſe *Sibylline* oracles were of great c repute among the *Gentiles*, and often appealed to by the ancient *Chriſtian* writers. This year, *Julia* brought *Agrippa* a ſecond ſon, who was named *Lucius*, and *Auguſtus* adopted both him and his brother *Cauis*, declaring them his ſucceſſors, in order to put a ſtop to any attempts that might be made by the old republicans, for the recovery of their liberty[d].

Subjects the Sibylline *book to a ſtrict examination.*

Lucius Cæſar *born.*

The following year, *C. Furnius* and *C. Julius Silanus* being conſuls, the *ſecular games*, which had not been celebrated for a hundred years before, were exhibited, by *Auguſtus* and *Agrippa*, with extraordinary pomp and magnificence. In theſe games one of the players giving him the title of *Dominus*, that is, *lord* or *ſovereign*, he ſhewed great marks of diſſatisfaction, and the next morning publiſhed an edict, for- d bidding all perſons under ſevere penalties to give him that title for the future. It was on occaſion of theſe games that *Horace* wrote the Hymn, intitled, *Carmen Seculare*, which was ſung at the ſacrifice, that was offered to *Pluto* and *Proſerpine* before the ſhews and ſpectacles of the circus, the theatre, and amphitheatre. Great part of this year was ſpent in public games and diverſions, of which *Auguſtus* himſelf was a great admirer, eſpecially of the tournament, or warlike exerciſe, called *Troy*, which he thought becoming the education of the young nobility. He was likewiſe a great encourager of wreſtling, but would not allow women to be preſent at thoſe games. He enticed to *Rome* with great rewards the beſt players and actors from all parts of the world, took them under his protection, and would not allow the prætors and ædiles e to cauſe them, according to ancient cuſtom, to be publicly whipt, when they had not performed to the ſatisfaction of the audience. But, notwithſtanding the encouragement he gave them, he ſeverely examined their morals, not allowing the leaſt licentiouſneſs in their lives or indecency in their actions. Being informed, that one *Stephanio* a comedian was attended by a woman in the diſguiſe of a boy, he ordered him to be whipt through the three theatres, and baniſhed the city. He likewiſe drove out of *Rome Pylades* a famous actor, for having behaved diſreſpectfully towards a *Roman* citizen, and becauſe he was continually quarrelling with *Bathyllus*, an actor no leſs famous than himſelf, and greatly favoured by *Mecænas*. But he ſoon recalled him to gratify the people, and the comedian on his return, inſtead of thanking the emperor, f told him, that it was his intereſt the people ſhould be diverted by men of his profeſſion, leſt they ſhould watch too narrowly his actions, or ſeriouſly reflect on their own condition[e].

Auguſtus *rejects the title of* Dominus *or* Lord.

Entices players to Rome, *but puniſhes their licentiouſneſs.*

The enſuing year, *Auguſtus*, having got *L. Domitius Ahenobarbus* and *P. Cornelius Scipio*, two perſons wholly addicted to him, raiſed to the conſulate, reſolved to leave *Rome* for a while, and march with an army into *Gaul*, to quell ſome diſturbances there occaſioned by the avarice of *Libinius Enceladus*, who, being appointed by the emperor to gather the taxes in thoſe parts, had obliged the people to pay them

Auguſtus *goes into* Gaul.

[c] Sueton. ibid. Dio, p. 531—533. [d] Dio, ibid. [e] Dio, ibid.

them monthly, and by a deceitful account reckoned fourteen months in the year. However, the disturbances were not such as required the presence of the emperor. It was therefore commonly believed, that he undertook this expedition with no other view, but to enjoy the company of *Terentia*, or, as others call her, *Terentilla*, the wife of his friend *Mecænas*, without being disturbed in the enjoyment of his scandalous pleasures, either by her husband, or his own wife *Livia*. He took *Terentia* with him, and, because *Mecænas* could not help resenting this base treatment, he appointed *Statilius Taurus* governor of *Rome* during his absence, passing over his old friend, who had in more difficult times discharged that office with great applause. As for *Agrippa*, he dispatched him again into the east, to settle there some differences between the princes and states of *Asia*. *Augustus* no sooner passed the *Alps*, than the *Gauls* returned to their duty, but the *Sicambri*, *Usipetes*, and *Tencteri*, people of *Germany*, having passed the *Rhine*, defeated first a considerable body of *Roman* horse, and afterwards *M. Lollius*, proconsul of *Gaul*, from whom they took a standard. *Lollius*, though no great commander, found soon after an opportunity of retrieving his honour, by falling upon the *Germans* unawares, and driving them with great loss beyond the *Rhine*. Though all was now quiet in *Gaul*, yet *Augustus* spent the remaining part of this and all the following year, when *M. Lucius Drusus Libo* and *L. Calpurnius Piso* were consuls, in that province, not caring to return to the capital, where he well knew his criminal conversation with his friend's wife would give occasion to endless satires and lampoons, especially, after he had set up for a reformer of manners, and punished with the utmost severity less crimes in others. During his stay in *Gaul*, the inhabitants flocked to him from all parts of the country with complaints against *Enceladus*. He was by birth a *Gaul*, and formerly a slave of *Julius Cæsar*, by whom he had been taken in the *Gallish* wars; but being afterwards manumitted by him, and having found means to insinuate himself into the favour of *Augustus*, he had been appointed by him receiver-general of all the taxes paid annually by his countrymen. In this employment he oppressed the *Gauls* in a most barbarous manner; insomuch, that *Augustus*, ashamed of having employed a man of so infamous a character, was determined to inflict upon him such punishment as should deter others from the like practices. But the crafty *Gaul* found means to appease the emperor, by delivering up to him the vast sums he had heaped up by rapine and extortion; and assuring him, that in plundering the *Gauls* he had nothing else in view, but to inrich the public treasury, and put his countrymen out of a condition of being ever able to shake off the *Roman* yoke. *Augustus* pleased with this defence, and more with the large sums, which were delivered to him upon the spot, not only absolved the iniquitous extortioner, but approved of his conduct, and, deaf to the complaints of the oppressed *Gauls*, continued him in his office [c].

Lollius *defeated by the* Gauls.

Augustus *refuses to redress the grievances of the* Gauls.

In the mean time, the *Rhæti* (E), having made an irruption into *Italy*, commited there dreadful devastations, putting all the males they met with to the sword, without

The Rhœti *invade* Italy.

[c] Dio, ibid. & Senec. lud p. 477.

(E) *Ptolemy* places the *Rhæti* between the *Rhine*, or the lake of *Constance*, called by the ancients *Lacus Brigantinus*, and the river *Lychus*, now the *Lech*; the *Vindelici* between the *Lychus* and the *Ænus*, now the *Inn*; and the *Norici* between the *Vindelici* and that mountain, or rather chain of mountains, which extends from the springs of the *Save* and the *Drave* to the banks of the *Danube* in the neighbourhood of *Vienna*, and was known to the ancients by the name of *Mons Cethius*, but to the moderns by many different names, such as the *Plesyz*, the *Hengstberg*, the *Dembberg*, the *Herzberg*, *Kalensberg*, &c. according to the different countries through which it runs. But according to *Strabo* and *Pliny*, whose opinion is by all modern geographers preferred to that of *Ptolemy*, the *Rhæti* inhabited only the *Alps*, and the vallies formed by those mountains, their country reaching no farther than the lake of *Constance*; from that lake to the conflux of the *Ænus* and the *Danube* extended *Vindelicia*, or the country of the *Vindelici*, and *Noricum* from thence to the *Cethian* mountains. In the country of the *Vindelici* were anciently some cities of no small note, viz. *Augusta Vindelicorum*, *Juvavium*, or *Colonia Jovavia*, *Reginum* or *Regina castra*, *Batava castra*, *Abusena*, *Guntia*, *Campodunum*, *Abudiacum*, *Isinisca*, now *Ausburg*, *Saltzburg*, *Regensburg*, *Passau*, *Abensperg*, *Gurtzberg*, *Kempten*, *Fuessen*, and *Munchen*, now the metropolis of *Bavaria*; *Boiodurum* was the metropolis of that country in former times, so called from the *Boii*, who being driven out of *Boiohemia*, now *Bohemia* by the *Marcomanni*, under the conduct of *Maroboduus*, of whom we shall have occasion to speak anon, settled in *Bojoaria* or *Boiuvaria*, now called *Bavaria*. *Vindelicia* borrowed its name from the rivers *Vindo* or *Vinda*, now the *Wert*; and *Lycus*, which watering great part of it, and running the one to the east, the other to the west, of *Augusta Vindelicorum*, now *Ausburg*, join at a small distance from that city, and with one stream fall into the *Danube*. They are both mentioned by *Venantius Fortunatus* in the following verse:

Pergis ad Augustam, quam Vindo Lycusque fluentant (8).

(8) *Venant. Fortunat. de S. Martino, l. iv*

out distinction of rank or age; nay, we are told, that when they happened to take a women with child, they consulted their augurs whether the child was a male or female; if they pronounced it a male, the mother was immediately massacred.

Drusus *is sent against them, and defeats them.*

Against these fierce nations was sent *Drusus*, the second son of *Livia*, a youth of extraordinary valour and great accomplishments. The young *Roman* behaved on this occasion with a prudence far superior to his years; for he found means to draw the enemy to battle, gained a complete victory over them, and cut great numbers of them in pieces, with the loss of a very small number of his own men. Those who escaped the general slaughter, being joined by the *Vindelici*, took their rout towards *Gaul*, with a design to invade that province. But *Augustus*, upon the first notice of their march, detached *Tiberius*, who had attended him into *Gaul*, at the head of several b chosen legions, to complete the slaughter, which his brother had begun: and indeed *Tiberius* was no less successful than *Drusus*; for having transported his troops over the lake *Brigantium*, now the lake of *Constance*, he fell unexpectedly upon the enemy, gave them a total overthrow, took in that surprise and confusion most of their strong-holds, and obliged the whole nation to submit to what terms he thought proper to impose upon them. Thus were the *Vindelici*, the *Rhæti*, and the *Norici*, three of the most barbarous nations of *Germany*, by the valour of *Drusus* and *Tiberius*, brought under the *Roman* yoke [f]. *Tiberius*, to keep in awe the country he had subdued,

The Vindelici, Rhœti, *and* Norici *subdued.*

planted two colonies in *Vindelicia*, and opened a road from thence into *Noricum* and *Rhætia*. One of the cities, which he built for the defence of his colonies, he called c by the name of his father *Drusus Drusomagus*, the other by the name of *Augustus Augusta-Vindelicorum*, which cities are now known by the names of *Mimminghen* and *Augsbourgh*.

Year of the flood 2989. *Before Christ* 10. *Of* Rome 738.

WHILE

[f] DIO, p. 536. SUET. in Octav. VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 39. HORAT. l. iv. Ode 4.

The chief cities of *Rhætia*, or, as some write it, *Rætia*, were *Tridentum*, *Curia*, *Feltria*, and *Belunum*, now, *Trent*, *Chur*, or *Coira*, *Feltri*, *Belluno*. Some writers place *Verona* in *Rhætia*; but *Strabo* reckons *Verona* among the cities of *Italy*. *Horace* mentions the victories gained by *Tiberius* and his brother *Drusus* over the *Vindelici* and *Rhæti*.

Videre Rhæti bella sub Alpibus
Drusum gerentem Vinde ici——(9).

And elsewhere;

Vindelici didicere nuper,
Quid Marte posses; milite nam tuo
Drusus Genaunos, implacidum genus,
Breunosque veloces, & arces
Alpibus impositas tremendis,
Dejecit acer, plus vice simplici.
Major Neronum mox grave prælium
Commisit, immanesque Rhætos
Auspiciis pepulit secundis (10).

The *Genauni* and *Breuni* were inhabitants of *Rhætia*, as is plain from *Strabo* (11). For the better understanding of the ancients, it is necessary to observe here, that though *Rhætia* and *Vindelicia* were two distinct countries, yet they formed but one *Roman* province, called *Rhætia*; and hence the ancients, when they mention *Rhætia*, or the *Rhætian province*, are to be understood as speaking of *Rhætia*, properly so called, and *Vindelicia*; that is, of the countries lying between the lake of *Constance*, the *Danube*, the *Ænus*, and the territories of the *Carni*, of the *Veneti*, and of the *Insubres*. And hence it is, that *Tacitus*, in speaking of *Augusta Vindelicorum*, calls it, the *fairest colony of the* Rhœtian *province* (12); and *Horace* calls the *Vindelici*, *Rhæti Vindelici*, to distinguish them from the inhabitants of *Rhætia*, properly so called (13). In the time of the emperor *Adrian*, or rather of *Diocletian*, the *Rhætian* province was divided into two, whereof the first was called *Rhætia Prima*, and comprehended *Rhætia Proper*, and the second, comprehending *Vindelicia*, *Rhætia Secunda*: the metropolis of the former was *Curia*, of the latter *Augusta Vindelicorum* (14).

Noricum, formerly a kingdom (15), and afterwards a *Roman* province, extended between the *Danube* and the *Alpes Noricæ* in the neighbourhood of *Trent*, from the *Ænus*, which parted it from *Vindelicia*, to the *Cetian* mountains its boundaries on the side of *Pannonia*; so that ancient *Noricum* comprehended great part of *Austria*, the archbishoprick of *Saltzburg*, and all *Stiria* and *Carinthia*. It was afterwards, probably in the time of *Diocletian* (16), divided into two provinces, viz. *Noricum Ripense*, so called, because it extended along the *Danube*, lying on the south side of that river, which divided it from *Germany* properly so called; and *Noricum Mediterraneum*, comprising that part which lay at some distance from the *Danube*. In the province of *Noricum Ripense* were the following cities of note, *Jovavum* or *Jovavia*, *Boiodurum*, *Lentin*, *Ovilia*, or *Ovilabis*, and *Lauriacum* or *Laureacum*, now *Salzburg*, *Innstaat*, *Lintz*, *Wels*, and *Lorch*; in *Noricum Mediterraneum*, *Pons Æni*, *Viscelli* or *Viscellæ*, *Graviacis*, *Aguntum*, *Teurnia* and *Solva*, now *Inspruck*, *Weltz*, *Gurch*, *Innichen*, and *Villach*: *Lauriacum* was the metropolis of the former province, and *Solva* long since buried in its ruins of the latter (17).

(9) *Horat. l.* iv. *od.* 4. (10) *Idem l.* iv. *od.* 14. (11) *Strab. l.* iv. *p.* 142. (12) *Tacit. Germ. c.* 41. (13) *Horat. l.* iv. *od.* 4. (14) *Vide Velser. l.* iii. *rer. Boi. p.* 91. & *l.* vi. *rer. Aug. p.* 298. & *Paul. Warnefred. l.* ii. *de gest. Longobard.* (15) *Vell. Patercul. l.* xi. *c.* 109. *Suet. in Tiber. c.* 16. (16) *Vide Thom. Reines. inscript. p.* 32. (17) *Vide Gruter. inscript. p.* 537. *num.* 1.

a WHILE *Auguſtus* and his two ſons-in-law were thus employed in *Gaul* and *Germany*, *Agrippa* was ſettling with equal ſucceſs the affairs of the eaſtern provinces. On his firſt arrival in the province of *Aſia* properly ſo called, *Herod* king of *Judea* haſtened thither to wait upon him, and having prevailed with him to take a tour into *Judæa*, he entertained him and all his attendants in a moſt elegant and ſumptuous manner. After having ſhewn him all his new-built cities and caſtles, viz. *Sebaſte*, *Cæſarea*, *Alexandrium*, *Herodium*, and *Hyrcania*, he carried him in the laſt place to *Jeruſalem*. As he drew near that city, he was met by all the people in their beſt apparel, and attended into the metropolis of *Judæa*, by a ſolemn proceſſion and with loud acclamations. After he had ſtaid there ſome days to view the curioſities of that great city, b he offered an hecatomb at the temple, feaſted all the people, and then haſtening to the port, where his fleet waited for him, he ſailed back into *Ionia* before winter, highly pleaſed at the reception he had met with from the *Jewiſh* king [g]. Early in the ſpring, he was obliged to quit *Ionia*, and advance towards the *Cimmerian Boſpho-rus* [h] to quell ſome diſturbances there. For *Aſander*, king of that country, dying without iſſue, had left his kingdom to *Dynamis* his wife, in whoſe right he had held it, ſhe being the daughter of *Pharnaces* the ſon of *Mithridates*. One *Scribonius*, a native of *Aſia*, pretending to be the grandſon of *Mithridates*, and to have a grant from *Auguſtus* to ſucceed *Aſander*, married *Dynamis* and ſeized the crown. But *Agrippa*, knowing him to be an impoſtor, ſent *Polemon*, whom the *Romans* had made c king of *Pontus* and the *Leſſer Armenia*, to drive him from the throne. Before the arrival of *Polemon*, the *Boſphorans* themſelves, being well ſatisfied that *Scribonius* was no-ways related to their royal family, but an impoſtor in all his pretenſions, had put him to death. However, they would not ſubmit to *Polemon*, but, though overcome by him in a pitched battle on his firſt coming into their country, ſtill held out, and were likely in the end to get the better of him. Hereupon *Agrippa* marched with all his forces to the aſſiſtance of *Polemon*, which *Herod* no ſooner heard, than he haſtened after him with a conſiderable fleet, and a good number of his beſt troops on board; and having ſailed firſt to *Mitylene*, and thence to *Byzantium*, overtook him at length at *Sinope* in *Pontus*. Nothing could be more acceptable to the *Roman* d general than ſuch a ſupply; for he ſtood in great need both of ſea and land-forces, the *Boſphorans* having armed a great many veſſels, and beſet with their land-forces, which were both brave and numerous, all the defiles and narrow paſſes, through which the *Romans* were to paſs. However, with the aſſiſtance of *Herod*, he opened himſelf a way into the heart of the enemy's country, and having brought the *Boſphorans* under ſubjection, he obliged *Dynamis* to marry *Polemon*, conferring on him the kingdom of *Boſphorus*, which by the favour of *Auguſtus*, who confirmed that grant, he held with that of *Pontus* and *Armenia Minor*. However, he had not the whole kingdom of *Pontus*, but only that part of it which lay next to *Cappadocia*, and was afterwards, by way of diſtinction called *Pontus Polemonaicus*. *Agrippa*, having thus e ſettled matters in *Boſphorus*, returned through *Paphlagonia*, *Cappadocia*, and *Phrygia*, to *Epheſus* in *Ionia*, being attended thither by *Herod*, who obtained many favours of him in behalf of the nations, through which he paſſed; and, on his coming into *Ionia*, not only got the many grievances redreſſed, of which the *Jews*, who were ſpread all over *Aſia* and the adjacent iſlands, with great reaſon complained, but all their immunities and privileges reſtored, in as ample a manner as they had ever enjoyed them, either under the kings of *Syria* or the *Romans* [i]. *Julia*, *Agrippa*'s wife, attending him in this expedition, ſuffered great hardſhips, and narrowly eſcaped being drowned in the *Scamander*, as ſhe paſſed that river in the night-time, while it was ſwelled with ſudden rains. The inhabitants of *Ilium*, whoſe territory was watered f by the *Scamander*, were altogether ignorant of her coming; but nevertheleſs *Agrippa* was, contrary to all juſtice, ſo provoked againſt them for not having aſſiſted her, that he laid a fine upon them of a hundred thouſand drachmas. Hereupon the *Ilienſes*, not daring to appear before *Agrippa*, prevailed upon *Nicholas* of *Damaſcus*, who happened to be at that time in their city, to engage *Herod* to ſpeak to *Agrippa* in their behalf. The king of *Judea* readily eſpouſed their cauſe, and by his intereſt with *Agrippa* prevailed upon him to remit the fine, for which ſignal favour great honours were decreed him by the *Ilienſes* [k]. After this *Agrippa* paſſed from *Epheſus* to

Agrippa's *exploits in the eaſt.*

He marches againſt the Boſphorans.

Whom he reduces with the aſſiſtance of Herod.

Julia *in great danger.*

[g] JOSEPH. antiq. l. xvi. c. 2. [h] Vide Hiſtor. Univerſ. Vol. IV. DIO, p. 538. JOSEPH. antiq. l. xvi. c. 3, 4, 5. OROS. l. vi. c. 18 [i] HENRIC. VALES. p. 418. JOSEPH. ibid. [k] NICOL. DAMASCEN. de vita ſua in excerpt. ab

Herod *reconciles* Agrippa *to the* Ilienſes.

to *Samos*, and *Herod*, taking his leave of him, returned into *Judea*, where he received a
the thanks of the whole nation, for what he had done in behalf of the *Jews* in *Aſia*
Minor [l]. *Auguſtus*, who was ſtill in *Gaul*, being informed of the ſucceſs which
had attended *Agrippa* in the *Cimmerian Boſphorus*, ordered ſupplications to be made

Auguſtus *pontifex maximus.*

in the capital, and paſſed a decree, empowering *Agrippa* on his return to enter *Rome*
in triumph [m]. This year *Lepidus* the triumvir dying, *Auguſtus* took upon him the
office of *pontifex maximus*, or high-prieſt, vacant by his death [n]. This dignity he
held to the hour of his death, as did all his ſucceſſors, as well *Chriſtians* as *Heathens*,
till the time of the emperor *Gratian*, who, ſucceeding his father *Valentinian* in the
year of the *Chriſtian* æra 305, and thinking it inconſiſtent with the *Chriſtian* religion,
of which he was a zealous profeſſor, to bear even the name of high-prieſt in the rites b
of the *Gentiles*, refuſed that title, as did afterwards all thoſe who ſucceeded him in
the *Roman* empire [o]. This year died likewiſe *Vedius Pollio*, famous in hiſtory for the
cruelty with which he treated his ſlaves, throwing them often for the ſmalleſt faults
into his fiſh-ponds to fatten his *murænas*. As he had been raiſed by *Auguſtus* from
the mean condition of a *libertinus*, or the ſon of a freed-man, to the rank of a *Roman*
knight, he appointed him his chief heir, bequeathing to him his fine country ſeat,
called *Pauſilypus*, in the neighbourhood of *Puteoli*, and his houſe in town, which was
one of the moſt ſtately and magnificent buildings in *Rome*. *Auguſtus*, however, cauſed
it to be pulled down, and a ſumptuous portico to be built in its room for the uſe of
the public, which from his wife's name he called *Porticus Livia* [p].

The Ligures Comati *reduced.*

The following year, *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus* and *M. Licinius Craſſus* being conſuls, c
the *Ligures Comati*, who inhabited the maritime *Alps*, were ſubdued, and their coun-
try reduced to a *Roman* province. And now *Auguſtus*, having ſettled the affairs of
Gaul, ſtopped the incurſions of the *Germans*, and brought under ſubjection moſt of

Auguſtus's *return to* Rome.

the nations inhabiting the *Alps*, left *Druſus* with an army upon the *Rhine*, and returned
to the capital, either in the end of this, or the beginning of the following, year, when
Tiberius Claudius Nero, his ſon-in-law, and *P. Quintilius Varo* were conſuls. As he
had been near three years abſent, he was received by the people with univerſal joy
and ſatisfaction. But he could not be prevailed upon to accept any of the honours,
which the fathers, ſome out of fear, others out of flattery, decreed him. Nay, he d
would not even allow the people to come out and meet him, but, according to his
cuſtom, entered the city by night. The next morning the whole city went to wait
upon him at his palace, for his houſe was ſo called, becauſe it was ſituated on the
Palatium or *Palatine* hill. *Auguſtus* received them with great politeneſs and conde-
ſcenſion, and afterwards, being attended by moſt of the ſenators and knights and
numberleſs crouds of people, he went up to the capitol, and, proſtrating himſelf
before the ſtatue of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, took the laurel from about his faſces, and laid
it at his feet. A few days after he aſſembled the ſenate, but, not being able to ſpeak
himſelf by reaſon of a violent cold he had got on his journey home, he gave the
quæſtor a paper to read, containing an account of what he had done ever ſince he left e
the capital. As he was not interrupted this year by any diſturbances either at home
or abroad, he enacted many excellent laws, which were long obſerved by his ſucceſ-
ſors. Among the reſt he publiſhed one, by which it was enacted, to the great ſatiſ-

His regulations with relation to the ſoldiery.

faction of the inhabitants of *Italy*, that for the future the ſervices of the veterans
ſhould not be rewarded with lands, but money. What evils attended the beſtowing
of lands upon them, is plain from *Virgil*'s eclogues. By the ſame law the time was
fixed, which each corps was to ſerve, the pay which they were to receive during their
ſervice, and the ſum they were to expect, if they continued to ſerve after the time pre-
ſcribed by law was expired. The emperor's own guards known by the name of
the *prætorian cohorts* or *bands*, were, by this law, to ſerve twelve years before they f
could demand their diſmiſſion, and the reſt ſixteen; the former were allowed about
twelve pence of our money a-day, and the latter five pence; if they were refuſed
their diſmiſſion, when the time of their ſervice was expired, or choſe to continue
in the army, they were accounted veterans, and as ſuch exempted from all drudgeries,
and obliged ſolely to fight, and that for the ſpace of five years only; after which term
they were abſolutely to obtain their diſcharge, if they choſe to quit the ſervice, and
the rewards due to veterans, which were, according to *Auguſtus*'s appointment, five
thouſand drachmas for the prætorian cohorts, and three thouſand for the common
legionaries.

[l] Joseph. ibid. [m] Dio, ibid. c. 5. [n] Suet. ibid. c. 31. Dio, p. 540. [o] Zosimus l. iv. [p] Plin. l. ix. c. 23. Dio, ibid. Senec. l. iii. de ira. Ovid. Faſt. l. i.

PART OF GERMANIA MAGNA

PART OF SARMATIA EUROPEA

PANNONIA SUPERIOR

PANNONIA INFERIOR

DALMATIA

LIBURNIA

ISTRIA

ILLYRICUM

DACIA

DACIA PROVINCIA TRAIANI

MOESIA SUPERIOR

MOESIA INFERIOR

DARDANIA

THRACIA

PONTUS

MACEDONIA

PART OF ASIA

THE ADRIATICK SEA

THE BLACK SEA

PANNONIA MŒSIA DACIA and ILLYRICUM.

Carpathian Mountains

Basternæ

Roxolani

Britolagæ

Getæ

Teutisci

Anari

Iazyges Metanastæ

Breuci

Amantini

Rusci

Scordisci

Labeati

Dardani

Triballi

Besi

Bessi

Bistonii

Mœdi

Haemus Mount

Danubius Flu.

Tyras R.

Hierasus Flu.

Ister Flu.

Dariuss Bridge

Tyras

Petrodaua

Tsrndaua

Iasc ii

Augusta Prætoria

Comidaua

Marcodava

Napuca

Patrouissa

Apulum s. Alba Iulia

Salinæ

Zeugma

Ulpia Trajana Augusta Decorum

Sargetia Flu.

Tibiscus Flu.

Partiscum

Mursa

Valdasus Flu.

Teutaburgum

Cornacum

Tibiscum

Aquincum

Danubius Fl.

Singid.

Phateria

Viminacium

Cuppa

Nova

Ratiaria

Almum

Augusta Viriana

Nicopolis

Oescus

Iatrus Fl.

Durosteron

Axiopolis

Anchialus

Apollonia

Halmydessus

Byzia

Odessus

Marcianopolis

Pirae

Cium

Dionysopolis

Bizone

Scythae

Callatis

Getae

Tomi

Istropolis

Aegissus

Parthenopolis

Vovidunum

Tiras

Tyras

Ister Flu.

Peuci

Dariuss Bridge

Britolagæ

Roxolani

Tyras R.

Petrodaua

Tsrndaua

Iasc ii

Petradaua

Augusta Prætoria

Comidaua

Marcodava

Napuca

Patrouissa

Apulum s. Alba Iulia

Salinæ

Zeugma

Ulpia Trajana Augusta Decorum

Sargetia Flu.

Tibiscus Flu.

Partiscum

Mursa

Valdasus Flu.

Teutaburgum

Cornacum

Tibiscum

Aquincum

Danubius Fl.

Singid.

Phateria

Viminacium

Cuppa

Nova

Ratiaria

Almum

Augusta Viriana

Nicopolis

Oescus

Iatrus Fl.

Durosteron

Axiopolis

Anchialus

Apollonia

Halmydessus

Byzia

Odessus

Marcianopolis

Pirae

Cium

Dionysopolis

Bizone

Scythae

Callatis

Getae

Tomi

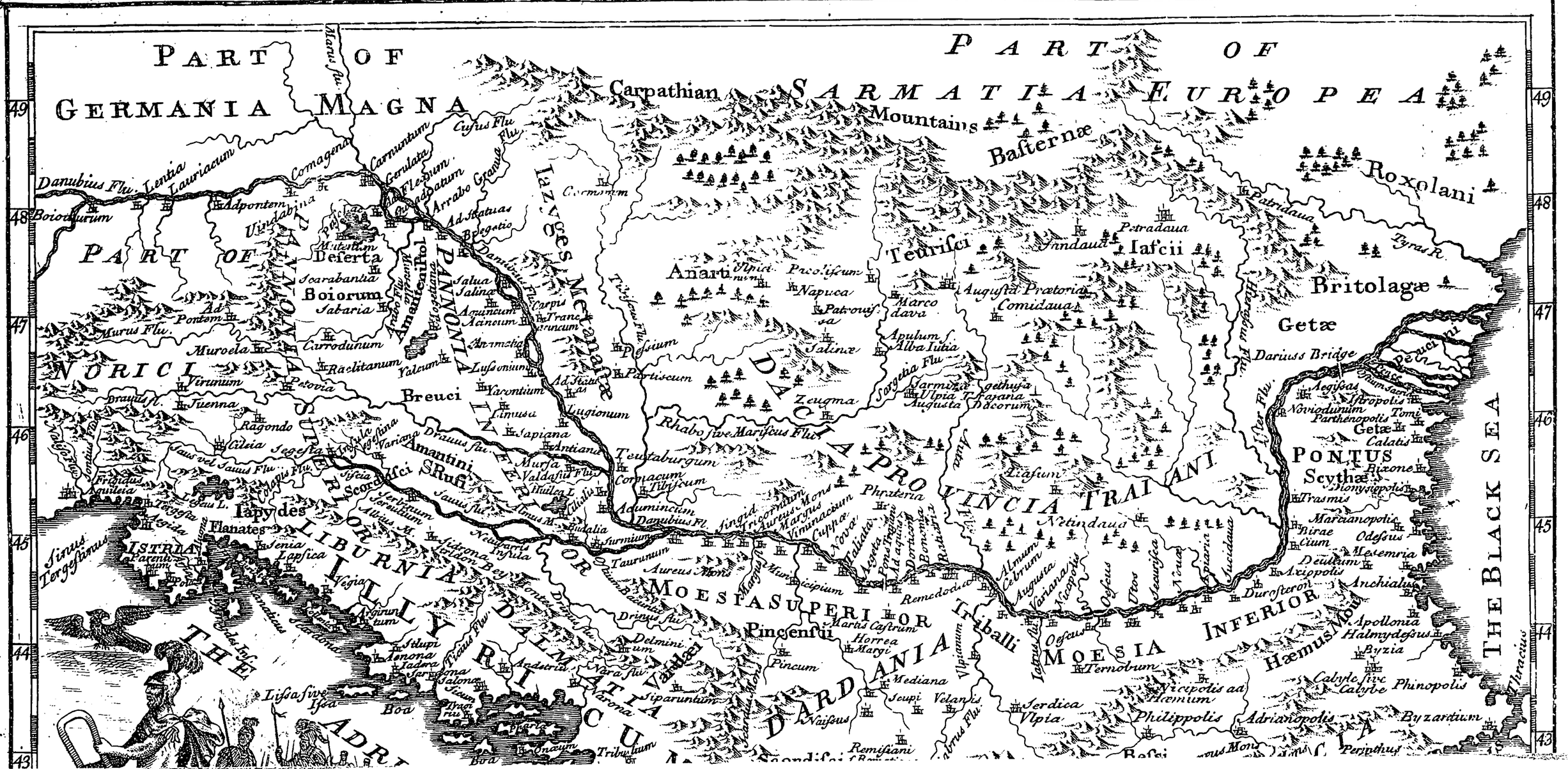
Istropolis

Aegissus

Parthenopolis

Vovidunum

Ti


PART OF GERMANIA MAGNA
PART OF SARMATIA EUROPEA
Carpathian Mountains
Basternæ
Roxolani
Danubius Flu.
Lentia
Lauriacum
Comagena
Carnuntum
Cusus Flu.
Gerulata
Adpontem
Viudabona
Arrabo
Grauis Flu.
Ad Statuas
Boiodurum
PART OF PANNONIA
Deserta
Scarabantia
Boiorum
Sabaria
Ad Pontem
Murus Flu.
Muroela
Carrodunum
Amaxa Flu.
Amaxa
Iazyges Metanastæ
Salua
Salina
Aquincum
Manoum
Carpis
Trans Carum
Arrmatia
Lussonium
Valcum
Raclitanum
NORICI
Virunum
Petouia
Breuci
Tuenna
Draus fl.
Ragondo
Cileia
Segesta
Insula Segestana
Variana
Drauus flu.
Amantini
Scordisci
Sisscia
Frigidus
Aquileia
Sauus vel Sauus Flu.
Colapis Flu.
Tergeste
Lacus L.
Iapydes
Flanates
Sinus Tergestinus
ISTRIA
Parentium
Senia
Lapsica
Vegia
Arginum
Ionona
Iadera
Salona
Siculi
Liburni
Andetria
Varuadei
Narona
Siparuntum
Delminium
Drinus flu.
Aureus Mons
Taurunum
Quinque Basilicæ
Insula
Bedinus M.
Almus M.
Bridalia
Sirmium
Singid.
Tricornium
Margus
Viminacium
Cuppa
Nova
Aquæ
Pontes Trajani
Ad Aquas
Pomonia
Ratiaria
Aureus Mons
Phrateria
Acumincum
Danubius Fl.
Teutaburgum
Cornacum
Tibiscum
Lugionum
Sapiana
Antiana
Mursa
Valdasus Flu.
Huilan L.
Rhabo sive Marisius Flu.
Plessium
Partiscum
Zeugma
Anarti
Ulpiani
Precolissum
Napuca
Patrouissa
Salinæ
Apulum
Alba Iulia
Sargetia Flu.
DACIA PROVINCIA TRAIANI
Tarmizegethusa
Ulpia Traiana
Augusta Dacorum
Teurisci
Inndaua
Petradaua
Iasscii
Augusta Prætoria
Comidaua
Marcodaua
Tyras R.
Britolagæ
Getæ
Dariuss Bridge
Tyras Flu.
Ister Flu.
Aegissas
Noviodunum
Parthenopolis
Tomi
Getæ
Calatis
PONTUS
Scythæ
Bixone
Dionysiopolis
Trasmis
Marcianopolis
Birae
Cium
Odessus
Mesembria
Deultum
Axiopolis
Durosteron
Anchialus
Apollonia
Halmydessus
Byzia
Calybe sive Calybe
Phinopolis
Hæmus Mons
Hadrianopolis
Byzantium
Philippolis
Vlpia
Serdica
Ternobum
MOESIA INFERIOR
Tiballi
Iatrus flu.
Almus
Cebrum
Augusta
Variana
Nicopolis
Osseus
Tiras
Sexaxica
Naissus
Remisiani
Velanis
Mediana
Pincum
Margi
Horrea
Martis Castrum
Pincensii
MOESIA SUPERIOR
DARDANIA
Remedocca
Municipium
Lissa sive Issa
Boa
Onaeum
Tribulium
Periphus
THE ADRIATIC SEA
THE BLACK SEA
Thracius

legionaries. Some years after, *Auguſtus* extended the time of ſervice to ſixteen years for the former, and to twenty for the latter [p]. To give new luſtre to the nobility, and attach them more firmly to his intereſt, he required but one year's ſervice of the young patricians to qualify them for military employments, which they could not bear in the times of the republic, till they had ſerved ſeveral years. To this diſtinction he added another in favour of the ſons of ſenators, whom he allowed to have a place in the ſenate, and to wear the *laticlavium*, which was peculiar to the firſt magiſtrates, ſenators, and chief officers of the army; at the age of ſeventeen, whereas they could not enjoy this honour in former times, till they had attained to the twenty-ſixth year of their age.

He corrects the calendar.

THIS year *Auguſtus*, in quality of pontifex maximus, corrected a groſs miſtake in the *Roman* calendar. For the pontifices having for the ſpace of thirty-ſix years, that is, ever ſince the reformation of the calendar by *Julius Cæſar*, made every third year a leap year inſtead of every fourth, twelve days had been inſerted inſtead of nine, ſo that the *Roman* year conſiſted of three days more than it ought. *Auguſtus*, for the rectifying of this miſtake, ordered firſt, that for the twelve enſuing years there ſhould be no leap year; and ſecondly, that, after the expiration of the ſaid twelve years, the leap years ſhould thenceforth be made every fourth year [q]; by which means the three ſuper-added days being thrown out, and the leap years fixed to their true terms, according to *Julius Cæſar*'s inſtitution, the form of this year has ever ſince been regularly obſerved, and is ſtill, under the name of *the old ſtyle*, in uſe among us. When *Auguſtus* made this reformation, a decree was paſſed by the ſenate and people, enacting, that the month *Sextilis* ſhould thenceforth from the emperor's name be called *Auguſtus*, which name it retains to this day, in all the calendars that have been formed from the *Roman*. *Suetonius* tells us, that *Auguſtus* himſelf, in ſettling the year, gave his name to the month *Sextilis*, preferring it to *September*, in which he was born, becauſe in the former he had been firſt raiſed to the conſulate, and obtained many ſignal victories [r]. But the very words of the decree of the ſenate are related by *Macrobius* [s], who alſo mentions the decree of the people, and tells us, that the law was propoſed by the tribune *Pacuvius*. Towards the end of this year, *Agrippa*, having ſettled the affairs of the eaſtern provinces, and left *Sentius Saturninus* and *Titus Volumnius* governors of *Syria* and *Phœnicia*, returned to *Rome* with *Antipater*, *Herod*'s eldeſt ſon by *Doris* his firſt wife. *Auguſtus* received him with all the marks of a ſincere affection and friendſhip, and was for having him enter the city in triumph; but he declined that honour, aſcribing, according to his cuſtom, all the glory of his conqueſts to the emperor, under whoſe auſpices he had fought: and this was the chief cauſe, why the cuſtom of triumphing, in former times of great advantage to the *Romans*, was laid aſide, other generals following the example of *Agrippa*, and not caring for an honour, which he ſeemed to deſpiſe [t]. However, *Auguſtus* confirmed to him the tribunitial power for five years more, the former term being near expired; and then ſent him at the head of a powerful army into *Pannonia* (F), where a new war began to break out, with greater power and authority than had ever been granted to any commander. *Agrippa* left *Rome* in the beginning of the conſulate of *M. Valerius*

Agrippa *refuſes a triumph.*

[p] DIO, l. liv. p. 539. & l. lv. p. 555, 556. LIPS. excurſ. in Tacit. annal. prim. [q] SUET. in Octav. c. 31. PLIN. l. xviii. c. 25. [r] SUET. ibid. [s] MACROB. Saturnal. l. i. c. 12. [t] DIO, p. 541.

(F) *Pannonia* was bounded on the eaſt by *Upper Maſia*, on the weſt by *Noricum*, on the ſouth by *Dalmatia*, and on the north by the *Danube* (17); ſo that *Pannonia* comprehended *Carniola*, *Croatia*, *Windiſch Marck*, part of *Auſtria*, part of *Hungary*, all *Sclavonia* and *Boſnia*, and part of *Servia*. It was anciently divided into *Upper* and *Lower Pannonia*, the former comprehending *Carniola*, *Croatia*, *Windiſch Marck*, and part of *Auſtria*; the latter *Boſnia*, *Sclavonia*, and that part of *Hungary* which lies between the *Danube*, the *Drave*, and the *Arabo*, now the *Raab*; ſo that ſcarce the third part of the preſent kingdom of *Hungary* was within the limits of ancient *Pannonia*, that tract which lies beyond the *Danube*, between that river and the *Tibiſcus*, not belonging to *Pannonia*, but to the *Iazyges Metanaſtæ*. The chief cities of ancient *Pannonia* were *Segeſte* or *Siſcia* at the confluence of the *Calpe* and the *Save*, *Amona*, a *Roman* colony, *Nauportum*, upon a river of the ſame name, now known by the name of *Laubach*; *Vindoriana*, or *Vindobona*, *Scarabantia*, *Sirmium* on the *Save*, and *Taurunum*, now *Siſeck*, *Unterlaubach*, *Oberlaubach*, *Vienna*, *Scarbing*, *Simach*, and *Belgrade*. *Sirmium* was the metropolis of all *Pannonia*. Some geographers place *Stridon*, the native city of St. *Jerom*, in *Pannonia*, others in *Dalmatia*; but St. *Jerom* himſelf calls it the boundary of *Dalmatia* and *Pannonia* (18).

(17) *Plin. l.* iii. *c.* 25. *Dio, l.* xlix. *p.* 413. *Strab. l.* vii. *p.* 217. *Jornandes de reb. Get. c.* 50.
(18) *S. Hieronym. catalog. ſcript. eccleſiaſt.*

lerius Meſſala Barbatus and *P. Sulpicius Quirinus*, or, as others call him, *Cirinus*. The former, who was father to the famous *Meſſalina*, dying ſome months after his election, was ſucceeded by *Caius Valgius*, a man of great learning[u], who before the end of the year reſigned the faſces to *Caius Caninius Rebilus*. The *Pannonians* were ſo frightened at the very name of *Agrippa*, that, upon his approach, they ſent deputies to him, offering to ſubmit upon what terms he ſhould think fit to impoſe upon them. Hereupon *Agrippa*, having obliged them to deliver up their arms and give him hoſtages for their peaceable behaviour, returned to *Italy*, but was taken with a violent illneſs as he marched through *Campania*, which in a few days brought him to his grave. *Auguſtus*, upon the firſt news of his danger, left the ſports, which his two grandſons, *Caius* and *Lucius*, were then exhibiting in honour of *Minerva*, and haſtened into *Campania*, to ſee and relieve, if he could by any means, his dying friend. But *Agrippa* expired a few minutes before his arrival, which he no ſooner underſtood, than he burſt into tears, bewailing in the illuſtrious deceaſed the loſs of the greateſt general of his age, the wiſeſt miniſter, and the moſt faithful, conſtant, and diſintereſted friend he had in the world. He cauſed his body to be conveyed to *Rome*, and took upon himſelf to make his funeral oration, a curtain being drawn between him and the bier, perhaps becauſe it was not lawful for him as pontifex maximus to look upon a dead body. His obſequies were performed with extraordinary pomp and magnificence, and his remains depoſited not in the *campus Martius*, where the ſenate had allowed him a monument, but in *Auguſtus*'s own mauſolæum near *Marcellus*, the emperor declaring, that he would not be ſeparated even after his death from two perſons, whom he ſo tenderly loved in his life[w]. He died in the fifty-firſt year of his age, and left behind him by his firſt wife *Cæcilia Attica*, the daughter of the famous *Pomponius Atticus*, one daughter named *Agrippina*, who was married to *Tiberius*; and by his third wife *Julia*, three ſons, *viz. Caius*, *Lucius*, and *Agrippa Poſthumus*, ſo called becauſe he was born after his father's death; and two daughters, *Julia* married to *Lucius Paulus*, and *Agrippina* married to *Germanicus*, by whom ſhe had the emperor *Claudius* and *Agrippina* the mother of *Nero*; *Agrippa* had no children by his ſecond wife *Marcella*, whom he divorced to marry *Julia*. He bequeathed his fine gardens and a bath, which was called by his name, to the *Roman* people, and to *Auguſtus* among other things the *Taurica Cherſoneſus*; but how he acquired the dominion and property of that country is what we find no-where recorded, *Dion* owning himſelf quite in the dark as to this point.

The death of Agrippa.

His offspring.

Thus long did *Auguſtus* reign, in ſome meaſure with a partner, though not a rival, in the empire. Upon his death the emperor, judging it neceſſary that he ſhould have one to aſſiſt him in the government, ſuperior to all others in power and authority, the better to prevent plots and conſpiracies, made choice of *Tiberius*, though much againſt his will, as *Dion* informs us, his grandſons, *Lucius* and *Caius Cæſars*, being yet too young to bear any public offices[x]. He obliged *Tiberius*, before he inveſted him with the power, which *Agrippa* had enjoyed, to divorce his wife *Agrippina*, who had already brought him a ſon, and was then big with child, and to marry *Julia*, whoſe leud and ſcandalous behaviour was well known to *Tiberius*, and to all the young debauchees of *Rome*, and had given great uneaſineſs to *Agrippa* ſome time before his death. However, *Tiberius* complied without betraying the leaſt reluctance, through fear of diſguſting *Auguſtus*, who was the only perſon in *Rome* unacquainted with his daughter's infamous conduct. The uſual ceremonies were no ſooner over, than *Auguſtus* diſpatched his new ſon-in-law againſt the *Pannonians*, who upon the news of *Agrippa*'s death had attempted to ſhake off the yoke, and recover their ancient liberty. But *Tiberius*, with the aſſiſtance of their neighbours the *Scordiſci*, who had remained faithful to the *Romans*, obliged them in a ſhort time to return to their duty, and ſubmit to the will of the conqueror. They delivered up their arms, gave hoſtages, and put the *Romans* in poſſeſſion of all their towns and ſtrong-holds. *Tiberius* ſpared their lives, but laid waſte their fields, plundered their cities, and, having ſent the beſt part of their youth into other countries, returned to *Rome* the ſame year, *Q. Ælius Tubero* and *Paulus Fabius Maximus* being conſuls. The ſenate, as we may well imagine, decreed him great honours, and among the reſt a triumph. But *Auguſtus* obliged him, ſore againſt his will, to reject the offers of the conſcript fathers, and content himſelf with the marks of diſtinction, which were granted for

Tiberius *choſen in his room.*

He reduces the Pannonians.

[u] Plin. l. xxv. c. 2. Tibull. l. iv. Horat. l. ii. od. [w] Dio. p. 541. [x] Idem, p. 543.

North

THE COUNTRIES of VINDELICIA RHAETIA & NORICUM.

J. Barlow sc.

PART OF GREAT GERMANY

West

East

South

Eburum
Eburodunum
Celemantia
Medoslanium
Marus Flu.
Reginus Flu.
Narisci
Regina castra sive Reginorum Germanicanum
Augustana castra
Petrensia
Casurgis
Danubius Flu.
Iserus Flu.
Clarenna
Vetoniana
Siruioduru m
Hargus Flu.
Quintana
Batava castra
Grinario
Augusta Vindelicorum
Acnus Flu.
Boiodurum
Lentia
Lauriacum
Lacus Felicis
Adpontem Isis
Comagena
Carnuntum
Danubius Flu.
Arae Flauiae
Tons Mori
Acrobata Mons
Celius mons
Rostrum Nemauiae
Brigobanna
Tuliomagus
Danubius Flu.
Rhenus Flu.
Febiana
Gunzia Flu.
Gunzia
Esco
Licates
Amber Flu.
Hargus Flu.
Ilmisca seu Isarfca
Ilarei
Hargus flue Ilarei
Cambodunum
Couelicae
Parrodunum
Partaum
Licus Flu.
Licus flue Lichus Flu.
Boii driven from Bohemia
Accipons Brenini
Bodaum sive Bodincum
Claudia
Ornolatia
Gabromagus
Ad Pontem
Visella
Anisus Flu.
Arlape Flu.
Arlape
Pirum prtum
Vindebona
Ad Flexum
Arabo
Scarabantia
DESERTA
BOIORVM
Baburia colonia
Celius Mons
Arabo Flu.
Racitanum
Mursa
Mursa Flu.
Petruio
Drauus Flu.
Draui Flu.
Fines
HELVETIA
Arbor Felix
PART or SWITZERLAND
of
GAUL
Rhenus Flu.
Brisgantum
Aenipons
Licus flue Lichus Flu.
Aenus Flu.
RHAETIA
Veldidena
Pipetenum sive
Matreium
Lutianum
Aguntum
Alpes Norici
Teurnia
Iuenna
Colatio
Celeia
Sabiona
Ouodenum
Sauus Flu.
Pipelle
Segestica Insula
Sauus flue Sauus Flu.
Alpes Iuliæ
Colapini
Sauus Flu.
Magia
Curitis
Riuus cizer
Tinnetio
Iapi
Dinumma
Saturnum
Appianum
Clauenna
Mesiates
Mesiatense
Stimmus Lacus
Lepontii
Bilitio
Addua Flu.
Addua Lac.
Larius Lac.
Verbanus Lac.
Comum
Beigamum
Sicum
Iulium Carnicum
Pons Drusi
Endidæ
Bauxam sive Bauxarium
Cepasta
Abbas Isis Flu.
Tridentum
Athesis Flu.
Athesis Flu.
Verona
Vicentia
Altinum
Meduacus Flu.
Sile Flu.
Sile Flu.
Busegum Abiuga
Opitergium
Romanus Flu.
Tilauentus Flu.
Tilauentus
Emona colonia
Nauportus
Nauportus Flu.
Longaticum
Forum Iulii
Frigidus Flu.
Aquileia
Fons Timauus
Tergeste
Formio Flu.
Quietus Flu.
Arsia Flu.
Arsia
Pola
Iapydes
LIBURNIA
PART OF HUNGARY
PANNONIA
ISTRIA
ADRIATIC
GULPH
OF
ITALY
PART OF
PROPRIA
CARNI
NORICUM MEDITE-
RANEUM
Yacorum
Noreia
Sabatinca
Flauium
Virunum
Aquileia
Aquileia
Ad XXX
Ad Vrsum
Ad Vrsum
Ad Tricesimum
Ad Tricesimum
Ad Vrsum
Ad Vrsum
Ad Vrs

for life to thoſe who had triumphed, *viz.* to have a particular place apart from the reſt at the publick ſhews, and to appear with the triumphal robes and a crown of laurel. On the other hand, his younger brother *Druſus* ſignalized himſelf no leſs among the *Gauls* and *Germans*. Having been left in *Gaul* by *Auguſtus* to ſtop the incurſions of the *Germans*, he had begun there a ſecond cenſus, taking a minute account of each perſon's eſtate and fortune, the better to regulate the annual taxes and contributions. This the *Gauls* looked upon as a new attempt upon their liberties, and ſeemed diſpoſed to take up arms, and attempt the recovery of their antient rights and privileges. But *Druſus*, being appriſed of their deſign, ſummoned all the *Gauliſh* chiefs to aſſiſt at the ſolemn ceremony of conſecrating a temple, which the *Lugdunenſes* had built in honour of *Julius Cæſar*. When they were all aſſembled, *Druſus* by his addreſs and engaging behaviour won their affections to ſuch a degree, that they not only dropt the deſign they had formed of ſhaking off the *Roman* yoke, but agreed to erect an altar in honour of *Auguſtus*, and to pay him even in his life-time divine honours. Sixty different nations concurred in this deſign, each of them contributing their quota, and ſending a ſtatue to adorn the new altar, which was conſecrated with great ſolemnity on the firſt day of *Auguſt*, aud became ſoon very famous all over *Gaul*, as is plain from the writings of almoſt all the antients[y]. Games were inſtituted in honour of the new deity, much of the ſame nature with the *Nemæan* and *Iſthmian* games.

Druſus prevents the Gauls *from revolting.*

An altar erected in honour of Auguſtus *at* Lions.

And now *Druſus*, having nothing to fear from the *Gauls*, turned his arms againſt the *Germans*, who, having raiſed the moſt numerous and formidable army that had ever been ſeen in thoſe parts, were advancing towards the *Rhine*, in order to invade *Gaul*. But the young *Roman* not only defeated them as they attempted to croſs that river, but, purſuing the advantage he had gained, entered the country of the *Uſipetes* or *Uſipii*, now known by the name of *Relinchuſen*, and from thence advanced againſt the *Sicambri* in the neighbourhood of the *Lyppe* and *Iſſel*; theſe he overthrew in a great battle, laid waſte their country, burnt moſt of their cities, and, following the courſe of the *Rhine*, approached the *German* ocean, and reduced the *Friſii* and the *Chauci* between the *Amiſius* and the *Albis*, now the *Ems* and the *Elbe*. In theſe marches his troops ſuffered extremely for want of proviſions, and he himſelf was often in great danger of being drowned, as the *Romans*, who attended him, were quite unacquainted at that time with the flux and reflux of the ocean. As winter drew near, he led his troops into eaſt *Frieſland*, and, leaving them there under the command of his lieutenants, returned to *Rome*, where he was honoured with the prætorſhip, & *Fabius Maximus* and *Julius Antonius*, the ſon of the triumvir, being then conſuls. Early in the ſpring, *Druſus* left the capital, and returning to his army quartered in *Friſia* or *Frieſland*, marched from thence into the country of the *Tencteri*, whom he eaſily ſubdued; and afterwards paſſing the *Lupias*, now the *Lyppe*, in *Weſtphalia*, brought into ſubjection the *Catti* and the *Cheruſci*, extending his conqueſts to the banks of the *Viſurgis*, now the *Weſer*, which he would have paſſed, had he not been obliged to return for want of proviſions, the enemy having laid waſte the neighbouring country to a great diſtance. As he was retiring, the *Germans* unexpectedly fell upon him in a narrow paſſage, and having ſurrounded the *Roman* army, cut a great many of them in pieces. But the brave *Druſus*, animating his men more by his example than by ſpeeches, after a warm conflict, which laſted almoſt the whole day, in the end put the enemy to flight, and made ſuch havock of them, that the ground was ſtrewed for ſome miles with dead bodies. *Druſus* found in their camp a huge quantity of iron chains, which they had prepared for the *Romans*; and ſo great was their confidence, that they had agreed before-hand about the diviſion of the booty; the *Tencteri* were to have the horſe, the *Cheruſci* and *Sicambri* the baggage, and the *Uſipetes* and *Catti* the captives. *Druſus* was ſaluted *imperator* by his troops on the field of battle, where they erected a trophy as a monument of ſo ſignal a victory; after which *Druſus*, to ſecure the countries he had conquered, built two forts, the one at the confluence of the *Lupias* and the *Aliſo*, the *Lyppe* and the *Alme*, the other in the country of the *Catti* or *Chatti* on the *Rhine*, and made that famous canal, long known by the name of *Foſſa Druſiana*, of which we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak hereafter. For theſe exploits *Druſus* on his return to *Rome* was honoured with the triumphal ornaments, as his brother *Tiberius* had been the preceding year, but was not allowed by *Auguſtus* to triumph, or even to retain the title

The exploits of Druſus *in* Germany.

He defeats the united forces of the Tencteri, Sicambri, Cheruſci, *&c.*

[y] Strab. l. iv. p. 192. Suet. Dio, Liv. &c.

title of *imperator*, with which he had been honoured by the army, that title being now peculiar to the ſovereign. *Druſus*, as well as *Tiberius*, had fought under the auſpices of *Auguſtus*, who, therefore aſcribing to himſelf the glory they had acquired, allowed them ſuch marks of diſtinction as were uſually conferred on triumphant victors, but not the triumph itſelf [z]. This ſame year, *Tiberius* being ſent againſt the *Pannonians*, who had again rebelled, reduced them anew, and likewiſe the *Dalmatians*, who had joined them in their revolt. One *Vologeſes*, a prieſt of *Bacchus*, by birth a *Thracian*, raiſed far greater diſturbances in that part of *Thrace*, which was ſubject to *Raſcuporis*, the ſon of *Cotys*, a faithful ally of the *Romans*. *Vologeſes* ſtirring up the people againſt that prince, whom he ſtyled a ſlave of *Rome*, committed moſt dreadful ravages in all parts of his dominions, overthrew and killed the young prince himſelf in a pitched battle, put to flight *Rhemetalces* his guardian, and, having overrun the whole country, advanced, without oppoſition, into the *Thracian Cherſoneſus*, with a deſign to paſs from thence into *Macedon*. But, in the mean time, *Lucius Calpurnius Piſo*, one of the beſt generals of his age, being ordered by *Auguſtus* to quit *Pamphylia*, which he governed in quality of proconſul, and to ſtop the progreſs of the barbarians under the conduct of *Vologeſes*, arrived in *Thrace*, and coming up with the enemy near the confines of *Macedon*, attacked them, but had the misfortune to be defeated, his men not being accuſtomed to the enemy's manner of fighting. However, as he was a man of great experience in military affairs, he made his retreat in good order, and falling the next day unexpectedly on the barbarians, gave them a total overthrow, purſued them into *Thrace*, and made himſelf maſter of the fruitful plains lying between mount *Pangæus* and mount *Hæmus*. *Auguſtus* was ſo pleaſed with this conqueſt, that he decreed to *Piſo*, not indeed a triumph, but all the honours and privileges which were formerly granted to thoſe who had triumphed, ordaining beſides ſupplications by way of thankſgiving to the gods, for the ſucceſs which had attended his arms [a]. The joy and ſatisfaction which *Auguſtus* received from theſe ſucceſſes was greatly allayed by the death of his ſiſter *Octavia*, who was a true heroine, and a perfect pattern of all the virtues peculiar to her ſex, and therefore greatly lamented by perſons of all ranks and conditions. *Auguſtus* cauſed her body to be expoſed on a bed of ſtate in a temple lately erected in honour of *Julius Cæſar*, and pronounced himſelf her funeral oration, but would not admit of the many honours which were decreed her by the ſenate. Her body was carried to the grave by her four ſons-in-law, the huſbands of the two *Marcellæ*, whom ſhe had by her firſt huſband *Marcellus*, and of the two *Antoniæ*, her daughters by *Antony* the triumvir. She died in the fifty-fourth year of her age [b].

Diſturbances in Thrace.

Quelled by L. Calpurnius Piſo.

THE following year, *Nero Claudius Druſus* and *T. Quinctius Criſpinus* being conſuls, *Auguſtus*, bent upon the total reduction of *Germany*, left the capital, attended by his two ſons-in-law, *Tiberius Claudius Nero* and *Nero Claudius Druſus*, and, paſſing the *Alps*, advanced to the banks of the *Rhine*, whence he ſent *Tiberius* againſt the *Daci*, and *Druſus* to complete the conqueſt of the reſt of *Germany*. *Tiberius* eaſily ſubdued the *Daci*, obliged them to give him hoſtages, and tranſplanted forty thouſand of them into *Gaul*. On the other hand, *Druſus* having paſſed the *Rhine*, and afterwards, in ſpite of all oppoſition, the *Weſer*, brought under ſubjection all the nations from the *Rhine* to the *Elbe*, or, as the *Romans* called it, the *Albis*. Having attempted in vain to paſs this river, he erected ſeveral trophies in that neighbourhood, and began his march back to the *Rhine*. *Dion* tells us, that as he was deliberating with himſelf whether he ſhould penetrate ſtill farther into theſe northern countries, or make the *Albis* the boundary of the *Roman* empire, a woman of a ſtature more than human appeared to him, and calling him by his name, aſked him, *Whither his ambition would carry him? The fates*, ſaid ſhe, *will not allow you to ſee all parts: retire therefore, and know, that the period both of your life and actions approaches.* With this and ſuch like prodigies, *Dion* pretends, that the death of *Druſus*, which happened ſoon after, was foretold. For before he reached the *Rhine*, he was ſeized with a violent fever, which carried him off in a few days. *Auguſtus*, upon the firſt notice of his illneſs, ſent an expreſs to *Tiberius*, acquainting him with the danger his brother was in, who thereupon made what haſte he could to ſee him before he died, travelling two hundred miles in twenty-four hours. Upon his arrival he found him ſtill alive, but juſt expiring. His ſudden death occaſioned a report, which was credited by many, *viz.* that

The Daci *ſubdued by* Tiberius.

Conqueſts made by Druſus *in* Germany.

His death.

[z] Dio, p. 544. Suet. in Claud. ibid. Suet. in Octavio. [a] Dio, p. 545. Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 98. [b] Dio,

a that *Auguſtus* and *Tiberius* had conſpired to take him off by poiſon, and effected their wicked deſign by means of their emiſſaries. It is at leaſt certain, that *Druſus* was in his heart a zealous republican, and had on ſeveral occaſions betrayed a great deſire of ſeeing the antient form of government reſtored. Though he was generally thought to be the ſon, not of *Claudius Nero*, but of *Auguſtus*, yet he looked upon him as an uſurper, and wrote the following letter to his brother *Tiberius*, while they were both waging war in *Germany* at the head of two powerful armies: *The gods have put it into our power to render* Rome *happy or miſerable*: Auguſtus *has truſted us with the forces of the empire: can we employ them better than in re-eſtabliſhing the republic, and reſtoring* Rome *to her antient liberty and ſplendor: how glorious a thing it is to be the deliverer and avenger of one's country!* This letter *Tiberius* ſent to *Auguſtus*, and ſoon after happened b the death of *Druſus* in the manner we have related [c]. However, moſt of the antients clear *Auguſtus* from all ſuſpicion of being any ways acceſſory to the death of the young hero. *Livy*, who here ends his hiſtory, ſays, that he died of a fall from his horſe: perhaps that fall occaſioned the fever of which he died. *Suetonius* thinks the report, which was ſpread upon his death to the prejudice of *Auguſtus*, to have been intirely groundleſs, ſince the emperor loved him with great tenderneſs, and had even named him in his will for his ſucceſſor in conjunction with his two grandſons, *Lucius* and *Caius* [d]. *Tacitus*, whom we cannot ſuſpect of partiality towards *Auguſtus*, or indeed towards any of his ſucceſſors, tells us, that *Auguſtus* never extended his cruelty to any of his own family [e]. *Druſus* was a man of an unblemiſhed character, of a pro- c bity which was proof againſt all temptations, of great honour, open-hearted, and an enemy to all manner of deceit and diſſimulation. He was no ways inferior either in courage or conduct to the moſt experienced commanders of his age, and had nothing in view in all his expeditions, but the glory of the *Roman* name and the public welfare. It is agreed on all hands, that he would have re-eſtabliſhed the republic, and reſigned with joy the ſovereign power, had it ever devolved to him. He died in the thirtieth year of his age, and left behind him three children by his wife *Antonia Minor*, the younger daughter of *Antony* and *Octavia*, viz. *Druſus*, ſurnamed *Germanicus*, *Livilla*, and *Claudius*, who ſucceeded *Caligula* in the empire. His ſoldiers, to teſtify their grief for the loſs of a general, whom they ſo tenderly loved, erected to his memory d a ſtately monument on the banks of the *Rhine*, and aſſembling yearly on the anniverſary of his death, that is, on the eleventh of *July*, performed round it their military evolutions in honour of the illuſtrious deceaſed [f]. As for his body, it was conveyed to *Rome*, and attended the whole way by *Tiberius*, the chief officers and magiſtrates of the *Roman* colonies and municipia, through which it paſſed, meeting it on the road, and attending it with the utmoſt pomp from one city to the other. *Auguſtus* himſelf received it at *Rome*, being returned from *Gaul* for that purpoſe, and pronounced in the *Circus Flaminius* a funeral oration in honour of the deceaſed, in which he begged of the gods, with great earneſtneſs and many tears, that they *would grant him a death as glorious as that of the young hero, and make the grand-children they had given him tread in his foot-ſteps*. *Tiberius* made another funeral oration in the forum, where the body was expoſed, and from thence carried on the ſhoulders of the *Roman* knights e to the field of *Mars*, where it was burnt with great ſolemnity; as for the aſhes they were depoſited in the mauſoleum of *Auguſtus*. The ſenate did not neglect, as we may well imagine, ſo favourable an opportunity of making their court to the emperor. A triumphal arch was erected to his memory, and ſtatues in moſt public places of the city: the ſurname of *Germanicus* was conferred upon him by a decree of the ſenate, and confirmed to his poſterity; many trophies were erected, and medals ſtruck with the inſcription *de Germanis*, to perpetuate the memory of his victories over the *Germans*, &c. Extraordinary honours were decreed to his mother *Livia* and his widow *Antonia*, who had inherited both her mother *Octavia*'s beauty and virtue; ſhe continued inconſolable to the hour of her death, nor would ſhe ever be prevailed upon f to marry again, though often and earneſtly preſſed to it by *Auguſtus* [g].

Druſus's *love for his country.*

His character.

Honours paid him after his death.

THE emperor was in haſte to return to *Gaul*, but nevertheleſs before his departure he made ſeveral new regulations. The conſcript fathers, finding their authority to be of no weight, aſſembled very ſeldom, and in ſmall numbers. *Auguſtus* therefore appointed certain days in each month, on which they ſhould be obliged to meet; and

New regulations of Auguſtus.

[c] SUET. in Octav. & Claud. DIO, ubi ſupra. [d] SUET. ibid. [e] TACIT. annal. 1. c. 6 [f] Ex inſcript. citata a Lipſio. [g] DIO, & SUET. ibid. VAL. MAX. l. iv. c. 3. Conſol. ad LIV. apud. Ovid.

and at the same time enacted, with the approbation of the senators themselves, that such as absented themselves on those days, without a lawful cause, should pay a certain sum by way of mulct; and that their determinations, when they were but few, should not obtain the force of a *senatusconsultum*, or decree of the senate, but only be called a *regulation of the senate*. He granted the prætors the prerogative of voting in the senate, and extended the jurisdiction of the quæstors, giving them the superintendency of all the maritime cities of *Italy*. The election of the new consuls, *C. Marcius Censorinus* and *C. Asinius Gallus*, gave rise to a new regulation. They were both accused of having purchased their dignity with money distributed among the tribes. *Augustus* did not oblige them to resign the fasces, but ordered, that for the future all the candidates should deposit a certain sum with him, which they should forfeit, if convicted of bribery or any unlawful practices. This law was generally approved of, at least by the patricians; but another, which he published soon after, was as much disliked. The depositions of slaves had never been admitted at *Rome* in the courts of judicature. But *Augustus*, for the safety of his own person, though under pretence of the public safety, published a law, enacting, that when any person was accused of treasonable designs, the evidence of slaves should be of the same weight as that of freedmen; that this law might not seem to clash with the ancient custom of rejecting the evidence of a slave against his master, it was ordained by the same law, that the slaves of the accused person should be first sold to the emperor or the public. By this low evasion, unworthy of a man of sense, he pretended not to have intrenched on the ancient custom, since it was still true, that slaves were not allowed to accuse their masters, nor admitted as evidence against them. This innovation occasioned great complaints; but the crafty emperor soon quieted the minds of the people by public shews and sports, by a pretended clemency and condescension, and above all by affecting popularity, and carefully avoiding all needless ceremonies and marks of grandeur. The antients relate many instances of his extraordinary condescension: they tell us, that a common legionary, having desired him to plead his cause in one of the courts of judicature, the emperor told him, that he was so overwhelmed with business that he could not well do it himself; but that he would send him an orator better qualified for that purpose than himself. This obliging answer did not satisfy the soldier, who answered bluntly, *Have I thus fought for you by proxy?* The emperor, highly pleased with this unexpected answer, *Neither will I*, said he, *plead for you by proxy*. He was as good as his word; for on the day appointed he appeared at the bar, and pleaded his cause in person. In like manner he undertook the cause of another citizen, and gained it; which so provoked the accuser, that he behaved very disrespectfully towards the emperor, who was so far from resenting it, that he afterwards pardoned him, when he was accused before him as censor of some faults which deserved severe punishment. Though he was very kind and generous to his friends, yet he never allowed them greater privileges than others, nor would he by any means exempt them from the judiciary laws. Of all the criminals he rescued but one, during the whole time of his long reign, who had been very serviceable to him, and that by prevailing with intreaties on the accuser to drop the prosecution [h].

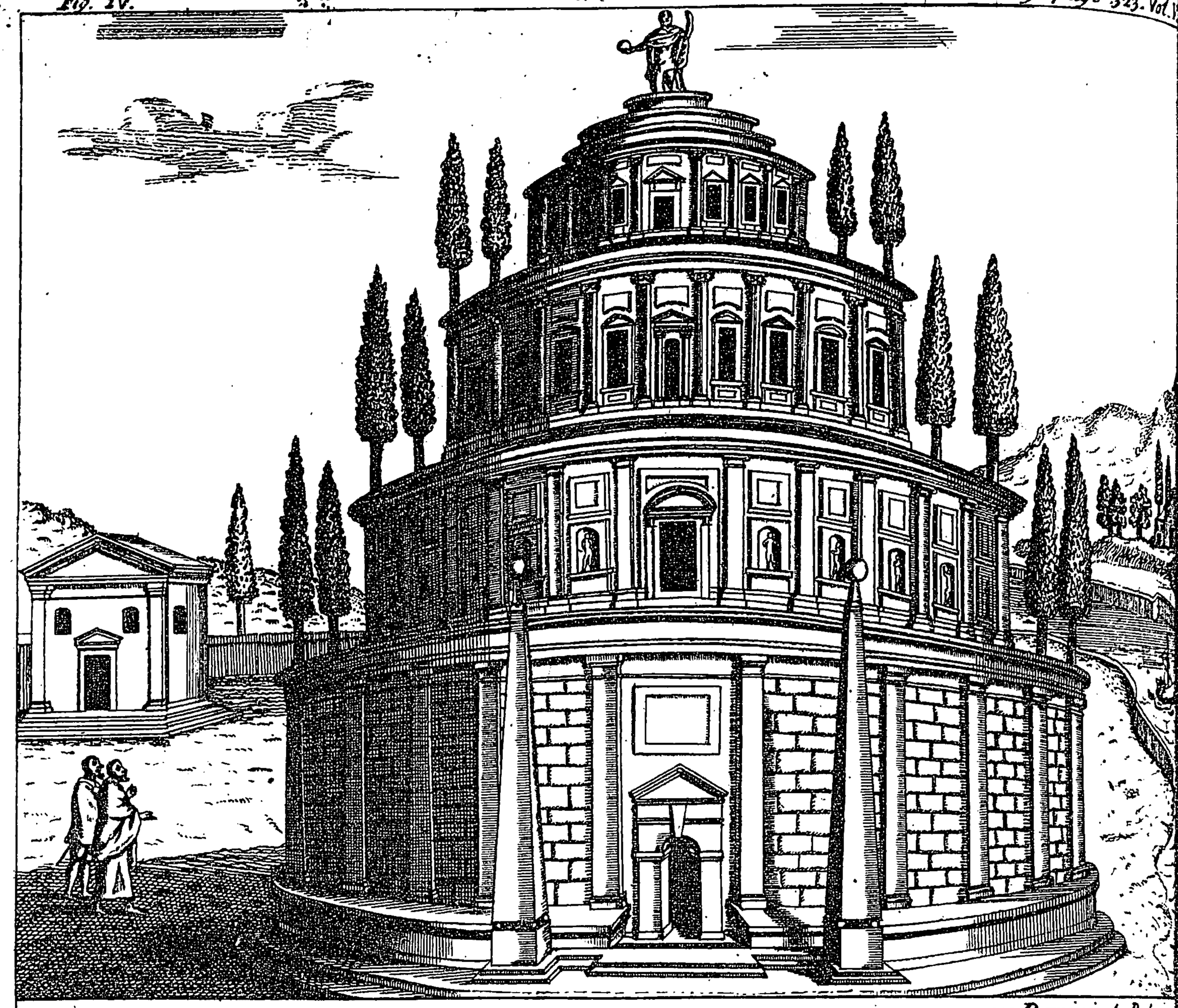
Instances of his condescension.

He begins the third term of his decennial power.

This year, the second term of *Augustus*'s ten years drawing to an end, he pretended to be willing to lay down the power with which he had been trusted, saying, that he was no longer able to bear so heavy a burden; but he was easily persuaded to carry it ten years longer. This limitation contributed, in the opinion of the antients, more than any thing else, to his safety, since by receiving his power from the senate and people, he openly acknowledged the sovereignty to be lodged in them; so that they were not quite destitute of all hopes of recovering it one day. The term of his power being prolonged, he resolved to quit the capital, having his mind still bent on the intire reduction of the many nations that inhabited *Germany*. He was not indeed inclined to wage war with those barbarous nations in person, but chose to be as near the generals, whom he employed, as he could with safety. The person he thought the most proper for the pursuing and completing of the conquests, happily began by *Drusus*, was his brother *Tiberius*; whom therefore he sent into *Gaul*, after having honoured him with an ovation, on account of the advantages he had gained in *Germany* the foregoing year. *Augustus* soon after the departure of *Tiberius* left *Rome*, but, instead of passing the *Alps*, as he had done the year before, he took his

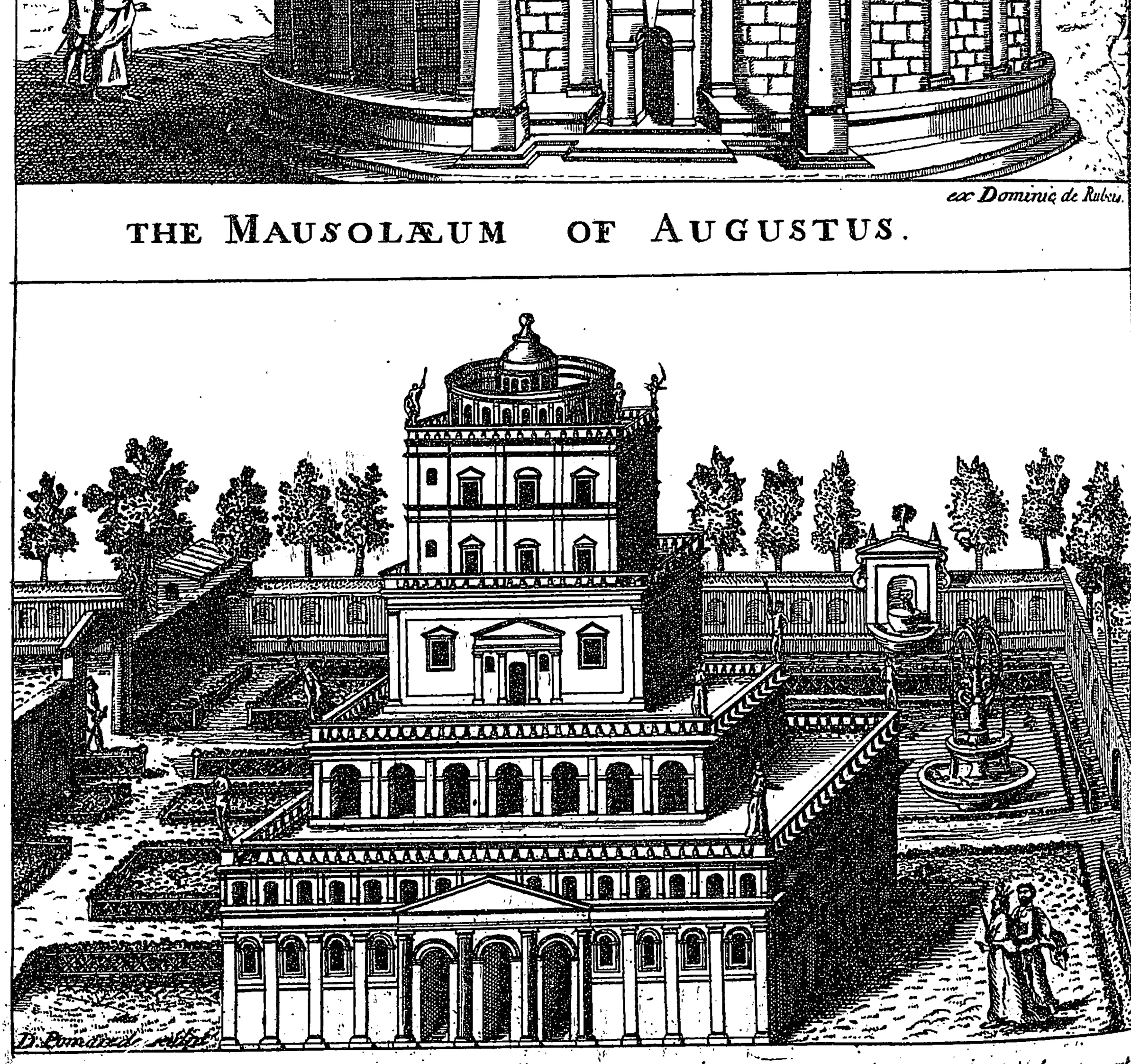
Tiberius's *exploits in* Germany.

[h] Suet. ibid.



ex Dominic de Rubeis.

THE MAUSOLÆUM OF AUGUSTUS.



D. Pomarede sculpt.

The house *and famed* Turret *of* MÆCENAS *which commanded the whole prospect of*

a his rout towards *Aquileia*, and paſſed the whole ſummer in the neighbourhood of that city, having with him his grandſon *Caius Cæſar*, then twelve years old. In the mean time, *Tiberius*, having paſſed the *Rhine* at the head of a powerful army, over-ran all the countries between that river and the *Elbe*, and ſtruck ſuch dread into the inhabitants of thoſe northern provinces, that ſeveral of them ſent deputies to *Auguſtus* at *Aquileia* to ſue for peace, which they could not obtain upon any terms, the emperor declaring, that he would not grant a peace to any particular nation, till they had all agreed to demand it. But the *Catti*, or, as ſome authors write, the *Sicambri*, could not by any means be prevailed upon to ſubmit; ſo that the project of peace did not take place this year. We ſhall ſee in the ſequel of this hiſtory what ſtreams b of blood it coſt the *Romans* to reduce them. As winter approached, *Auguſtus* returned to *Rome* with his grandſon *Caius*; but *Tiberius* remained with his troops in *Germany*, in order to renew the war, as ſoon as the ſeaſon would allow him to take the field [i]. *Auguſtus* upon his return made a ſecond cenſus, in which were numbered, acccording to the *Ancyran* marbles, 4233000 *Roman* citizens [k]. While he was thus employed, his great friend *Mecænas* died, which was a ſenſible affliction to him, though he had not of late honoured him with the ſame intimacy as formerly. His criminal converſation with *Terentilla* could not but diſpleaſe *Mecænas*, who thought he did not deſerve that treatment at the hands of one, whom he had ſerved with the utmoſt fidelity. On the other hand, *Auguſtus* in that particular could not bear any controll; c and hence that coldneſs and indifference which appeared between theſe two great friends, ſome years before death parted them. *Mecænas* was a man of great penetration, and underſtood the art of governing well better than any man of his age, as appears from the many wiſe directions and maxims, which he ſuggeſted to *Auguſtus* in the beginning of his reign. But though poſſeſſed of talents equal to the higheſt employments of the ſtate, yet he was ſuch an enemy to all trouble, ſo fond of his eaſe, ſo addicted to his pleaſures, that he abhorred all buſineſs, and ſeemed in a manner to have attained to that indolence, in which the *Epicureans* placed happineſs. As he was remarkably good-natured, and ſlighted preferments himſelf, as capable of diſturbing his quiet and interrupting his pleaſures, he employed all his credit and d intereſt with the emperor in behalf of others, and for the moſt part with good ſucceſs. Of the aſcendant which he had gained over *Auguſtus*, and the liberty he took in correcting his faults and curbing his cruel temper, *Dion Caſſius* gives us the following remarkable inſtance. As *Auguſtus* was one day judging ſome criminals, *Mecænas* perceiving him to be in a bad humour, and inclined to give himſelf over to revenge without check or compaſſion, attempted to approach his tribunal; but not being able to break through the croud, he wrote the following note; *Come down from the tribunal, butcher*, and threw it into his lap. *Auguſtus* no ſooner read it, than he roſe up and quitted the tribunal, without ſentencing any of the criminals to death [l]. As for the ſcandalous lewdneſs and debaucheries of *Auguſtus*, which gave e occaſion to many ſevere lampoons and caſt a great blemiſh upon his reputation, *Mecænas* was not at all a proper perſon to ſet up for a cenſor in that particular. The generous protection, which he afforded to men of learning, eſpecially to *Virgil* and *Horace*, will render his name immortal, and transfer his fame to the lateſt poſterity. He was not only an encourager of learning, but publiſhed, according to *Priſcian* [m], *Iſidorus* [n], and *Seneca* [o], ſeveral works, which intitled him to a place among the beſt writers of that polite age. The works aſcribed to him by the above-mentioned writers are, a *hiſtory of animals*; a *journal of the life of* Auguſtus; a *treatiſe on ſhort-hand writing*; of which ſome will have him, others *Tyro*, *Cicero's* freedman, to have been the inventor; another *treatiſe on the nature and different kinds of precious ſtones*; f and two tragedies, the one intitled *Octavia*, and the other *Prometheus*: but none of theſe works have reached our times. *Horace*, the prince of the *Latin* lyric poets, did not long ſurvive his great patron and benefactor; for *Mecænas* died about the beginning of *September*, and *Horace* on the twenty-ſeventh of the following *November*. The fame of ſo great a poet will be as laſting as his works, which all ages muſt admire, as the utmoſt effort of a human genius. The ſame year died one *Caius Cæcilius Iſidorus*, famous for the immenſe wealth of which he was poſſeſſed; for he left to his heirs 4116 ſlaves,

Death of Mecænas.

His character.

The liberty he took with Auguſtus.

His works.

The death of Horace.

[i] Vell. Patercul. l. ii. Dio, p. 551, 552. Sueton. in Octav. p. 178. [k] Vide Gruter. p. 230. [l] Dio, l. v. p. 552. [m] Priscian. l. x. [n] Isidor. orig. l. xix. [o] Seneca. epiſt. 91.

4116 ſlaves, 3600 yoke of oxen, 200057 head of other cattle, and above three millions of our money in ſpecie. a

Tiberius *triumphs.*

On the calends of *January* of the enſuing year, *Tiberius*, who was now come to *Rome*, entered upon his ſecond conſulſhip with *Cn. Calpurnius Piſo*, and was the ſame day honoured with a triumph, which was a new ſight to the *Roman* people. The bucklers and arms, which he had taken from the *Germans*, were carried before him, and the captive generals and officers of diſtinction marched in chains by the chariot of the triumphant victor. Before he left *Rome*, he repaired the temple of *Concord*, placing his own name and that of his deceaſed brother *Druſus* on the frontiſpiece of that ſtately building. After this he dedicated a temple, which the ſenate had erected, to his mother *Livia*, ſhe herſelf being preſent at the ceremony. On this occaſion b he gave a moſt ſumptuous entertainment to all the ſenators, while *Livia* feaſted the women of diſtinction by themſelves. In the beginning of the ſpring he left the capital and returned to *Germany*, but performed nothing which hiſtorians have thought worth tranſmitting to poſterity. This year a dreadful fire happened in *Rome*, which reduced to aſhes many ſtately buildings, and was thought to have been occaſioned by the debtors, with a deſign to make their eſcape, in that confuſion, out of the houſes of their creditors. To prevent the like misfortunes and diſorders for the future, *Auguſtus* created new officers called *curatores vicorum*, who were permitted on certain days to wear, within the verge of their juriſdiction, the robe peculiar to magiſtrates, and to have two lictors to attend them. To them were now aſſigned the ſix hundred c ſlaves, who had been formerly appointed to attend the ædiles for the extinguiſhing of fires. At the ſame time, by *Auguſtus*'s particular order, the city was divided into fourteen regions or wards, and theſe into inferior precincts, the government of which wards and precincts was committed to the above-mentioned *curatores vicorum*, and alſo to the tribunes of the people and the prætors[n].

Curatores vicorum *appointed by* Auguſtus.

The bold and unſeaſonable demand of Lucius Cæſar.

The following year, *Caius Antiſtius Vetus* and *D. Lælius Balbus* being raiſed to the conſulate, *Lucius Cæſar* boldly demanded of *Auguſtus* in the public theatre, that his elder brother *Caius Cæſar* might be named conſul for the enſuing year. The emperor, no leſs ſurpriſed than offended at this unſeaſonable demand, notwithſtanding his affection for the two brothers, anſwered, that he hoped he ſhould never lie under the d neceſſity of raiſing any to the conſulate under twenty years of age. The bold youth not being ſatisfied with this anſwer, but continuing to ſolicit him with great earneſtneſs in behalf of his brother, the emperor raiſing his voice, told him with a grave air, *That an office of ſuch importance ought to be diſcharged only by a man who could bridle his own paſſions, and reſiſt the deſires of the giddy and head-ſtrong multitude.* However, his tenderneſs for the two brothers, whom he looked upon as his own children, having adopted them into the *Julian* family and the name of *Cæſars*, in ſome degree got the better of his reaſon; for he granted to *Caius* the prieſthood, a place in the ſenate, and the privilege of ſitting among the ſenators at all public ſhews and ſports; but at the ſame time, to curb their ambitious temper, he conferred on *Tiberius* the tribu- c nitial power for five years, which gave the two young *Cæſars* no ſmall jealouſy. But *Tiberius* had ſcarce received this new addition of power, when, to the great ſurpriſe of *Auguſtus* and the whole city, he deſired leave to quit the city and retire to *Rhodes*. Various reaſons are alledged by the ancients for this ſudden reſolution; *Tiberius* indeed pretended a deſire of improving himſelf in the ſtudy of philoſophy and eloquence, there being then at *Rhodes* famous profeſſors of both theſe ſciences. But *Suetonius* is of opinion, that the infamy of his wife *Julia*, which was now the talk of the whole city, and reflected great diſgrace on his perſon and family, prompted him to retire, that he might not be an eye-witneſs of her ſcandalous debaucheries[o]. *Velleius Paterculus*, a great flatterer of *Tiberius*, tells us, that he withdrew out of reſpect to f the two young *Cæſars*, that he might not ſtand in their way to the higheſt preferments[p], following therein the example of *Agrippa*, who had retired to *Mitylene*, when *Marcellus* firſt entered upon public offices. *Dion* thinks he was piqued at the favour which *Auguſtus* ſhewed to his grandſons, eſpecially at his declaring them *princes of the* Roman *youths* (G), which intirely defeated his ambitious projects, and left

Tiberius *demands leave to retire.*

[n] Dio, p. 556, 557. [o] Suet. in Tiber. c. 10. [p] Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 99.

(G) The firſt *Roman* emperors gave this title to their children, or to thoſe whom they had appointed their heirs and ſucceſſors in the empire. The youth, who was honoured with this title, had all the children

a left him no hopes of ever enjoying the ſovereign power, the ſole object of all his wiſhes [q]. But, whatever his motive was, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances and tears of his mother *Livia*, he was very preſſing with *Auguſtus* for his permiſſion to retire; which the emperor not only refuſed, but took great pains, in concert with *Livia*, to divert him from ſuch an unſeaſonable reſolution. He even complained to the ſenate of his being abandoned by one, from whoſe abilities he had promiſed himſelf great relief in the government of the republic. But *Tiberius*, deaf to all entreaties and remonſtrances, and obſtinately bent upon departing, continued importuning *Auguſtus* for his permiſſion, which he conſtantly refuſed, being unwilling to loſe the only perſon, in whom, after the death of *Agrippa* and *Mecænas*, he repoſed any confidence, his

b grand-children not being yet of an age fit to be truſted. At length *Tiberius*, finding all other means ineffectual, retired into his own apartment, and, there ſhutting himſelf up, abſtained four whole days from all kind of nouriſhment. Hereupon the emperor, ſeeing he could not get the better of his obſtinate and inflexible temper, complied at length with his requeſt, and granted him the ſo much wiſhed-for permiſſion to retire; which he no ſooner obtained, than he ſet out for *Oſtia*, without ſpeaking a word on the way to thoſe who attended him to the place where he imbarqued, or taking any notice of them, a ſmall number of his particular friends excepted, at his departure [r]. However, *Dion* tells us, that before he took his leave of *Livia* and *Auguſtus*, he opened his will and read it in their preſence [s]. From *Oſtia* he ſailed along the coaſt of *Cam-*

c *pania*, and ſtaid ſome time in that province, being informed there, that *Auguſtus* was indiſpoſed. But, in the mean while, a report being ſpread abroad, that he waited for the news of *Auguſtus*'s death, he weighed anchor as ſoon as it came to his ears, tho' the ſea ran then very high, and ſailed for *Rhodes*, where he led at firſt a very private and retired life, frequenting the ſchools and academies without any attendants, converſing familiarly with the *Greeks*, and avoiding all appearance of grandeur both in his houſe and equipage. However, he once exerted the tribunitial power with which he was inveſted; for a warm diſpute ariſing one day in the ſchool of *Theodorus* the *Gadaræan*, of whom he was a conſtant hearer, he interpoſed, and endeavoured to put an end to the conteſt. But one of the diſputants, judging him partial, not only

d refuſed to acquieſce with his deciſion, but abuſed him in a moſt outrageous manner; which ſo provoked him, that he returned home, and aſſuming the habit of a public magiſtrate, appeared in the ſchool, as tribune of the people with his apparitors, and ſummoning by a crier the philoſopher, who had reviled him, ordered him to be carried to priſon [t] *Velleius*, a ſcandalous flatterer of the *Cæſars*, eſpecially of *Tiberius*, tells us, that he appeared greater in his retirement, than if he had been at the helm of affairs; that all the proconſuls and governors, who were ſent into the eaſt, went to wait upon him, lowering their faſces to him; that he gained the affection and eſteem of all the *Greeks*, &c. [u]. But all other writers tell us, that not being able to keep his vices concealed from the inhabitants of the iſland, they daily more deſpiſed

e and hated him, inſomuch, that the *Nemauſians* threw down his ſtatues and defaced his pictures; nay, ſome time after, as *Caius Cæſar* paſſed that way, mention being made of *Tiberius* at a private entertainment, one of the company addreſſing *Caius*, *Give only the word*, ſaid he, *and you ſhall have the head of the exile in an inſtant.* The name of exile well ſuited *Tiberius*; for though he voluntarily retired to *Rhodes*, yet he was long kept there againſt his will. Growing weary of his retirement, he publicly declared, that he had left *Rome* purely to avoid giving umbrage to *Caius* and *Lucius*, and wrote to the emperor, after they had attained to man's eſtate and were promoted to the higheſt dignities, begging leave to return home and viſit his friends, ſince his preſence could

Which Auguſtus refuſes him.

But at laſt yields to his importunities.

His private manner of living at Rhodes.

[q] Dio, in excerpt. p. 662. [r] Suet. ibid. [s] Dio, in excerpt. Valeſii, p. 665. [t] Suet. ibid. Quintilian. l. iii. c. 1. Dio, ibid. [u] Vell. Patercul. ibid.

dren of the *Roman* noblemen under his command, and appeared at their head, when they performed their military exerciſes in the field of *Mars*, or exhibited the tournament called *Troy*. In the times of the republic the children of the moſt diſtinguiſhed families were called *principes juventutis*, and *principes equitum* (19), becauſe they were reckoned *equites* or knights, till they attained the age, which the laws required in the candidates for offices. The *principes juventutis* was diſtinguiſhed from the reſt by a triumphal robe, as *Tacitus* informs us (20). On the reverſe of a medal of the emperor *Severus*, which has reached our times, are repreſented three youths on horſeback, and one of them in the attitude of commanding, with this legend, *Princ. juvent.* which ſhews, that the *princeps* or *principes juventutis* had ſome command over the young nobility.

(19) *Vide Liv. l.* xlii. *c.* 61. & *Juvenal. ſatyr.* 4. *v.* 32. (20) *Tacit. annal.* 12. *c.* 5.

could no longer be disagreeable to his grand-children. But the favour was absolutely denied him, and a message sent, bidding him lay aside all care and thoughts of his friends, since he had been so impatient to abandon them. Thus he was obliged, sore against his will, to continue at *Rhodes*, and it was not till after seven years that *Augustus* was prevailed upon to consent to his return [w]. This year *Augustus* himself was consul, and had for his collegue *Cornelius Sylla*. He had resumed the fasces, after having declined the consular dignity for seventeen years together, with no other view, as is supposed, but to render the ceremony of giving the *toga virilis* to his grandson *Caius* more solemn. For he presented him in person to the senate, gave him the *toga virilis* himself, with the usual ceremonies, and designed him consul; which dignity, as he was then but fifteen, he was to hold, after five years, to be reckoned from the day he was presented to the senate. Thus the *Ancyran* marble [x]. This year *Augustus* reduced the number of those who were supplied with corn at the public expence, to two hundred thousand, corn having for some years been given indifferently to all who desired it. Nothing remarkable happened in *Rome* or *Italy* the two following years, in the first of which *C. Calvisius Sabinus* and *L. Passienus Rufus* were consuls, and in the second *L. Cornelius Lentulus* and *M. Valerius Messalinus*. The ensuing year, *Augustus* again reserved the consular dignity for himself, and took for his collegue *M. Plautius Sylvanus*, or *Silanus*. As *Lucius*, the younger of his grandsons, was now of an age to receive the *toga virilis*, *Augustus* conferred on him the same honours as he had done three years before on his brother *Caius*. Several medals, coined on this occasion, have reached our times, on which are the heads of the two brothers with bucklers and spears, and this legend on the reverse; Caius *and* Lucius Cæsars, *the sons of* Augustus, *designed consuls, princes of the youth*. Thus were the two sons highly favoured and honoured by *Augustus*; but their mother *Julia* met with a very different treatment. Her lewdness, infamy, and scandalous debaucheries, hardly to be matched in history, had for some years been the talk of the whole town. But *Augustus* had the misfortune of most princes, who are, generally speaking, the least acquainted with their nearest concerns. He believed indeed, that she did not lead a very strict life, but never imagined her capable of committing those monstrous and almost incredible excesses, of which he now found her guilty. Upon a full discovery of her actions and conduct, he was so sensibly affected with grief and confusion, that he shut himself up in his palace, and there continued several days, bewailing his misfortune, without seeing any even of his most intimate friends. Not able to conceal the transports of his grief and anger from the public, he communicated to the senate by a letter the excesses of the infamous prostitute, and the disgrace of his family, an indiscretion which he afterwards said he would never have been guilty of, had *Agrippa* or *Mecænas* been living. Overcome with shame and rage, he first resolved to put his daughter to death; but afterwards altered his mind, and contented himself with banishing her to *Pandataria*, a desert island on the coast of *Campania*, now known by the name of *Santa Maria*. Her mother *Scribonia*, whom *Augustus* had divorced the same day she was born, that is, thirty eight years before, attended her to the place of her banishment, and never afterwards abandoned her. The emperor not only punished the infamous *Julia* with banishment, but at the same time forbad her the use of wine, and all sorts of delicacy whatsoever either in diet or cloaths. By an express order from the emperor, no person of what condition soever was to come near her withour his leave. Not long after, her eldest daughter by *Agrippa*, named also *Julia* and married to *L. Paulus*, being convicted of the same crimes as her mother, was confined to the island of *Tremera*, now *Tremiti*, in the *Adriatic* sea [y]. The punishment of *Julia* was followed by that of all those who were any ways accessary to her debaucheries. *Sempronius Gracchus*, *T. Quinctius Crispinus*, *C. Claudius*, and *L. Scipio*, all persons of great distinction, were condemned to perpetual banishment. But *Julius Antonius* (H), the son of the triumvir, and many others, were by the emperor's orders put to death. Some writers tell us, that

Augustus's thirteenth consulship.

Julia banished;

And her daughter of the same name.

[w] Dio, Suet. ibid. [x] Vide Gruter. inscript. 231. [y] Vell. Patercul. c. 100. Dio, ibid. p. 555.

(H) *Julius Antonius* was a man of learning, and wrote a poem intitled *Diomedeæ*, consisting of ten books. To him *Horace* addressed the second ode of his fourth book. He left a son very young, whom *Augustus* banished to *Marseilles* under colour of having him instructed by the great masters, who flourished then in that city. He died without offspring and in him ended the *Antonian* family.

a that *Auguſtus* laid hold of this opportunity to get rid of many conſiderable *Romans*, who gave him uneaſineſs and jealouſy. Be that as it will, it is certain, that an incredible number of illuſtrious *Romans* were ſacrificed, under pretence of having received favours of *Julia*. Her chief confident, by name *Phœbe*, laid violent hands on herſelf before ſentence was pronounced againſt her. *Auguſtus*, when news was brought him of her death, could not help admiring her courage, and wiſhing that *Phœbe*, and not *Julia*, had been his daughter, intimating thereby, that he would have been well pleaſed, if *Julia* had had courage enough to end her days in the ſame manner. *Tiberius* heard, as we may well imagine, the news of the diſgrace and baniſhment of *Julia* with great joy; but, as no man knew better the art of diſſembling, he became b her advocate; and, pretending great tenderneſs and compaſſion for her, he wrote frequent letters to *Auguſtus*, intreating him to forgive her, and reinſtate her in his favour. But the emperor continued inflexible to the hour of his death, nay, he carried, in a manner, his reſentment beyond his grave; for by his laſt will he ordained, that ſhe ſhould not be depoſited after her death among the *Cæſars*, whom ſhe had ſo diſgraced during her life. As for *Tiberius*, *Auguſtus* obliged him to divorce her, notwithſtanding the tenderneſs and affection which, by the deepeſt diſſimulation, he ſtill pretended to retain for her [z].

Many illuſtrious Romans *baniſhed, and put to death, on her account.*

And now *Auguſtus*, to divert his mind from fixing on his domeſtic misfortunes, exhibited the moſt magnificent and expenſive ſhews that had ever been ſeen in *Rome*, c chariot-races in the *circus*, repreſentations on the ſtage, combats of gladiators, *&c.* were now become common. *Auguſtus* therefore, the better to divert both himſelf and the people, revived thoſe ſports which had been for a conſiderable time laid aſide, on account of the extraordinary charges that attended them. He cauſed a canal to be dug eighteen hundred paces in length and two hundred in breadth, conveying into it the *Flaminian* water, and building ſcaffolds quite round it capable of holding numberleſs multitudes of ſpectators. And indeed the concourſe of people was ſo great, that the emperor was obliged to place guards in all the quarters of the city, leſt the thieves ſhould lay hold of that opportunity to plunder the empty and abandoned houſes. *Auguſtus* had frequently entertained the people with fights of lions, tygers, d elephants, rhinoceros, *&c.* but now the new canal appeared all on a ſudden covered with crocodiles, of which thirty-ſix were killed by *Egyptians* brought from the banks of the *Nile* for that purpoſe. The multitude were highly delighted with this ſight, which was quite new; but the ſea fight which enſued afforded them ſtill greater diverſion. For at the oppoſite ends of the lake, or canal, two fleets appeared, the galleys of one being built after the *Greek*, and thoſe of the other after the *Perſian*, manner. Both fleets engaged; and as they fought in good earneſt, moſt of the combatants being perſons ſentenced to death, the battle proved very bloody [a].

Magnificent ſhews exhibited by Auguſtus.

In the midſt of theſe public ſports and diverſions, news was brought to *Auguſtus*, that the *Armenians*, entering into an alliance with the *Parthians*, had driven out *Ar-* e *tabazes*, whom he had appointed king of that country, and raiſed to the throne *Tigranes* in his room. Hereupon the emperor, dreading the conſequences of an alliance between thoſe two powers, was greatly at a loſs what meaſures he ſhould take to put a ſtop to the war, which threatened the eaſtern provinces. He could not manage it in perſon, being now ſtricken in years; *Tiberius* was retired to *Rhodes*, and the emperor determined not to recall or employ him; on the other hand, he was afraid to truſt any with the command of the army, except thoſe of his own family. In this perplexity, he at length reſolved to ſend into the eaſt his grandſon *Caius*, who was then entered into the nineteenth year of his age(I); but before his departure, to procure him

Diſturbances in Armenia.

Caius Cæſar *ſent into the eaſt.*

[z] Suet. Dio, ibid. [a] Suet. ibid. Ovid. de arte, l. i. Monument. Ancyran. apud Gruter. ibid

(I) While *Caius* was preparing for this expedition, *Ovid* wrote the firſt book of his *art of love*, as appears from the following lines:

Ecce parat Cæſar domito quod defuit orbi
Addere: nunc, Oriens ultime, noſter eris.
Parthe, dabis pœnas: Craſſi gaudete ſepulti,
Signaque barbaricas non bene paſſa manus.
Ultor adeſt, primiſque ducem profitetur ab annis;
Bellaque non puero tractat agenda puer.

And a few lines after;

Auſpiciis anniſque patris, puer, arma movebis,
Et vinces annis auſpiciiſque patris.
Tale rudimentum tanto ſub nomine debes;
Nunc juvenum princeps, deinde future ſenum (21)

Ovid was quite out in what he foretels of *Caius*, but ſets down the juſt year of his age; for *Auguſtus* was nineteen years old when he firſt put himſelf

(21) *Ovid. de arte, l.* i.

him the greater eſteem, he honoured him with the title of proconſul, and married a
him to *Lollia Paulina*, either the daughter or niece of *M. Lollius*, an officer of great
experience, who was his governor, and whom he now appointed to command under
him [b]. Before the young general ſet out, *Auguſtus*, who omitted nothing that might
contribute to the ſucceſs of this expedition, ſent *Dionyſius*, a geographer of great fame,
into the eaſt before him, with orders to take an exact ſurvey of the country, which
was likely to be the ſeat of war [c]. Whether this was the famous *Dionyſius*, whoſe
periegeſis in *Greek* verſe has reached us; or another *Dionyſius*, the ſon of *Diogenes*;
who publiſhed the dimenſions of the earth, as we read in *Marcianus Heracleota* [d], we
know not. This commiſſion of *Caius Cæſar* is variouſly mentioned by the ancients;
Tacitus writes, that he had *Armenia* for his province [e]; *Velleius Paterculus*, that he was b
ſent into *Syria* [f]; *Suetonius*, that he was appointed governor of the eaſt [g]; *Oroſius*,
that he was ſent by *Auguſtus* to ſettle the provinces of *Egypt* and *Syria* [h]; and *Pliny*
quotes a book wrote by king *Juba*, in which mention is made of *Caius*'s expedition
into *Arabia* [i]; but adds, that the young prince had only ſome thoughts of invade-
ing *Arabia* [k]. In the mean time, *Phraates*, king of *Parthia*, being informed of the
warlike preparations that were carrying on in different parts of the empire, and not
doubting, but they were deſigned againſt him, wrote a ſubmiſſive letter to *Auguſtus*;
but as he deferred, under various pretences, withdrawing his troops out of *Armenia*,
which *Auguſtus* in his anſwer required him to do without delay, *Caius*, taking his
Tiberius *waits upon him*. leave of *Auguſtus*, ſet out from *Rome*, and haſtened into *Armenia* [l]. In his paſſage c
he touched at *Chios* [m], or, as *Suetonius* will have it, at *Samos* [n]; which *Tiberius* no
ſooner underſtood, than he went to wait upon him, behaving himſelf on that occa-
ſion in a very ſubmiſſive manner, and ſhewing the utmoſt reſpect not only to the
young prince, but to all thoſe of his attendance. *Caius* received him with great cold-
neſs, his governor *M. Lollius*, who hated *Tiberius*, having filled the mind of his pupil
with prejudices againſt him [o]. Thus *Suetonius:* but *Velleius*, flattering *Tiberius*,
according to his cuſtom, tells us, that *Caius* received him with the greateſt marks of
eſteem, and treated him as his ſuperior [p]. Be that as it will, it is certain, that *Tibe-
rius*'s tribuneſhip, expiring about this time, he earneſtly ſolicited the emperor for leave
to return home, and received from him the anſwer, which we have related above; d
Tiberius *in diſgrace*. ſo that he was obliged much againſt his will to continue at *Rhodes*, which he no
longer looked upon as the place of his retreat, but as the place of his baniſhment.
However, his mother *Livia*, who had a great influence over the emperor, to cover
the ignominy of her ſon, got him, with much ado, declared *Auguſtus*'s lieutenant in
thoſe parts. But he, finding himſelf obnoxious to the ſovereign, and apprehending
himſelf in danger of his life, not only lived as a private citizen, but retiring into the
midſt of the iſland, concealed himſelf there to avoid the compliments of the *Roman*
officers and magiſtrates, who were ſent into the eaſt [q]. Nay, he wrote to *Auguſtus*,
deſiring him to ſend ſome perſon, in whom he could confide, with a charge to
watch him, and tranſmit to *Rome* a faithful account of all his words and actions [r]. e

But to return to *Caius Cæſar*; from *Samos* or *Chios* he haſtened into *Syria*, where
all the *Romans* forces in the eaſt, and thoſe of the allies of *Rome*, were aſſembled and
ready to march. *Suetonius* tells us, that he paſſed through *Judea*, but ſcorned to
worſhip at *Jeruſalem*, and adds, that his conduct therein was approved of, and much
commended, by *Auguſtus* [s]. Upon his arrival in *Syria*, he put himſelf at the head
of the army, and began his march towards the frontiers of *Parthia*. Upon his approach
Phrahates *ſends embaſſadors to* Caius. *Phraates*, diſtruſting his own ſubjects, who bore him an irreconcileable hatred, ſent
deputies to him to treat of a peace. The young general received the embaſſadors with
great politeneſs, and it was agreed, that *Caius* and *Phraates* would have an interview
in an iſland formed by the *Euphrates*. Thither they both repaired on the day f
appointed, each of them being attended with the like number of guards, while their

two

[b] Zonar. ex Dion. Suet. in Claud. c. 26. Plin. l. ix. c. 35. Solin. c. 53. [c] Plin. l. vi. c. 27. [d] Marcian. Heracleota. peripl. l. i. [e] Tacit. annal. l. ii. c. 48. [f] Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 101. [g] Suet. in Tiber. c. 12. [h] Oros. l. vii. c. 3. [i] Plin. l. vi. c. 27. in fin. [k] Idem ibid. c. 28. [l] Dio, legat. 38. in exerpt. ab Urſin. [m] Xiphil. & Zonar. ex Dion. [n] Suet. in Tib. c. 12. [o] Suet. ibid. [p] Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 101. [q] Suet. ibid. c. 12. [r] Idem ibid. [s] Suet. in Octav. c. 93.

ſelf at the head of his army, as is manifeſt from the *Ancyran* marble, containing a ſummary of the chief actions of his life; and *Caius* was entered into his nineteenth year when he began to prepare for his expedition againſt the *Parthians*; ſo that his father and he went commanders at the ſame age.

North

West

East

46 45 44 43 42 41 40

Allobroges
Maritime Alps
LIGUSTIC SEA
ADRIATIC SEA
TYRRHENIAN SEA
XI. REGION
X. REGION VENETIA
VIII. REGION
IX. REGION
VI. REGION PICENUM
VII. REGION ETRURIA
IV. REGION LATIVM FIRST REGION
II. REGION
III. REGION
ISTRIA
LIBURNIA
ILLYRICUM DALMATIA
CORSICA
Geneva
Rhodanus Flu.
Augusta Prætoria
Eporedia
Vercellæ
Augusta Taurinorum
Segusio
Vagiennum
Elvienorum
Dertona
Mediolanum
Benacus Lac.
Larius Lac.
Verbanus Lac.
Ollius Flu.
Mantua
Feltria
Tridentum
Aquileia
Tergeste
Patavium
Adria
Padus
Spina
Ravenna
Mutina
Arminum
Pisaurum
Ancona
Firmum
Pisorium
Florentia
Pistoia
Lucca
Arretium
Cortona
Perusia
Clusium
Narnia
Matrinus Flu.
Teate
Tibur
Roma
Ostia
Centum cellæ
Planasia
Ilua Insula
Igilium Insula
Garganus Mons
Hyrpini
Canusium
Barium
Dyrrachium
Pandataria
Tarentum
Salernum
Surrentum
Capreæ Island
Peucetia
Calabria
Brundisium
Sarsan
Salurus Flu.
Elea
Lucania
Buxentum
Heraclea
Hydruntum

North

ITALY as divided into REGIONS by C. AUGUSTUS

LIGUSTIC SEA

TYRRHENIAN SEA

ADRIATIC SEA

IONIC SEA

SEA of SICILY

Allobroges

Maritime Alps

CORSICA

part of SARDINIA

Æolie Islands

ISTRIA

LIBURNIA

ILLYRICUM

DALMATIA

LATIVM FIRST REGION

IV. REGION

VENETIA

VIII. REGION

IX. REGION

XI. REGION

X. REGION

VII. REGION ETRURIA

VI. REGION PICENUM

II. REGION Reucetia

III. REGION MAGNA GRÆCIA BRUTTIORUM

Lucania

Calabria

Apulia

Padus Flu.

Tiberis Flu.

Arnus Flu.

Rubicon Flu.

Ollius Flu.

Benacus Lac.

Lacus Larius

Lacus Verbanus

Lacus Sebinus

Aquileia

Tergeste

Ravenna

Spina

Arminum

Pisaurum

Ancona

Firmum

Florentia

Pisa

Luca

Mutina

Mantua

Adria

Verona

Vercellæ

Augusta Taurinorum

Augusta Prætoria

Segusio

Vasincum

Nicæa

Dertona

Roma

Ostia

Capua

Neapolis

Salernum

Surrentum

Capreæ Island

Pandataria

Ponza

Ischia

Prochyta

Æsernia

Bovianum

Sipontum

Garganus Mons

Brundisium

Tarentum

Hydruntum

Thurii

Metapontum

Heraclea

Sybaris

Croton

Locri

Rhegium

Scylla

Clampetia

Lamecia

Strongyle

Lipare

Ericusa

Vulcania

Panormus

Messana

Catana

Syracusæ

Melita

Gaudus

Corcyra Nigra

Epidamnus

Dyrrachium

Aulon

Brundusium

Tarentum

Hydruntum

Thurii

Metapontum

Heraclea

Sybaris

Croton

Locri

Rhegium

Scylla

Clampetia

Lamecia

Strongyle

Lipare

Ericusa

Vulcania

Panormus

Messana

Catana

Syracusæ

Melita

Gaudus

Corcyra Nigra

Epidamnus

Dyrrachium

Aulon

Brundusium

J. Barlow Sculp.

West

South

a two armies, drawn up in battalia, lined the oppoſite banks of the river. In the conference *Caius* only inſiſted upon the *Parthian*'s renouncing all pretenſions to *Armenia*, which he readily conſented to; ſo that a treaty was ſoon concluded, and tranquillity reſtored, when leaſt expected, to the eaſtern provinces. Matters being thus ſettled, the two chiefs feaſted each other; *Caius* entertained *Phraates* on the *Roman* ſide of the river, and *Phraates Caius* on the *Parthian* ſide. Thus *Velleius Paterculus*, who was preſent, as a ſpectator, at theſe entertainments, he being then a military tribune in *Caius*'s army [t]. The ſame writers tell us, that the *Parthian* king acquainted *Caius* in a private conference, that he was betrayed by his governor *M. Lollius*, who had taken large bribes of him, and had heaped up immenſe ſums by laying, without his b knowledge, heavy contributions on all the provinces of the eaſt. The ſame writer adds, that the king bid him beware of the treacherous deſigns and counſels of *Lollius*, at which the young prince being alarmed, forbid him his preſence. *Lollius* thus diſgraced, died a few days after; but whether of a natural or violent death, our author will not take upon him to determine [u]. *Pliny* and *Solinus* ſay, that he put an end to his life with poiſon; but none of the ancients impute his death to *Caius*, though he deſerved to be puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity, if the charge, brought againſt him by the *Parthian* king, was true. Upon his death *Publius Quirinius* was either appointed by *Auguſtus*, or choſen by the young prince himſelf, for his governor. He was a good commander, and had been rewarded by *Auguſtus* for his eminent ſervices c firſt with the conſulſhip, and aftewards with a triumph, or rather an ovation, for driving the *Homonades*, a people of *Cilicia*, out of their ſtrong-holds [w]. He proved a friend to *Tiberius*, and reconciled *Caius* to him, as we ſhall ſee anon. The treaty of peace between the *Romans* and *Parthians* was ſcarce concluded, when *Artabazes*, whom *Auguſtus* had placed on the throne of *Armenia*, died; and then *Tigranes*, who had been ſet up by the *Parthians*, ſent rich preſents to *Auguſtus*, accompanied with a ſubmiſſive letter, wherein, without ſtyling himſelf king, he begged the kingdom of him. The emperor, glad to put an end to the diſturbances of the eaſt, accepted his preſents, and ordered him to attend *Caius* in *Syria*; which he did accordingly, and received at his hands the crown of *Armenia* [x]. *Auguſtus*, to perpetuate the memory of d this expedition, and the glory of young *Caius*, who managed it with ſuch ſucceſs, cauſed ſeveral medals to be ſtruck, or pieces of money coined, ſome of which have reached us, with the figure of *Armenia* in a ſuppliant poſture, and the names of *Auguſtus* and *Caius Cæſar* on the reverſe.

A peace concluded.

M. Lollius accuſed of treachery.

Tigranes appointed king of Armenia.

And now, the temple of *Janus* being ſhut up (K), and all the provinces of the *Roman* empire, perhaps all the nations of the world, enjoying a profound tranquillity, *The prince of peace, the Lord of heaven*, and *Saviour of the world*, joined himſelf, after an ineffable manner, to human nature, and appeared on earth, being born of a virgin in the city of *Bethlehem*, whither *Joſeph* and *Mary* had repaired, to be there regiſtered purſuant to the decree of *Auguſtus*, as citizens of that place (L). But

The birth of Chriſt. *Year of the flood*, 1999. *Of* Rome 748.

[t] Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 101. [u] Idem ibid. c. 102. [w] Tacit. annal. l. iii. c. 48. [x] Dio, in excerpt. ab Ful. Urſin. Sext. Ruf. in breviario.

(K) From the time of *Romulus* to the reign of *Auguſtus* the temple of *Janus* had been but twice ſhut, *viz.* during *Numa*'s peaceable reign, and after the firſt *Punic* war (22). *Auguſtus* ſhut it up three times, *viz.* after he had vanquiſhed *Antony* and *Cleopatra*, four years after on his return from the war, which he had waged with the *Cantabrians* in *Spain*, and ſome years before the birth of our Saviour. *Horace*, who died ſeven years before, ſpeaks in his laſt ode of *Auguſtus*'s victory over the *Sicambri*, and obſerves, that the temple of *Janus* was then ſhut. *Oroſius* ſays, that after *Auguſtus* had ſhut it the third time, it continued ſo for the ſpace of twelve years (23). On the other hand, *F. Noris*, is of opinion, that it was opened on occaſion of *Caius Cæſar*'s expedition againſt the *Parthians*, whence he concludes, firſt againſt *Oroſius*, that it did not continue ſhut for twelve years, and ſecondly againſt moſt hiſtorians and chronologers, that our Saviour was born before the troubles in the eaſt broke out; for he was born, as all the fathers affirm, while the world was in peace; and, on the other hand, *Tacitus* aſſures us, that after *Auguſtus* had laid open the gates of *Janus* the third time, they were never ſhut again to the reign of *Veſpaſian* (24). But as no war was declared, and no hoſtilities committed either by the *Romans* or *Parthians*, we cannot perſuade ourſelves, that the temple of *Janus* was opened on occaſion of this expedition.

(L) *Auguſtus* having iſſued out a decree for taking ſuch a deſcription or ſurvey of the whole *Roman* empire as ſhould contain an account of all perſons, poſſeſſions, and eſtates therein, and the taxes iſſuable from them, it was this year executed in *Judæa* in the manner St. *Luke* deſcribes it. When it came to *Bethlehem*, *Joſeph* and *Mary* were called from *Nazareth* in *Galilee*, the place of their habitation, to that city, the city of *David*, to which, as being of the houſe and lineage of *David*, they originally belonged,

(22) *Liv. l.* i. *Plut. in Numa.* (23) *Oroſ. l.* vi. *c.* 22. *p.* 297. (24) *Vide P. Henric. Noris cenotaph. Piſan. C. & L. Cæſar. Venet.* 1681. *p.* 199. & 200.

But to dwell on the particular circumſtances of this or the other myſteries of the *Chriſtian* religion, would be deviating from the deſign of the preſent work, and intrenching on the province of the eccleſiaſtic writers. To their hiſtories therefore we refer the learned reader for a full account of what we ſhall only hint at in ours. a

The death of king Herod, *and diviſion of his kingdom.*

The follow:ng year, *Caſſius Cornelius Lentulus* and *L. Calpurnius Piſo* were raiſed to the conſulate, and ſucceeded the year after in that dignity by *Caius Cæſar*, tho' then abſent in *Syria* (M), and *L. Æmilius Paulus*. During their adminiſtration nothing remarkable happened in *Italy*, or in the countries ſubject to, or depending upon, *Rome*, except the death of king *Herod*, which was no leſs miſerable than his life had been deteſtable, and the diviſion of his kingdom made by *Auguſtus*, who gave one half of it to *Archelaus*, and divided the other half between his two brothers, *Antipas* and *Philip*, as we have related at length in our hiſtory of the *Jews* [y]. During the conſulſhip of *Caius*, *Auguſtus* ended his great climacterical year, that is, the ſixty-third of his age, on which occaſion he wrote the following letter to his grandſon in *Syria*: *Hail, my dear* Caius, *my chief delight: your preſence is the conſtant object of my moſt ardent wiſhes: I cannot, my dear child, bear to be from you: when ſhall I have the pleaſure of ſeeing my beloved* Caius *again, and tenderly embracing him? Your preſence would have doubled the mirth of this day, my ſixty-fourth birth-day, which I hope you have ſolemnly kept in good health: for I have ended, you ſee, my ſixty-third year, the common climacteric of old men. May the gods render the remaining part of my life uſeful and ſerviceable to the republic: may they continue to ſhower their bleſſings upon you, till they ſhall think fit to remove me, and place you in my room* [z]. b c

Tiberius *allowed to return to* Rome.

The following year, *P. Alphinus Varus* and *P. Vinucius* being conſuls, *Tiberius* was at length allowed to return to *Rome*; *Caius*, to whom *Auguſtus* had referred the matter, to deliver himſelf from the importunities of *Livia*, conſenting to it at the earneſt intreaties of his new governor *Quirinius*; but upon that condition that he ſhould bear no office in the commonwealth [a]. We are told, that when the ſhip, which brought him the news of his being allowed to return to *Rome*, firſt appeared, he was walking by the ſea-ſide with one *Thraſyllus*, a famous aſtrologer, who aſſured him, though the ſhip was at a great diſtance, that it brought him joyful tidings. The ſudden appearing of the ſhip ſaved *Thraſyllus*'s life; for *Tiberius* had at that very time determined with himſelf to throw him headlong into the ſea, as one who was privy to all his ſecrets, and whom he now began to miſtruſt, after he had for ſome years entertained him as his boſom friend. He put off the execution of his deſign till the arrival of the ſhip, when finding the prediction of the aſtrologer fulfilled, he tenderly embraced him, and ever after had him in great eſteem, though he pretended himſelf to a great knowledge in judicial aſtrology [b]. Upon his return to *Rome* he withdrew to *Mecænas*'s gardens, and there led a retired life, doing good offices to ſome of his friends, but not meddling with public affairs [c]. But he was ſoon delivered from the objects of his envy and jealouſy; for *Lucius Cæſar*, who was but a youth of tender abilities, died this year at *Marſeilles* on his journey to *Spain*, whither he d

The death of Lucius Cæſar. e

[y] Vide Hiſt. Univerſ. Vol. IV. p. 183 & 190. [a] Aul. Gell. Noct. Attic. l. xv. c. 7. [a] Suet. in Tib. c. 13. [b] Idem ibid. c. 14. Xiphilin. ex Dion. [c] Idem Ibid. c. 15.

belonged, that there, as citizens of that place, their circumſtances, and eſtate, or trade, might be deſcribed and regiſtered among thoſe who were of the ſame houſe and family. Whenever a cenſus was made at *Rome*, the cenſors regiſtered all the *Roman* citizens, their wives and children, their age, qualities, trades, offices, and eſtates both real and perſonal: *Cenſoris officium erat*, ſays *Florus* (25), *omnia patrimonia, dignitatis, ætatis, artium, officiorum, diſcrimina in tabulas referre*; and *Cicero* (26) *Cenſores populi ævitates, ſoboles, familias, pecuniaſque cenſento. Auguſtus* was the firſt who extended this cenſus to the provinces, where thoſe, who were charged with it, purſued, without all doubt, the ſame method as the cenſors did at *Rome*. 'Tis true, none of the ancient hiſtorians mention this general cenſus extending to all the provinces, and kingdoms ſubject to, or depending upon, *Rome*; but *Tacitus* (27), *Suetonius* (28), and *Dion Caſſius* (29), tells us, that *Auguſtus* left behind him a book containing an exact account or ſurvey of all the provinces of the *Roman* empire, and their revenues, taxes, and tributes, which, it is manifeſt, he could not have done without a previous and general cenſus. Beſides, St. *Juſtin* (30) and *Tertullian* (31) frequently refer the *Gentiles* to the regiſters which were made on occaſion of this cenſus, and were ſtill extant in their time.

(M) That *Caius* was abſent from *Rome* when he was raiſed to the conſulate, and that he diſcharged the office of conſul in the eaſt, is unanimouſly atteſted by all the ancients. It is therefore ſurpriſing, *Joſephus* ſhould tell us, that *Auguſtus* referred the diſpute, which upon the death of *Herod* aroſe between *Archelaus* and *Antipas* about the ſucceſſion, to a council, at which *Caius Cæſar*, the ſon of *Agrippa* and *Julia*, preſided, he being at that time in *Rome*.

(25) *Flor. l.* i. *c.* 6. (26) *Cic. de legibus, l.* iii. (27) *Tacit. annal. l.* i. *c.* 11. (28) *Suet. in Octav. c.* 101. (29) *Dio, l.* lvi. *p.* 591. (30) *Juſtin. apolog.* (31) *Tertullian. in Marc. l.* iv.

a he had been ſent by his grandfather, who had no other view therein than to bring him into favour with the ſoldiery, and accuſtom him to a military life and a foreign climate [d]. Some writers ſuſpect *Livia*, as if ſhe had found means to take him off by poiſon; for his death was ſo ſudden, that it ſurpriſed his attendants, and the art of poiſoning was at that time brought to great perfection, and become very common in *Rome*. His body was brought by ſea from *Marſeilles* to one of the ports of *Italy*, and from thence carried to the capital on the ſhoulders of the military tribunes, and the decurions of the colonies and municipal towns. At *Rome* it lay in ſtate for ſeveral days in the forum, being watched and guarded by the *Roman* knights, who had preſented the deceaſed youth with a ſilver ſpear when he took the *toga virilis*. The b ſpear was hung up in the ſenate-houſe, and the body burnt with great ſolemnity, probably in the *campus Martius*. The aſhes, we ſuppoſe, were depoſited in *Auguſtus*'s own mauſoleum, the burying-place of the *Cæſars*. The emperor was ſenſibly affected, as we may well imagine, with the loſs of a youth whom he ſo tenderly loved, and ſaw thus ſnatched away in the ſpring of his life; and *Tiberius*, by affecting an extraordinary concern for the death of his ſon-in-law, wrought ſuch a change in the mind of *Auguſtus*, *Livia*, no doubt, contributing to it with her uſual art and dexterity, that he would have adopted him, if *Velleius* is to be credited, had he not abſolutely declined that honour, through fear of giving umbrage to *Caius* [e] (N).

Tiberius *returns into favour with* Auguſtus.

In the following conſulate of *L. Ælius Lama* and *M. Servilius*, the famous temple of the mother of the gods at *Rome* was reduced to aſhes; but the flames, which did c not reſpect the ſtatue of the goddeſs, ſpared that of the veſtal *Claudia*, who, in former times being accuſed of inceſt, is ſaid to have given a glaring and miraculous proof of her innocence, by drawing aſhore with her girdle the ſhip which brought the mother of the gods to *Rome*, and had run a-ground off *Oſtia* [f]. This pretended miracle is much talked of by the *Roman* writers, and elegantly deſcribed by *Ovid* and *Silius Italicus* [g]. In the conſulate of *Sextus Ælius Catus* and *C. Sentius Saturninus* (O), *Numidia*, formerly ſubdued and reduced to a *Roman* province by *Julius Cæſar*, rebelled, but was ſoon brought again under ſubjection by *Paſſienus* and *Coſſus*, whom *Auguſtus* honoured on their return to the capital with triumphal enſigns, that is, he allowed d them all the privileges and honours which were peculiar to triumphant victors [h], the cuſtom of triumphing being now laid aſide. But the troubles which this year broke out anew in *Armenia*, were not ſo eaſily quelled: the *Parthians*, notwithſtanding the treaty concluded a few years before between them and the *Romans*, invaded that kingdom with a numerous army. Hereupon *Caius*, who was ſtill in *Syria*, having with great expedition drawn together his forces, marched againſt the enemy, and penetrating into the heart of *Armenia* without oppoſition, appeared before *Artagera*. Upon his arrival, one *Addo*, whom ſome call *Domnes*, the governor of the place, ſent deputies to him, inviting him to a private interview, under pretence that he had ſomething to communicate to him of the utmoſt importance. *Caius*, not ſuſpecting c any treachery, complied with his invitation; but *Addo*, or, as *Strabo* calls him, *Ador*, having inſenſibly drawn the unwary youth during the conference cloſe to the wall, wounded him, and retired that inſtant into the city; which the *Romans*, provoked at the treachery of the barbarian, immediately aſſaulted on all ſides, took by ſtorm,

Numidia *rebels, but is ſoon reduced.*

The Parthians *invade* Armenia.

Caius Cæſar *wounded.*

[d] Flor. l. iv, c. ult. Vell. Paterc. l. ii. c. 102, Tacit. annal. l. i. c. 3. Suet. in Octav. c. 65. Zonar. ex Dion. [e] Vell. Paterc. l. ii. c. 103. [f] Val. Max. l. i. c. 6. Liv. l. xxxix, &c. [g] Ovid. faſt, l. iv. Sil. Ital. xvi. [h] Vell. Paterc. l. ii. c. 104.

(N) *Alphenus Varus* was of a mean deſcent, but raiſed himſelf by his own merit to the firſt office in the ſtate. *Horace* mentions him in the third ſatyr of his firſt book:

Ut Alphenus vafer omni,
Abjecto inſtrumento artis, clauſaque taberna,
Sutor erat.

Upon which paſſage *Acron* comments thus: *Alphenus* was a native of *Cremona*, by profeſſion a ſhoemaker; but abandoning his trade, applied himſelf to the ſtudy of the *Roman* law, under the famous civilian *Servius Sulpicius*. The great progreſs he made in the *Roman* juriſprudence gained him ſuch reputation, that he was judged worthy of the greateſt honours of the ſtate. When he died, he was buried at the public expence, a diſtinction granted to few and thoſe perſons of the higheſt merit.

(O) When *Agrippa* was recalled from the eaſt, *Sentius Saturninus* and *Titus Volumnius* were appointed to ſucceed him in the government of *Syria* and *Phœnice*. Some writers think, that *Saturninus* was governor or preſident of the province, and that *Volumnius* was only his lieutenant, or rather *Auguſtus*'s procurator under him; but *Joſephus* ſpeaks of him as in joint commiſſion with *Saturninus* (32).

(32) *Joſeph. antiq. l.* xvi. *c.* 12. 13.

ſtorm, and diſmantled, after having put the traitor, and with him the whole garriſon, to the ſword [i] (P). The wound did not prove mortal; but nevertheleſs weakened the body, and ſunk the ſpirits of *Caius* to ſuch a degree, that after he had driven the *Parthians* out of *Armenia*, and placed *Ariobarzanes*, by birth a *Mede*, on the throne, he gave himſelf up to an idle and indolent life, leaving the whole management of affairs to his officers and lieutenants. Hereupon *Auguſtus*, who had a great deſire to ſee his favourite grandſon, recalled him to *Rome*; but he, taken with the delights of that ſoft climate, and having many flatterers about him, who made it their conſtant ſtudy to feed his vicious inclinations with new pleaſures, begged leave to continue in *Syria*, declaring, that he had rather live in the moſt remote and inhoſpitable corner of the earth, than return to *Rome*. This unexpected propoſal ſtung *Auguſtus* to the heart, who, in his anſwer to him, inſiſted on his returning to *Italy*, aſſuring him, that he ſhould there be allowed to do what he pleaſed. *Caius* therefore, with the utmoſt reluctance, left *Syria*, and ſailing for *Lycia*, arrived at *Limyra*, a city of that country, where he died ſoon after in the twenty-fourth year of his age [k] (Q).

His death.

Thus was *Auguſtus*, in the ſpace of eighteen months, deprived of both his grandſons, whom he had adopted, and brought up to ſucceed him in the ſovereign power. His death, as well as that of *Lucius*, is by ſome imputed to the ſecret arts of *Livia*, who left no ſtone unturned to advance her ſon *Tiberius* to the empire. The grief of *Auguſtus* for the death of one, whom he loved with all the tenderneſs of a fond father, was great beyond expreſſion. *Livia* and *Tiberius* endeavoured to comfort him; and on this occaſion it was that the artful *Livia*, who had gained an abſolute ſway over her huſband, prevailed upon him to adopt her ſon *Tiberius*. However, he adopted at the ſame time *Agrippa Poſthumus*, the third ſon of *Agrippa* and *Julia*, whom he had hitherto quite neglected, as being a youth of no parts, and of an untractable temper. He likewiſe obliged *Tiberius* to adopt *Germanicus*, the ſon of his brother *Druſus*, tho' he had a ſon of his own; ſo that the joy of *Tiberius* in ſeeing himſelf at length adopted into the family and name of the *Cæſars*, was not a little allayed by this mortifying and unexpected preference. His nephew *Germanicus* was now become the emperor's grandſon, while his own ſon *Druſus* was denied that honour [l]. Theſe three different adoptions happened on the ſame day, *viz.* on the fifth of the calends of *July*; and it is remarkable, that *Auguſtus*, in adopting *Tiberius*, ſolemnly ſwore before the people, that *he adopted him for the good of the commonwealth* [m]. At the ſame time he conferred on him the tribunitial power, for five years according to ſome writers [n], but according to others for ten [o]. Thus, by the addreſs of *Livia*, were all honours heaped upon her ſon, now ſole candidate, we may ſay, for the ſucceſſion.

Tiberius *adopted by* Auguſtus, *and* Germanicus *by* Tiberius.

The conſpiracy of Cinna.

While *Auguſtus* was thus ſtrengthening himſelf by the adoption of *Tiberius* and *Agrippa*, a dangerous conſpiracy was diſcovered, at the head of which was *Cornelius Cinna*, grandſon to *Pompey* by his daughter *Pompeia*. As ſeveral perſons of the higheſt rank were engaged in the plot, *Auguſtus* was greatly at a loſs what meaſures to

[i] Vell. Paterc. lii. c. 102. Strabo, l. xi. p. 529. Zonar. ex Dion. ibid. [l] Idem ibid. [m] Idem ibid. & c. 104. Suet. in Tiber. c. 21. [n] Suet. ibid. c. 16. [o] Dio, l. lv. p. 556. [k] Vell. Paterc.

(P) *Florus* relates this event in the following manner: *Domitius*, on whom the king of *Parthia* had conferred the government of *Artaxata*, pretending a revolt, came out to meet *Caius*, and delivered into his hands a writing, which, he ſaid, contained an account of all the king's treaſures; but while he was peruſing it with great attention, the traitor, drawing a poniard concealed under his garment, ſtabbed him (33), *Sextus Rufus* follows *Florus*, and, by an unpardonable miſtake, adds. that *the* Parthians. *by way of ſatisfaction for ſo bold and treacherous an attempt, did then firſt give hoſtages to* Octavianus Cæſar, *and reſtored the enſigns which had been taken from* Craſſus (34).

(Q) *Tacitus* ſays he died of his wound as he was returning from *Armenia* (35), and *Sextus Rufus*, that he returned into *Syria*, and died there; but *Suetonius*, *Dion Caſſius*, and *Velleius Paterculus*, who ſerved under *Caius*, aſſure us, that he died at *Limyra* in *Lycia* on his return to *Rome*, *Auguſtus* was extremely grieved at his death, and complained of *Aſinius Pollio*, one of his chief favourites, for inviting his friends to an entertainment while his grief was yet freſh. *Pollio* anſwered, *I ſupped after the ſame manner when I loſt my ſon* Arterius, *and can any one require more grief of a friend than of a father* (36)? The body of *Caius* was conveyed to *Rome*, and buried there with great pomp. *Bellonius* tells us, that he ſaw the tomb and epitaph of *C. Cæſar* at *Hama* or *Emeſa* in *Syria* (37); but that his bones were buried at *Rome* is manifeſt from the following epitaph. which is ſtill to be ſeen in the *church of the apoſtles* behind the the temple of *Minerva: Oſſa C. Cæſaris Auguſti F. Principis Juventutis* (38).

(33) *Flor. l.* iv. *c. ult.* (34) *Sext. Ruf. in breviar.* (35) *Tacit. annal. l.* i. *c.* 3. (36) *Senec. in præm. l.* iv. *de controver.* (37) *Bellon. obſervat. l.* ii. (38) *Vide Gruter. inſcript.* 235.

a to take in ſo nice an affair. If he uſed rigor, he was afraid their friends and relations, who were very powerful, might raiſe dangerous diſturbances to revenge their death; if he pardoned them, he apprehended this might encourage others to the like attempts. In this perplexity he paſſed ſeveral nights without being able to take the leaſt reſt, or come to any reſolution. At length *Livia*, by her refined artifices, drew from him the true cauſe of his diſquiet and uneaſineſs. *Dion Caſſius* relates a conference between her and the emperor, which ſeems rather to have been framed by him than real [o]. However that be, it is certain, that ſhe, by many ingenious and politic arguments, convinced him, that it was ſafer in ſo critical a juncture to uſe clemency than rigor. Purſuant to her advice, *Auguſtus* ſent for *Cinna*, and taking
b him into his cloſet, charged him with the conſpiracy, named to him all his accomplices, and ſhewed himſelf thoroughly informed of the place, time, and other circumſtances, which the conſpirators had agreed on in their laſt meeting. *Cinna* was thunderſtruck, as we may well imagine, when he ſaw his treaſon thus diſcovered, and himſelf in the power of the perſon whom he ſought to deſtroy, without any poſſible means of eſcaping the puniſhment due to his crime. His ſurpriſe was ſtill greater, when *Auguſtus*, inſtead of treating him as a traitor, only upbraided him in a gentle manner with ingratitude, putting him in mind of the many favours he had beſtowed upon him, and adding, that he was reſolved to get the better of his obſtinacy; and therefore not only freely forgave him, but, for his ſake, all thoſe he had ſeduced into the ſame
c wicked deſigns; *and to ſhew you*, ſaid he, *that I am ſincerely reconciled to you, I now name you conſul for the enſuing year.* This generous behaviour made ſuch a deep impreſſion upon the mind of *Cinna*, that he continued, from that time to the hour of his death, inviolably attached to the intereſt of *Auguſtus* and his family [p]. It was about this time, and perhaps on this occaſion, that the people offered him the title of *Dominus*, that is, *Lord* or *Maſter*, which he not only refuſed, but publiſhed an edict, forbidding any one to addreſs him under that name; a name peculiar to maſters with reſpect to their ſlaves, and therefore no leſs injurious to him than the *Roman* people [q]. Towards the end of this year, the people earneſtly intreated him to recal his daughter *Julia*; but he anſwered, *That fire and water ſhould ſooner meet than they two*;
d and when the people were very preſſing with him, he could not refrain his anger, but, in a violent paſſion, wiſhed *they might have ſuch wives and ſuch daughters.* However, they prevailed upon him at length to change the place of her confinement, and to remove her from the iſland to the continent; but he would not by any means ſuffer her to return to *Rome* [r].

He is pardoned by Auguſtus

Julia *removed to the continent.*

In the beginning of the enſuing year, when *Cn. Cornelius Cinna*, who had conſpired againſt *Auguſtus*, and *L. Valerius Meſſala* were conſuls, *Tiberius* was ſent into *Germany*, to complete the conqueſt of that country, and keep in awe the ſeveral nations which had been ſome years before ſubdued by him and his brother *Druſus*. *C. Sentius Saturninus*, the laſt year's conſul, an officer of known valour and great experience, was
e appointed by *Auguſtus* to command under him, as one who was well acquainted with the country, he having been formerly *Auguſtus*'s lieutenant in thoſe parts. *Vellerus Paterculus* the hiſtorian attended *Tiberius* in this expedition, and ſerved under him in quality of *præfectus equitum*, or commander of horſe; which poſt had been held by his father, and at his death was conferred upon him. He tells us, that *Tiberius*, entering *Germany*, over-ran the country of the *Caninefates*, now the province of *Utrecht*; that from thence he advanced againſt the *Attuati* and *Bructeri*, that is, the people of the territory of *Munſter*, whom he eaſily reduced; that the *Cheruſci*, the inhabitants of the preſent duchies of *Brunſwic* and *Lunebourg*, ſubmitted at his approach; that he made himſelf maſter of all the countries lying on the *Viſurgis* and the *Lupias*, now the *Weſer* and the *Lyppe*; and that putting his troops into winter-
f quarters on the banks of the *Lupias*, he returned to *Rome* towards the end of *December*, where he was received with loud acclamations by all ranks of men [s].

The exploits of Tiberius *in* Germany.

In this and the following year, *Rome* was afflicted with a dreadful famine, inſomuch, that all foreigners, gladiators, *athletæ* or wreſtlers, and ſlaves, except phyſicians and ſchoolmaſters, were driven out of the city, and ordered to keep at eighty miles diſtance from the capital, *Auguſtus* himſelf ſending away the greater part of his own ſlaves and attendants. On this occaſion he doubled his uſual largeſſes, ordering a certain quantity of corn to be weekly diſtributed among the indigent citizens, and provi-

A famine in Rome.

[o] Idem ibid. p. 557. [p] Idem ibid. Senec. de clemen. l. i. c. 9. p. 318, 319. [q] Suet in Octav. c. 53. Xiphil. l. lv. [r] Suet. & Dio, ibid. [s] Vell. Patrec. l. ii. c. 104, 105, 106.

provisions to be brought from *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and the neighbouring countries at the a
public expence, and sold at a low rate. This still more gained him the affections of
the people, who were therefore for decreeing him new honours, which he absolutely
refused; but the glory which accrued to him from a solemn embassy sent this year
to *Rome* in the name of the *Parthian* nation, is greatly celebrated by all the writers
of those times; for the *Parthians*, quite tired with the troubles that were daily raised
Augustus *appoints* Vonones *king of* Parthia. in their country by pretenders to the crown, had at length recourse to *Augustus*,
begging him to give them a king. The emperor, highly pleased with this embassy,
named *Vonones*, one of the sons of *Phrahates*, who had been sent to *Rome*, as we have
observed above, commending him both to the *Parthian* embassadors and the *Roman*
governors in the east. The *Parthian* nobility received him with great joy, and b
placed him on the throne; which *Augustus* was no less proud of, than if he had sub-
dued that warlike nation [t]. The next year, *M. Æmilius Lepidus* and *L. Aruntius*,
being consuls, *Tiberius*, returning into *Germany*, pursued his conquests there with
surprising rapidity, if *Velleius* his historian, or rather panegyrist, is to be credited.
Tiberius *over-runs great part of* Germany. He first subdued the *Chauci* (R), the most flourishing and numerous nation of *Ger-
many*, and then the *Langobardi* or *Lombardi*, who surpassed in fierceness all the
inhabitants of that vast continent. He over-ran and brought under subjection all the
countries between the *Rhine* and the *Albis* or the *Elbe*, while his fleet struck terror
into the warlike and barbarous nations bordering on the ocean. In short, the *Roman*
ensigns and eagles were revered and adored by numberless nations, who, till the arri-
val of the invincible *Tiberius*, had never heard of the *Roman* name. Such is the
account which *Velleius* gives us of the victories and exploits of *Tiberius* [u]. But another
writer, unbiassed by any affection or prejudice, tells us, that *Tiberius* indeed over-
ran all the countries between the *Albis* and the *Visurgis*; but performed nothing
which he thinks worth mentioning, tho' both *Tiberius* and *Augustus* were honoured
with the title of *Imperator* on account of the pretended success of this campaign, and
Sentius Saturninus with the ensigns of triumph [w]. While *Tiberius* was carrying on the
The Getuli *revolt, and are subdued.* war in *Germany*, *Cornelius Cossus* was employed in *Mauritania* against the *Getuli*, who,
revolting from king *Juba*, massacred all the *Romans* settled in his country, and com-
mitted most dreadful ravages in the provinces subject to that prince. But *Cossus* d
marching against them, overthrew the rebels with great slaughter, and obliged them
to submit upon what terms he thought fit to impose upon them; for which he like-
wise was honoured with the privileges peculiar to those who had triumphed. This
Agrippa Posthumius *disgraced, and banished.* year *Agrippa Posthumius*, having incurred the displeasure of his grandfather *Augustus*,
was by him banished to the island of *Planasia*, now *Pianosa*, in the *Mediterranean* sea.
Some writers tell us, that *Augustus* conceived an irreconcileable hatred to him on e
account of his irregular and scandalous life, which he thought a disgrace to his family;
whence, when mention was made of him, or the two *Julias*, he used to say with a
profound sigh, *O, had I lived without a wife, or died without children!* nor did he
commonly call them by any other name than his *three imposthumes*. But *Tacitus*
ascribes the disgrace of young *Agrippa* not to any vices of his own, but to the arts
and ambitious views of *Livia*, who was glad to remove the only person who
stood in her son's way to the absolute power. As *Augustus* was now very old,
says that writer, *Livia* had obtained such an ascendant over him, that, to please her,
he banished into the island of *Planasia* his only surviving grandson *Agrippa Posthu-
mius*, one indeed destitute of extraordinary talents, in his temper untractable, and f
stupidly conceited of his own strength, but guilty of no misdemeanour or trans-
gression [x].

The next year, when *A. Licinius Nerva* and *Q. Cæcilius Metellus* were consuls, *Rome* had three mighty wars to maintain, *viz.* one in *Germany*, another in *Pannonia*, and the third in *Dalmatia*. In *Germany*, *Maroboduus* king of the *Marcomanni* (S), a

prince

[t] Strabo, l. xvi. p. 748. Tacit. annal. l. ii. c. 2. Joseph. p. 620. [u] Vell. Patercul. ibid. [w] Dio, l. lv. p. 557. [x] Tacit. annal. l. i. c. 1.

(R) the *Chauci* inhabited east *Friesland*, the counties of *Oldenburg* and *Hoya*, and part of the archbishopric of *Breme*: The *Longobardi* or *Langobardi* that part of the marquisate of *Brandenburg* which is now called *Middlemarck*, and lies between the *Elb* and the *Oder*: The *Semnones* part of *Holsatia* and *Silesia*: And the *Hermunduri* part of *Viotland*, of *Misnia*, of *Upper Saxony*, and of the langravedom of *Thuringen*.

(S) The *Marcomanni* inhabited first that country which lies between the *Rhine*, the *Danube*, the *Vochera*, and the *Necker*. From thence they passed with the *Harudes* and *Seduſii* into *Boiohæmia*, now *Bohe*

a prince of extraordinary ſtrength, which was a great merit among the *Germans*, of uncommon addreſs, and great perſonal courage and experience in military affairs, having raiſed a formidable army, conſiſting of ſeventy thouſand foot and four thouſand horſe, threatened the countries lately ſubdued by *Tiberius*, nay, *Italy* itſelf, with an invaſion. Againſt him was ſent *Tiberius*, who arriving in *Illyricum*, divided the numerous forces he had under his command into two bodies. The one he put under the conduct of *C. Sentius Saturninus*, who, purſuant to *Tiberius*'s order, taking his rout through the territories of the *Catti*, and opening himſelf a paſſage through the *Hercynian* foreſt (T), brought his legions to the confines of the *Marcomanni*, called by the ancients *Boiohæmi*. As for *Tiberius* himſelf, he ſeemed to be in no great haſte to enter the liſts with the king of the *Marcomanni*; for, under various pretences, b he put off his march, and continued in *Illyricum*, as if he were afraid of the enemy, or deſigned to ſpin out the war. *Auguſtus* was old, and *Tiberius* well knew how much it would be for his intereſt to have at his death an army under his command ready to ſecond his ambitious views. Be that as it will, he paſſed great part of the ſummer in a ſtate of inaction, at the head of a numerous and well diſciplined army. In the mean time, *M. Valerius Meſſalinus*, having, by *Auguſtus*'s orders, led the troops he commanded in *Dalmatia* and *Pannonia* into *Illyricum*, to reinforce *Tiberius*'s army there, the inhabitants of thoſe two countries, being now awed by no *Roman* gariſons, conſpired to ſhake off the yoke, and recover their ancient liberties, under c the conduct of the two chiefs of the ſame name. The two *Batos*, for ſo they were called, raiſed each in his own country a hundred thouſand foot and nine thouſand horſe, ſlew all the *Romans* who had ſettled in *Pannonia* or *Dalmatia*, over-ran the neighbouring countries ſubject to the *Romans*, and penetrating into *Macedon*, committed there moſt dreadful ravages. The two chiefs had agreed to act jointly or ſeparately, as occaſion ſhould require, and not to lay down their arms till they had delivered their reſpective countries, and all *Germany*, from the *Roman* bondage. This general and unexpected inſurrection filled *Rome* with terror and confuſion. The emperor, having aſſembled the ſenate, inſtead of leſſening, magnified the danger, telling the conſcript fathers, that unleſs a new army was raiſed with all poſſible expedition, they might in ten d days ſee the enemy at the gates of *Rome*. Levies were therefore made without delay, the veterans were ordered to return to their colours, and not only freed-men, but great numbers of ſlaves, were admitted into the legions. By this means a numerous army was raiſed, and the command of it given to *Germanicus*, the ſon of *Druſus* and nephew of *Tiberius*, a youth of extraordinary accompliſhments. As for *Auguſtus*, he left the capital, and went to reſide at *Ariminum*, whence he could with more eaſe and quickneſs ſend his orders to the two generals, and aſſiſt them with his advice in the carrying on of a war, which he looked upon as the moſt dangerous one he had yet been engaged in, the enemy's troops being very numerous, well diſciplined, and at no great diſtance from *Italy*, which, if any misfortune ſhould happen either to *Tiberius* or *Germanicus*, they would not fail to invade, and might over-run before a new e army could be raiſed y. *Tiberius* no ſooner heard that *Germanicus* was appointed to command againſt the revolted *Pannonians* and *Dalmatians*, than he turned his arms againſt them, hoping he ſhould be able to reduce them before the arrival of *Germanicus*, whom he now looked upon as his rival, and therefore would have willingly deprived of the glory, which might accrue to him from that expedition. With this view, quitting *Illyricum*, he incamped in the country which parted *Pannonia* from the

Tiberius *ſent againſt* Maroboduus *king of the* Marcomanni.

The Pannonians *and* Dalmatians *revolt.*

Germanicus *appointed to make head againſt them.*

Tiberius *leads his army againſt them.*

y Dio, l. lv. p. 569, & ſeq.

Bohemia, and driven out the *Boii*, ſettled there. *Velleius Paterculus* gives us an account of their migration under the conduct of *Maroboduus* (39). They made themſelves afterwards maſters likewiſe of *Moravia*. They were in proceſs of time driven out of *Bohemia* by the *Sclavonians*, whoſe deſcendants hold that kingdom to this day.

(T) *Julius Cæſar* ſpeaks in his commentaries of this foreſt thus: *It is nine days journey over; we cannot otherwiſe deſcribe it, becauſe the* Germans *have no fixed meaſures of diſtances. It begins on the confines of the* Helvetii, Nemetes, *and* Rauraci, (that is, of *Switzerland, Baſil*, and *Spires*) *and extends along the* Danube *to the borders of the* Daci *and* Arnates (that is, to *Tranſilvania*); *then turning from the river to the left, it runs through an infinite number of countries. None could ever yet come to the end of it, or know its utmoſt extent, tho' ſome have gone ſixty day journey in it* (40). *Mela* gives this foreſt an immenſe length; for, according to him, it extended from the *Rhine* to the country of the ancient *Sarmatæ*, which is at preſent a conſiderable part of *Muſcovy*. In proceſs of time the *Hercynian* foreſt was grubbed up, and inhabited by different nations. The *Black foreſt* and the foreſt of *Bohemia*, were formerly parts of the *Hercynian*.

(39) *Vell. Paterc. l.* ii. *c.* 108.

(40) *Cæſar. comment. l.* vi. *c.* 25.

the kingdom of *Maroboduus*, to prevent the conjunction of the *Pannonians* and the *Marcomanni*. But in the mean time *Bato* the *Pannonian* laid siege to *Sirmium* (U); and tho' defeated by *Cæcina Severus*, governor of *Mæsia*, had again recruited his army, and obliged *Cæcina* to quit the field. On the other hand, *Bato* the *Dalmatian* laid siege to *Salona* (W), and tho' wounded in the attack of the place, yet marched at the head of his troops to meet *Messalinus*, whom *Tiberius* had detached against him, gave him battle, and put him to the rout. The *Roman* general being obliged in his retreat to pass through certain defiles, was there unexpectedly shut up, and surrounded on all sides by the enemy. However, he found means to make his escape without losing a man, which *Paterculus* magnifies as an exploit worthy of a triumph; but *Dion Cassius* assures us, that *Tiberius* ascribed it wholly to *Bato*'s generosity, and that he afterwards acknowledged it as a favour, and rewarded him for it. However that be, the two *Batos* soon after united their forces, and incamping on mount *Almus* in the neighbourhood of *Sirmium*, kept that place blocked up, and laid the country to a great distance under contribution. *Tiberius* detached *Rhymetalces*, a petty king of *Thrace*, against them, who gained indeed some advantages over them, but was not able, tho' joined by *A. Cæcina* governor of *Mæsia*, at the head of a considerable body of *Roman* troops, to dislodge them [z]. At length *Tiberius*, who had hitherto acted only by his lieutenants, marched against them in person; but the enemy, not thinking it advisable to engage him, upon the news of his approach, abandoned their post, and dividing their numerous forces into several small bodies, retired by different ways into *Macedon*, committing dreadful ravages in all the countries through which they passed. As winter drew near, *Tiberius* did not pursue them; but *Rhymetalces* and his brother *Rascipolis*, at the head of the *Thracian* auxiliaries, followed them close, and coming up with them on the confines of *Macedon*, gave them a great overthrow, and cut many thousand of them in pieces [a]. These are the exploits of *Tiberius* in this campaign, which *Velleius* magnifies and extols more with the partiality of a panegyrist, than the sincerity of an historian [b]. As for *Germanicus*, he did not, it seems, enter *Dalmatia* this year.

The transactions of this campaign.

UPON the approach of winter, *Tiberius*, according to his custom, returned to *Rome*, where *M. Furius Camillus* and *Sextus Nonius Quinctilianus* were soon after raised to the consulate. During their administration, embassadors came to *Rome*, both from the *Jews* and *Samaritans*, to accuse *Archelaus*, to whom *Augustus* had given the half of his father *Herod*'s kingdom under the name of *ethnarchy*, of male-administration, tyranny, and oppression. Hereupon *Archelaus* being called to *Rome* to answer the charge brought against him, and not being able to justify himself before the emperor, he was by him deposed, his goods were confiscated, and he himself banished to *Vienna* in *Gaul*, where he ended his days. *Archelaus* being banished, *Augustus* appointed *Publius Sulpitius Quirinius*, who, according to the *Greek* way of writing that name [c], is by St. *Luke* called *Cyrenius*, to be president of *Syria*, and sent him into the east to seize on the countries over which *Archelaus* had reigned, that is, *Judea*, *Idumea*, and *Samaria*, and reduce them to a *Roman* province. *Coponius*, a *Roman* knight, was sent with him to take upon him the government of them, with the title of procurator of *Judea*. These two arriving at *Jerusalem*, seized all *Archelaus*'s effects and treasures, pursuant to the sentence passed against him by *Augustus*, and

Archelaus deposed and banished.

Judea reduced to a Roman province.

[z] DIO, ibid. p. 569—571. VELL. PATERC. l. ii. c. 114, &c. [a] DIO, ibid. [b] VELL. PATERC. ibid. [c] Vide STRABO, l. xii. p. 569.

(U) *Sirmium*, now *Sirmisch*, was in former times the metropolis of *Pannonia inferior*, and the place which the emperors chose for their residence, when the affairs of the empire called them into those parts. Many laws were published at *Sirmium* by the emperors, which *Jacobus Gothofredus* has with great pains collected. The emperor *Probus* was killed in this city, and *Theodosius*, if we believe *Aurelius Victor*, first saluted emperor by the *Romans* who were here in garison. The emperor *Decius* was born in a village called *Budalia*, or *Bubalia*, in the neighbourhood of this city. *Pliny* places it near the confluence of the *Save* and a river which he calls the *Bacuntius* (41).

(41) *Plin. l.* iii. *c.* 35.

(W) *Salona*, one of the chief cities of *Illyricum*, stood on the *Adriatic* sea, at a small distance from the present city of *Spalatro*. It became afterwards a *Roman* colony, as appears from several ancient medals and inscriptions, in which it is called sometimes *Colonia Julia*, sometimes *Colonia Martia*, and sometimes *Colonia Claudia Augusta*. It is mentioned by *Lucan* in the following verse:

Qua maris Adriaci longas ferit unda Salonas (42).

Salona was the native city of the emperor *Diocletian*, who retired hither after he had abdicated the empire.

(42) *Lucan. l.* iv. *ver.* 304.

a and having in great part aboliſhed the *Jewiſh* polity, introduced the *Roman* in its ſtead. *Coponius* took on him, in the name of *Auguſtus*, the adminiſtration, but in ſubordination to the preſident of *Syria*, *Judea* being made a part of that province. Thus was the power of life and death taken out of the hands of the *Jews*, and placed wholly in the *Roman* procurator and his ſubordinate officers. All taxes were thenceforth paid immediately to the *Roman* emperor, and the *Jews* might now ſay with truth what they were heard to ſay ſome years after, *We have no king but* Cæſar [a]. But what diſturbances attended this change of government, we have related at length elſewhere [e]. While *Cyrenius* or *Quirinius* was in *Judea*, he depoſed the high-prieſt *Joazar*, the ſon of *Boethus*, and appointed *Annas*, the ſon of *Seth*, to ſucceed him in b that office, which he held ſeveral years [f].

EARLY in the ſpring, *Tiberius* and *Germanicus* took the field, the former againſt the *Pannonians*, and the latter againſt the *Dalmatians*. We read of no great advantages gained by *Tiberius*; but *Germanicus* obliged the *Dalmatians* to quit the field, and ſhelter themſelves behind the walls of the cities and caſtles, ſome of which he beſieged and took. We are told, that while he lay before one of their ſtrong-holds, and was ready to abandon the enterprize, on account of the vigorous oppoſition he met with, a *German*, by name *Pulio*, who ſerved under him, taking up a ſtone of an enormous ſize, threw it againſt the wall with ſuch violence, that one of the battlements fell with the ſhock, and brought down a ſoldier, who was leaning againſt it; c which ſtruck the gariſon with ſuch dread, that they abandoned the city, and retired into the citadel, which ſoon after ſubmitted. While they were thus preſſed by *Germanicus*, a famine, occaſioned by the laſt and this year's ravages, began to rage all over their country, and was attended by various diſtempers, ariſing from their feeding on herbs and roots, to which they were not accuſtomed. In this extremity, *Bato*, the chief of the *Dalmatians*, began to think of ſubmitting; and accordingly ſent deputies to treat with *Tiberius*, who received both them and *Bato* himſelf, when he appeared before him the next day, in a very obliging manner. The *Roman* aſked him from his tribunal, *What had induced him to revolt, and perſiſt ſo long, and with ſuch obſtinacy, in his rebellion againſt* Rome? *The* Romans, anſwered *Bato* with great d intrepidity, *who, inſtead of ſhepherds to protect and defend us, ſend wolves to devour us.* The kind treatment he met with from *Tiberius*, made ſuch an impreſſion upon his mind, that he was eaſily prevailed upon to turn his arms againſt his name-ſake and ally, whom he defeated, and inhumanly murdered, having perſuaded the gariſon of a caſtle, to which the unfortunate *Pannonian* had fled after the battle, to betray him into his hands. Upon his death, the greater part of the *Pannonians* ſubmitted; but ſome ſtill continued in arms, whom *Sylvanus* was charged to reduce, and left for that purpoſe in *Pannonia*, with a conſiderable body of *Romans* [g].

Exploits of Germanicus.

The Dalmatians *reduced.*

Auguſtus no ſooner heard of the ſubmiſſion of one *Bato* and the death of the other, than he left *Ariminum*, and returned to *Rome*, where great complaints were made to him by the knights, againſt the law which he had publiſhed ſome years before, con- e cerning unmarried perſons and ſuch as had no children. The knights, whoſe averſion to marriage proceeded from the looſeneſs of their lives, as it generally does, were very preſſing with the emperor to get this law aboliſhed. Whereupon *Auguſtus*, having aſſembled the whole body of knights, ordered the married and unmarried perſons among them to be placed ſeparately; then, obſerving the former to be much inferior to the latter in number, he firſt addreſſed thoſe who had complied with his law, telling them, that they alone had ſerved the ends both of nature and civil ſociety; that mankind was ordained male and female to prevent mortality; that as the ſpecies could not ſubſiſt without children, ſo no commonwealth could be ſupplied either with men for the wars, or for civil employments. He added, that they alone f deſerved the name of men and of fathers, and as ſuch he praiſed them, promiſing to prefer them to ſuch offices as they might tranſmit to their offſpring. To the others he made a quite different ſpeech, telling them, That he knew not by what name to call them; not by that of men, for they had performed nothing that was manly; not by that of citizens, ſince the city might periſh for them; nor by that of *Romans*, for they ſeemed determined to extirpate the *Roman* race and name; but by what name ſoever he called them, their crime, he ſaid, equalled all other crimes put together: for

Auguſtus *encourages marriage.*

His ſpeech to the unmarried knights.

[d] Dio, lv. p. 561. JOSEPH. antiq. l. xvii. c. 85. & de bell. Judaic. l. ii. LIGHTFOOT. in Johann. c. 18. ver. 31. [e] Vide Hiſt. Univerſ. Vol. IV. p. 192, & ſeq. [f] JOSEPH. ibid. l. xviii. c. 3. [g] Dio, l. lvi. 579, 571 VELL. PATERC. ibid.

for they were guilty of murder in not ſuffering thoſe to be born, who ſhould proceed from them; of impiety, in aboliſhing the names and honours of their fathers and anceſtors; of ſacrilege, in deſtroying their ſpecies and human nature, which owed its original to the gods, and was conſecrated to them: that, by leading a ſingle life, they overturned, as far as in them lay, the temples and altars of the gods, diſſolved the government by diſobeying its laws, betrayed their country by making it barren and waſte, and utterly demoliſhed the city by depriving it of inhabitants. He added, that he was well appriſed their leading a ſingle life did not proceed from any ſentiments of virtue, but from a looſeneſs and wantonneſs, which ought not to be encouraged nor ſuffered in any civil government. Having ended his ſpeech, he doubled the rewards and privileges of ſuch as had children, and laid heavy fines on all unmarried perſons, allowing them, however, the term of a year, in which ſpace, if they complied with the law, they were to be freed from the penalty. This law obliged all men to marry at a certain age, eſtabliſhed great exemptions and privileges to ſuch as had children, and laid heavy fines on all, who, after a certain age, continued ſingle. It was called the *Papian-Popæan* law, becauſe enacted by the conſuls *M. Papius Mutilus* and *Q. Popæus Secundus*, to whom the conſuls of this year *C. Sulpicius Camerinus* and *C. Poppæus Sabinus* had reſigned the faſces, after having held them only ſix months. It was alſo called the *Julian* law, as having been publiſhed by *Auguſtus*'s order, who was of the *Julian* family. For the further encouragement of marriage, *Auguſtus* abrogated the *Voconian* law (X), forbidding married women to receive any legacies above a certain ſum; yet, that he might not ſeem to diſcourage any thing that had the appearance of virtue, he beſtowed upon ſuch women as had vowed perpetual virginity the ſame rewards and privileges as upon mothers [b].

The Papian-Popæan *law.*

New troubles in Dalmatia *and* Pannonia.

DURING theſe tranſactions at *Rome*, the war broke out anew in *Dalmatia* and *Pannonia*, *Bato*, who had ſubmitted the year before, being the ringleader of the revolt, whether upon ſome new provocation, or merely from the ficklenеſs of his temper, we know not. *Germanicus*, who had acquired in the laſt year's war a perfect knowledge of the country, and of the manner of fighting in uſe among the rebels, was ordered to lead the ſame legions againſt them, which he had commanded the year before. He opened the campaign with the ſiege of *Rhætinum*, a ſtrong city in *Dalmatia*, where he was in imminent danger of periſhing, with the greateſt part of his army; for the inhabitants having, after a faint reſiſtance, abandoned the town, and retired into the citadel, *Germanicus*, at the head of his legions, entered the place, with a deſign to attack the citadel; but while the *Romans* were buſy in planting their machines and ladders, they ſaw themſelves all on a ſudden ſurrounded by flames, the inhabi-

Germanicus's troops in great danger.

(X) Nothing was more common, before the publication of this law, than for men to give exceſſive legacies to women, and to leave them by will the whole eſtate of a wealthy family. One of the laws of the twelve tables impowered all citizens to appoint whomſoever they pleaſed to be their heirs, without regard to ſex or relations. This law was attended with inconveniencies; debauchery was increaſed by it, and it became more eaſy to debauch a ſex, who are not always deaf to their intereſt. Beſides, it was no uncommon thing to ſee women, who were by legacies become richer than their huſbands, inſulting them, and behaving themſelves in their families with great haughtineſs. To remedy this evil, *Q. Voconius*, tribune of the people, drew up a new law, which he at laſt got paſſed in the comitia. The chief heads of this law were, 1. Every citizen was forbidden to make any woman whatſoever univerſal legatee, even an only daughter not excepted. 2. A daughter's fortune, after the death of her father, was to be proportioned to his eſtate, or to be *pro rata* of what he had left, according to the eſtimation of prudent men; and generally ſpeaking, the daughter was allowed only one fourth of her father's eſtate. 3. It was enacted, that all the legacies of the teſtator ſhould not exceed one half of his eſtate (43). This teſtamentary law had been preceded by another, which *C. Furius*, tribune of the people, had got paſſed, and which was thence called the *Furian* law. It forbad, according to *Ulpian*, *Pomponius*, and *Juſtinian*, any *Roman* citizen to leave by legacy above the value of one thouſand aſſes to any one perſon, and at the ſame time condemned the legatee to pay four times the ſum which was given him above what the law ſtipulated; ſo that the *Voconian* law ought to be looked upon as a ſupplement to this, which was probably grown out of uſe in the time of *Q. Voconius*. *Cato* the cenſor made a ſpeech in favour of the *Voconian* law, which he inſerted in his book *de originibus*, and which was in being in *Livy*'s time. There are ſome fragments of it ſtill extant in *Aulus Gellius*. *Cicero* fixes the paſſing of the *Voconian* law to the year of *Rome* 584, when *Quintus Marcius Philippus* and *Cneius Servilius Cæpio* were conſuls (44). From that time it continued in force to the reign of *Auguſtus*, who revoked it in favour of *Livia*, to whom he was reſolved, as *Dion Caſſius* informs us, to deviſe by will great part of his eſtate; but that hiſtorian ſpeaks ſo ambiguouſly of the *Voconian* law, that he has given the civilians occaſion to put different interpretations upon it.

(44) *Cic. de finibus, & Verrina* 1. *Aul. Gell. Noc. Attic. l.* XX. *c.* 10. *Pædian. in Var.* 1. (43) *Cic. de ſenect.*

a inhabitants having filled their houſes with all ſorts of combuſtible materials before they abandoned them, and appointed ſome reſolute perſons to ſet fire to them when the *Romans* were entered. The legionaries, to avoid the fire, crowded round the citadel, which ſtood at ſome diſtance from the houſes: but, by avoiding one kind of death, they met with another; for the beſieged plyed them with ſuch ſhowers of darts, arrows, and ſtones from the citadel, that the ground was in an inſtant covered with heaps of dead bodies. In this extremity the *Romans* attempted to ſcale the fortreſs; but met with ſuch a vigorous reſiſtance as quite diſheartened them. Nothing therefore now remained but to attempt a retreat through the flames, and this they effected, but with great loſs, many of them being cruſhed by the ruins of the b houſes, ſuffocated by the ſmoke, or deſtroyed by the fire, which with great violence flamed out of the houſes on either ſide the ſtreet through which they paſſed. In the night the beſieged abandoned the fortreſs, which began to take fire, and concealed themſelves in the neighbouring woods. Hereupon *Germanicus*, having waited till both the city and citadel were reduced to aſhes, led his legions againſt *Sertium*, another city of great importance in the ſame country, which he inveſted, and reduced in a ſhort time, tho' *Tiberius* had in vain attempted the reduction of it the year before. Being encouraged with this ſucceſs, and no enemy appearing in the field, he divided his army into ſeveral bodies, and laying ſiege to different places at the ſame time, made himſelf maſter of moſt of their ſtrong-holds. But, in the mean time, *Auguſtus*, impatient to ſee this war ended, ordered *Tiberius* to march likewiſe into *Dal-*c *matia*, and haſten the final reduction of that country. *Tiberius*, without loſing time in beſieging and taking cities, went in ſearch of *Bato*, who had under his command a conſiderable body of *Pannonians* and *Dalmatians*; and having met him in the neighbourhood of *Anderium* or *Andetrium* (Y), a ſtrong caſtle, ſituated on a ſteep and inacceſſible rock, offered him battle; but *Bato* declining an engagement, retired into the caſtle, and poſted his troops on the tops of the neighbouring mountains, where he thought the enemp would ſcarce venture to attack them. *Tiberius* boldly advanced through the narrow paſſages among the mountains to the foot of the rock on which *Andetrium* ſtood, with a deſign to beſiege it; but was greatly alarmed, when he ſaw himſelf all on a ſudden ſurrounded by the enemy, who, deſcending from the moun-d tains, had ſeized on the defiles, and by that means cut off his retreat. He expected to find at *Andetrium* the *Caudine Forks*; and truly he muſt have inevitably periſhed with his whole army, had the *Dalmatians* ſhewed as much bravery and reſolution as the *Samnites* did on the like occaſion; but while *Tiberius* gave all up for loſt, as not being able either to retire or advance, the cowardly *Dalmatians*, ſeized with a panic, abandoned their poſts, and, retreating in diſorder to the tops of their mountains, left all the avenues open to the *Roman* general, who thereupon advancing without oppoſition to the foot of the rock on which the caſtle ſtood, ſummoned it to ſurrender. *Bato*, finding he could not depend upon his men, hearkened to the offers made him, and leaving the caſtle in the night, delivered himſelf up to *Tiberius*, who e received him with great demonſtrations of kindneſs, and allowed him to retire to what part of the world he pleaſed, after he had ſolemnly promiſed never to bear arms againſt the *Romans*. But the gariſon of *Andetrium* ſtill held out, and the place was not taken but after repeated aſſaults, in which great numbers of the *Romans* loſt their lives. At length they capitulated, and ſurrendered upon honourable terms, which *Tiberius* religiouſly obſerved [i]. At the ſame time, *Germanicus* made himſelf maſter of *Arduba*, a town no-ways inferior in ſtrength to *Andetrium*, and defended by as numerous a gariſon; but the reduction of that important place was more owing to

He reduces ſeveral cities.

The ſiege of Andetrium *by* Tiberius.

Bato *ſubmits.*

Arduba *taken by* Germanicus.

[i] Idem ibid. p. 578---581.

(Y) This city is called by *Ptolemy Andecrium*, by *Dion Caſſius Anderium*, but that its true name was *Andetrium*, is manifeſt from the following inſcription to be ſeen in *Spon*:

Item viam Gabiniam
Ab Salonis Andetrium aperuit
et munit per Leg. VII. (45)

Pliny likewiſe calls it *Andecrium* (46); but *Strabo*, *Andretrium*. It ſtood on a ſteep rock, and was ſurrounded on all ſides by deep vallies and torrents, which rendered it almoſt inacceſſible (47). It is now known by the name of *Cliſſa* (48).

(45) *Vide Spon. miſc. erud. antiq. p.* 179. (46) *Plin. l.* iii. *c.* 22. (47) *Dio, l.* lvi. *p.* 579. (48) *Spon. in itiner. l.* ii. *p.* 82.

to the disagreement which reigned among the inhabitants, than to the valour of the *Romans*; for the greater part of the citizens being for surrendering and submitting to the yoke, the women, more fond of their ancient laws and liberties than the men, joined some *Roman* deserters, and falling upon their husbands, made a great slaughter of them. But the men prevailing at length submitted, and the unhappy women, disdaining to outlive the loss of their liberty, either threw themselves headlong from the walls, or setting fire to their houses, consumed themselves and their children in the flames. After this the two *Roman* generals uniting their forces, overran all *Dalmatia* and *Pannonia*, restoring every-where peace and tranquillity, and obliging the inhabitants to deliver up their arms, and return to their former employments. The war being thus ended, to the great satisfaction of *Augustus*, *Tiberius* and *Germanicus* returned to *Rome*, where they were decreed triumphal honours, and two triumphal arches, which by a decree of the senate were to be erected in *Pannonia*, and adorned with magnificent trophies. The title of imperator was conferred on *Augustus*, and *Germanicus* was allowed to stand for the consulate before he attained the age required in other candidates. and to vote in the senate before the senators of consular dignity. As for *Tiberius*, it was decreed, that his son *Drusus*, though he had no share in the war, should be admitted into the senate, and deliver his opinion, after he had executed the office of quæstor, before those who had been prætors. The lieutenants both of *Tiberius* and *Germanicus* were rewarded with prætorian honours, that is, were allowed all those honours and privileges which those enjoyed who had been prætors [k].

The war ended

Honours decreed to Tiberius *and* Germanicus.

But the joy, which the total reduction of *Pannonia* and *Dalmatia* occasioned in *Rome*, was allayed and changed into the deepest melancholy by the dismal news of the intire defeat of *Quintilius Varus* by the *Germans* under the conduct of *Arminius*, which was brought to *Rome* five days after the arrival of *Germanicus* and *Tiberius*. *Quintilius Varus* was born, as *Velleius Paterculus* expresses it, rather of an illustrious than a noble family, had governed *Syria*, and been removed from thence into *Germany* to keep those countries in awe, which had been lately subdued by the *Romans*. When he first entered *Syria*, he found that province rich, says *Velleius*, and was himself poor; but when he came away, he was rich, and the province poor. In *Germany* he pursued the same methods of filling his coffers as in *Syria*, loading the people with heavy taxes, and selling without distinction to the natives those employments which his predecessors used freely to bestow on such as were nobly born, or had signalized their attachment to the *Romans*. The *Germans* before the arrival of *Varus* had begun to bear the yoke with less reluctance; they had quitted their forests, built some cities, where they lived in a sociable manner, under the protection of the *Roman* laws, and, forgetting their native savageness, had for some time applied themselves to the peaceable arts of husbandry. But the extortions and rapines of the new governor revived in that warlike nation their ancient love of liberty, estranged their minds from *Rome*, and inspired them with an eager desire of shaking off a yoke which they could no longer bear. Among the *Germans* was a young nobleman of extraordinary parts, of uncommon penetration, and great valour, named *Arminius*. He was the son of *Sigismer*, one of the most powerful lords of the *Catti*, had served with great reputation in the *Roman* armies, and been honoured by *Augustus* with the privileges of a *Roman* citizen and the title of knight. But the love he had for his country getting the better of his gratitude, he resolved to improve the general discontent which reigned in the nation, to the advantage of his countrymen, and deliver them from the bondage of a foreign yoke. With this view he engaged underhand, by means of his friends and emissaries, in a conspiracy against the *Romans*, the chief lords and leading men of all the nations between the *Rhine* and the *Elb*; and then, to draw *Varus* from the neighbourhood of the former river, where he might with great ease and quickness receive succours from *Gaul*, he suggested to him the necessity of shewing himself to the inhabitants of the more distant provinces, of administering justice among them, and accustoming them by his example to live after the *Roman* manner, which, he said, would more effectually render then obedient to *Rome*, than the *Roman* sword. As *Varus* was a man of a peaceable temper, indolent, and a great lover of his ease, he readily came into the proposal of the crafty *Arminius*, and, quitting the neighbourhood of the *Rhine*, marched into the country of the *Cherusci*. There he made it his whole business to civilize the barbarians, by introducing

Quintilius Varus provokes the Germans *by his extortions.*

Arminius stirs up the Germans *against the* Romans.

His treachery.

[k] Dio, Vell. Patercul. ibid.

a introducing among them the *Roman* laws and manners. He was continually employed in hearing cauſes, and deciding civil controverſies; inſomuch, that his tent looked more like the tribunal of a prætor, than the prætorium of a general. And indeed this was a more ſuitable employment to the genius of *Varus*, than military expeditions; not that he wanted courage, but becauſe he loved his eaſe, and thought he could better tame the barbarians by acting the law-giver than the general. In the mean time, the conſpiracy being ripe for execution, and the *Germans* ready to riſe upon the firſt notice, *Arminius*, under pretence of clearing the high-ways of robbers, and keeping ſome places in awe, as if they deſigned to revolt, perſuaded *Varus* to ſend out ſeveral detachments, by which means his army being weakened, ſome diſtant
b nations in *Germany* roſe up in arms, by *Arminius*'s directions, while thoſe, through which he was to paſs in marching againſt them, pretended to be in a ſtate of profound tranquility, and ready to join the *Romans* againſt their rebellious countrymen. *Varus* upon the firſt news of the revolt, marched with three legions, a conſiderable body of horſe, and ſix cohorts, to reduce the rebels, being attended by *Arminius* and his father *Sigimer*, who taking upon them to be his guides, led him into a thick foreſt, ſurrounded on all ſides with ſteep hills and marſhy grounds. There while the legionaries were buſy in cutting down trees to open themſelves a paſſage through the foreſt, and no-ways upon their guard, as not ſuſpecting any treachery, a great body of *Germans* appeared unexpectedly, and diſcharging upon them a ſhower of
c darts, killed a great number of them, before they could rally and put themſelves in a poſture of defence. However, they formed themſelves at laſt in order of battle, ſo far as the ground would allow; but a heavy rain falling, which rendered their arms almoſt quite uſeleſs, and the barbarians pouring in upon them hourly in vaſt crouds, they attempted to retire to a neighbouring valley; but finding all the avenues beſet with numerous bodies of the enemy, they were forced to continue all that night, and the next day, expoſed to the darts and arrows which the barbarians inceſſantly ſhowered upon them. In this extremity *Varus*, giving up all for loſt, and being dangerouſly wounded, put an end to his life with his own ſword, following therein the example of his father and grandfather, who had both fallen by their own hands, the former after
d the battle of *Philippi*, and the latter after that of *Pharſalia*, or, as ſome writers will have it, after the defeat of *Domitius* in *Africa*. Moſt of the chief officers ſcorning to outlive their general, or to be made priſoners by the barbarians, laid violent hands on themſelves. The greateſt part of the cavalry opened themſelves a way through the enemy ſword in hand, and made their eſcape; with them *Vala Numonius*, one of *Varus*'s lieutenants, abandoning the foot, which he commanded, arrived ſafe at the *Rhine*, where he ſoon after periſhed as a deſerter, but of what kind of death our author has not thought fit to acquaint us. *Ceſonius*, another of *Varus*'s lieutenants, after the retreat of the cavalry, and the death of *Varus* and moſt of the other officers, was for ſurrendering at diſcretion. But this motion coſt him dear; for he
e was immediately tried as a coward by the ſurviving officers, ſentenced to death, and executed; to ſuch a degree were cowards abhorred in the *Roman* armies. And now a very ſmall number of the legionaries, and ſcarce any officers, being left alive, the enemy abandoned them as it grew dark, and fell upon the baggage. In the mean time, the *Roman* trumpets ſounding, probably to call thoſe together who were diſperſed up and down the foreſt, the barbarians imagined, that *Aſprenas*, who was quartered at a ſmall diſtance from that neighbourhood, was come to the aſſiſtance of his countrymen; and therefore after having plundered the baggage, they retired in the night, and gave the few legionaries, who outlived that fatal day, an opportunity of ſaving themſelves by flight. Thus were three complete legions and ſix cohorts almoſt
f intirely cut off, the greateſt overthrow, if *Velleius* is to be credited, the *Romans* had received ever ſince the defeat of *Craſſus* by the *Parthians*[1]. The legions that periſhed on this occaſion were the beſt of the whole empire for valour, diſcipline, and experience; ſo that the news of this loſs threw the city into the utmoſt conſternation, there being few families there that had not a ſhare in the common misfortune. As for *Auguſtus*, he ſet no bounds to his grief, but upon the firſt news of ſo dreadful and unexpected an overthrow, he tore his garment, and, like one beſide himſelf, knocked his head againſt the wall, crying out, *Reſtore the legions*, Varus. This he was obſerved to do in the tranſports of his grief for ſeveral months, letting in the mean time his hair

Varus and his legions ſurprized and ſurrounded.

Varus and moſt of the officers lay violent hands on themſelves.

Moſt of the legionaries cut in pieces.
Year after the flood 2010.
After Chriſt 11.
Of Rome 759.

The concern of Auguſtus *for this overthrow.*

[1] Dio, p. 582—585. Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 117. Tacit, annal. l. i. c. 62.

hair and beard grow, and abandoning himself intirely to grief and sorrow. However, he did not forget to provide with all possible care for the safety of *Rome* and *Italy:* he placed guards in all the quarters of the city, to prevent tumults and disturbances; he raised new levies, obliging all the *Roman* youth, who were able to bear arms, to list themselves, confiscating the estates of such as refused to give in their names, and even threatening the most refractory with death: he vowed *the great games* to *Jupiter*, as had been formerly done in the wars with the *Marsi* and *Cimbri*: in short, *Augustus* never forgot this fatal day, but observed it the remaining part of his life as a day of mourning. Some time after the news of this misfortune had reached *Rome*, the head of *Quintilius Varus* was sent to *Augustus* by *Maroboduus* king of the *Marcomanni*; but what induced him to make that present to the emperor, history does not inform us. From his having the head of the deceased general, it was concluded at *Rome*, that he had contributed to his destruction. However that be, the emperor, though he had great reason to be displeased with *Varus*, received his remains with great respect, and caused them to be honourably interred in the tomb of his ancestors [m]. *Dion* tells us, that when news of this defeat was first brought to *Rome*, no-body doubted there, but the *Germans* after so complete a victory would pass the *Rhine*, and invade at the same time *Gaul* and *Italy*; but that the fear and consternation which had seized the city were much abated, when they understood, that *Lucius Asprenas*, nephew to *Varus*, guarded the banks of the *Rhine*, and that the barbarians, satisfied with the advantages they had gained, neglected to improve them. However, as the emperor ascribed this fatal overthrow to the anger of the gods, and gave credit to several pretended prodigies (Z), which were related to him, his fears were not quite removed till the ensuing year, when *Tiberius*, after the election of the new consuls, *P. Cornelius Dolabella* and *C. Junius Silanus*, leaving *Rome*, passed the *Alps*, and entering *Germany*, obliged the rebels, though elated with their late success, to retire from the neighbourhood of the *Rhine*, and lay aside all thoughts of raising disturbances in *Gaul*. *Velleius Paterculus* tell us, that he overran great part of the country, that he forced *Arminius* to fly before him, that he penetrated into the countries of the *Catti* and *Cherusci*, which he laid waste with fire and sword, and in short, that he fully revenged the death of *Varus*, and the slaughter of his legions [n]. But whatever that biassed historian may write in commendation of *Tiberius*, *Dion Cassius* assures us, that he never attempted to bring back to their duty any of the revolted nations, but kept his troops in the neighbourhood of the *Rhine*, not daring to stir from that river for fear of some surprize. In the latter end of the year, he celebrated the birth-day of *Augustus* in his camp with public games, and then returned to *Rome* [o].

The head of Varus *sent to* Rome.

Tiberius *sent into* Germany.

THIS year the ingenious and celebrated poet *Ovid* was banished to *Tomos* (A), for seeing some lewd and scandalous action of *Augustus*, who had not even in his old age renounced

The poet Ovid *banished.*

[m] DIO, ibid. SUET. in Octav. p. 182. [n] VELL. PATERCUL. ibid. [o] DIO, ibid. 586.

(Z) The temple of *Mars* was struck with lightning: a swarm of grashoppers appeared over the city, and were dispersed by the swallows: great rocks fell from the top of the *Alps*, and fire was seen to issue out of the ground in various places: a statue of *Victory* on the confines of *Germany*, with its face towards that country, changed its posture, and turned its face towards *Italy*. These pretended prodigies gave the old emperor great uneasiness, which was not removed till the next year, when *Tiberius* entered *Germany* at the head of a numerous army.

(A) *Tomos*, *Tomi*, or *Tomis*, stood on the *Euxine* sea, and was the metropolis of *Lower Mœsia:* for *Mœsia* extended from the confluence of the *Save* and the *Danube* to the *Euxine* sea, being bounded to the south by the mountains of *Dalmatia*, and to the north by mount *Hæmus*; and was divided into the *Upper* and *Lower Mœsia*; the former contained all the country that lies between the *Ciabrus*, now the *Moravia*, and the conflux of the *Danube* and the *Save*, and the latter the rest of the country to the *Euxine* sea; so that the *Upper Mœsia* comprehended part of *Bosnia* and *Servia*, and the *Lower Bulgaria*. The ancients comprised under the name of *Pontus* that part of *Lower Mœsia* which bordered on the *Pontus Euxinus*; and hence the city of *Tomi* is by them called a city of *Pontus*, though it did not belong to the kingdom of *Pontus* properly so called, which we have elsewhere described at length (49). The ancient city of *Tomos* is at present, according to *Niger*, called *Constantia*; according to *Cælius Calcagnius*, *Tomiswar*; according to *Giosanius*, *Kiow* or *Kiovia*, there being in the neighbourhood of this last city a lake called by the inhabitants *Oviduue jezero*, that is, *Ovid*'s lake. Whence it was called *Tomos*, is well known from the following distich out of *Ovid*:

Inde Tomos dictus locus hic, quia fertur in illo
Membra soror fratris consecuisse sui (50).

The poet speaks of *Medea*.

(49) *Vide Histor. Univers. Vol. III. p.* 720.

(50) *Ovid. Trist. l.* iii. *eleg.* 9.

renounced the vices of his youth. That this was the true cauſe of his diſgrace and misfortune, the poet himſelf tells us in expreſs terms: *Why did I ſee*, ſays he, *what I ought not to have ſeen? Why did I make my eyes criminal?*? (B) Fear reſtrained him, as is evident, from explaining himſelf any farther, and letting his readers into the particulars of this myſtery (C). The pretence *Auguſtus* made uſe of for baniſhing him was, the poiſonous books he had wrote of the *art of love*, whence *Sidonius Apollinaris* and others aſcribe his diſgrace to the lewdneſs of his muſe, as he does himſelf in ſeveral places of his works out of complaiſance to *Auguſtus*, and to prevent any farther inquiries. But it is very certain, that he was in high favour with *Auguſtus* long after he had publiſhed his books *of love*; for which we cannot perſuade ourſelves, that the emperor would have inflicted ſo ſevere a puniſhment on the poet, after he had written himſelf verſes of that nature, ſome of which have reached our times, and are more ſcandalous than any we read in *Ovid*. As for *Julia*, *Auguſtus*'s daughter, ſhe had been many years in baniſhment before *Ovid*'s misfortune, and all the accomplices of her debaucheries puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity. But whatever was the true cauſe of his diſgrace and baniſhment, he was confined to an inhoſpitable climate, and there lived, or rather pined, to the hour of his death, without ever being able to prevail upon the emperor, either by his friends, or his affecting letters, to mitigate the rigour of the firſt ſentence by removing him to a more friendly climate (D).

THE

a

b

p OVID. Triſt. l. ii. ad Auguſt.

(B) His words are;

Cur aliquid vidi? cur noxia lumina feci?
Cur imprudenti cognita culpa mihi?

That is, as he expreſſes himſelf better in his book, *In Iben*, which he wrote on his firſt going to *Tomos* againſt his accuſers;

Tempus ad hoc luſtris mihi jam bis quinque peractis.

For by no ſmall miſtake he frequently confounds the olympiads, which contained the ſpace of four years, with the *Roman* luſtra, containing the ſpace of five. Had he lived but ten olympiads, he had been only forty, but ten luſtra make fifty. In his third book *Triſtium*, he tells us, that he had paſſed his firſt winter in *Pontus*, that is, the firſt year of his baniſhment; for he had ſpent the former winter in his journey:

Frigora jam zephyri mirantur; aquæque pererrat,
Longior antiquis ora Bistonis hyems
Impoſitamque ſibi quæ non bene portubus Histri,
Tempora nocturnis æqua diurna facit. (53)

In the ſixth book he ſpeaks of the ſecond year of his baniſhment;

Ut patria carus, ſic frigoribus aptus Iſtri,
Diſſimilis multo ſpectat ab urſa polos. (54)

In his fifth book he mentions the beginning of the third winter in *Pontus*:

Ut ſemel in Ponto, ter frigora contulit Iſter,
Fallit eos Euxus ter nova terra mari. (55)

In his firſt book of *Pontus* he takes notice of the fourth winter he lived in exile in the following lines:

Hic ter frigoribus rigidum, ſimulque jugatis,
Campus non ſecus, quam ſolitus gelat. (56)

The fifth elegy of the fourth book *De Ponto* is addreſſed to *Cneius Pompeius*, who with *Servius Sulpitius* was conſul the year *Auguſtus* died, and in the ſixth of the ſame book, inſcribed to *Brutus*, he mentions the death of *Auguſtus*, and alſo of *Fabius Maximus*, who died, as is plain from *Tacitus* (57), in the firſt year of *Tiberius*'s reign, at which time the

(C) *Auguſtus*, though ſtricken in years, had not yet renounced the vices of his youth, but carried on an amour with a lady of great diſtinction, whoſe name has not been tranſmitted to us. The lady's husband, either out of fear or complaiſance, pretended for a long time to be quite unacquainted with the whole affair; but at length the ſcandal becoming publick, he grew very uneaſy, and imparted his concern, and the cauſe of it, to one *Athenodorus*, who had been preceptor to *Tiberius*, and was in great favour with *Auguſtus*. Not long after *Auguſtus* ſent a covered litter for the lady, and *Athenodorus*, who happened to be with the husband when the meſſenger arrived, in order to deter *Auguſtus* from ſuch ſcandalous practices, and warn him of the danger, to which they expoſed him, diſguiſed himſelf in the lady's dreſs, and covering his face, placed himſelf in the litter, and was conveyed in that attire to the emperor's apartment, who was no leſs frightened than ſurprized to ſee, inſtead of the lady, whom he impatiently expected, a man with a drawn ſword in his hand ſtart out of the litter; but *Athenodorus*, diſcovering himſelf in that inſtant, *You ſee*, ſaid he, *to what dangers your unſeaſonable paſſion expoſes you; an enemy inſtead of a friend might have laid hold of this opportunity to deprive the republic of ſo gracious a prince.* *Auguſtus* took his advice in good part, and returned him thanks; but whether he reformed his conduct we know not (51). Some writers conjecture, that to this adventure was owing *Ovid*'s misfortune, who, as he had free acceſs to the emperor, might have been an eye-witneſs of his fright and ſurprize; a conjecture which we dare neither warrant or reject.

(D) *Ovid* was born in the conſulſhip of *Hirtius* and *Panſa*, as he himſelf atteſts, and conſequently was fifty complete when he was baniſhed. This he deſigned to tell us in the following lines:

Poſtque mens ortus Piſæa vinctus oliva,
Abſtulerat decies præmia victor eques;
Cum maris Euxini poſitos ad læva Tomitas
Quærere me læſi principis ira jubet. (52)

(51) *Zonar. l. x. ſub. fin.* (52) *Ovid. Triſt. l. iv. eleg. ultima.* (53) *Idem Triſt. l. ii. ad fin.*
(54) *Idem, l. vi. ibid. eleg. 7.* (55) *Eleg. 10.* (56) *Eleg. 2.* (57) *Tacit. annal. l. i. §. 5.*

Several laws published by Auguſtus.

THE next year, *M. Æmilius Lepidus* and *T. Statilius Taurus* being conſuls, *Auguſtus* a publiſhed an edict, forbidding all augurs, aſtrologers, and fortune-tellers, to utter, either in private or in public, predictions concerning the death of any perſon whatſoever; not that he was under any apprehenſion himſelf, ſays our hiſtorian, for he had cauſed his nativity to be calculated, and publicly expoſed, but on account of the diſturbances which theſe impoſtors had occaſioned in ſome noble families. He likewiſe revived the edict forbidding any of the equeſtrian order to fight in the *arena*, threatening ſuch as ſhould dare to tranſgreſs it, with infamy, the confiſcation of their eſtates, and death itſelf. He extended his care to the diſtant provinces, ordering, that no publick honours ſhould be beſtowed on the governors ſent thither, during the time of their adminiſtration, nor within ſixty days after their departure. The haughty b and imperious airs which ſome proconſuls and proprætors had aſſumed, gave riſe to this edict, the emperor judging that the extraordinary honours, which were often conferred upon them, inſpired them with pride, and made them look upon thoſe, over whom they were placed, with an eye of contempt. As there were this year ſixteen perſons of diſtinction who ſtood for the prætorſhip, *Auguſtus*, unwilling to diſguſt any of the candidates, named them all to that dignity, but the next year reduced their number again to twelve. He raiſed *Druſus*, the ſon of *Tiberius* by his firſt wife *Vipſania Agrippina*, to the quæſtorſhip, though he had not yet attained the age required for the diſcharge of that employment, and named *Germanicus* conſul for the enſuing year [p]. After this he ſent both *Tiberius* and *Germanicus* into *Germany* at the head of c two very numerous armies, but, during the whole campaign, they did nothing which hiſtorians have thought worth recording: they paſſed the ſummer on, or near, the banks of the *Rhine*, contenting themſelves to keep the *Germans* in awe at a diſtance, and to prevent them from invading *Gaul*. About the middle of the autumn, they repaſſed the *Alps*, and returned to the capital, without having ſo much as attempted the reduction of the provinces, which had ſhaken off the yoke, and brought ſo dreadful a calamity upon *Rome*. Upon their return *Auguſtus* honoured *Tiberius*, for what exploits we know not, with a triumph, which he had formerly refuſed him, when he had a far better claim to it [q].

Tiberius *and* Germanicus *ſent into* Germany.

Tiberius *triumphs.*

AND now *Auguſtus*, not being able, on account of his great age, to bear the whole d burden of public affairs, aſſumed *Tiberius*, we may ſay, for his collegue in the ſovereign power, inveſting him with a far more ample and extenſive authority, than he had ever granted to his ſon-in-law and faithful miniſter *Agrippa*. The decree which the conſcript fathers paſſed, at the emperor's requeſt, in favour of *Tiberius*, was couched in the following terms: *At the requeſt of the people of* Rome *we grant to* Caius Julius Cæſar Tiberius *the ſame authority over the provinces, and all the armies of the* Roman *ſtate, which* Auguſtus *has held, which he ſtill retains, and which we pray the gods he may long enjoy* [r]. This decree, which put *Tiberius*, in a manner, upon the level with *Auguſtus*, was propoſed, according to *Suetonius*, by the conſuls [s], no doubt at the requeſt, or rather by the command, of *Auguſtus*. The next year, *Germanicus Cæſar* e and *Fonteius Capito* being conſuls, *Auguſtus*, by a ſpecial edict, declared the authors of all lampoons, and ſatirical writings, attacking or blackening the reputation of any perſon whatſoever, guilty of high treaſon, and puniſhable with death. In the times of

Is aſſumed by Auguſtus *for his collegue in the ſovereign power.*

[p] DIG. ibid. p. 586. [q] SUET. DIO. ibid. Tiber. & TACIT. annal. l. i. c. 3. [r] VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 121. [s] SUET. in

the poet had paſſed the fifth year of his baniſhment, and was then in the ſixth, as appears from the following verſes;

In Scythia nobis quinquennis Olympias acta eſt,
Jam tempus luſtri tranſit in alterius.

The ſixth year he mentions alſo in the beginning of the tenth elegy to *Albinovanus*;

Hæc mihi Cimmerio bis tertia ducitur æſtas
Littore, pellitos inter agenda Getas.

And in the thirteenth to *Carus*:

—— ſed me jam, Care, nivali,
Sexta relegatum bruma ſub axe videt.

In the ſame elegy he ſpeaks of a poem, written by him on the apotheoſis of *Auguſtus* in the language of the *Getæ*;

Ah! pudet, & Getico ſcripſi ſermone libellum,
Structaque ſunt noſtris barbara verba modis.
Et placui, gratare mihi, cæpique poetæ
Inter inhumanos nomen habere Getas.

He died in the ſeventh, or, as others will have it, in the eighth, year of his baniſhment, and was buried near the city of *Tomos* (58).

(58) *Hieronym. in Chronico.*

a of the republic actions indeed were punished, says *Tacitus*, but words were free; *Augustus* was the first who brought libels under the penalties of the law of majesty, or of treason[t]. By the same edict, the ædiles in the city, and the governors in the colonies and municipia were strictly enjoined to make a diligent search after all libels and lampoons, to commit them to the flames, and to proceed with the utmost rigor against the authors of them. This put a stop to the liberty or rather licentiousness of the libellers, but was attended by most dreadful consequences under the succeeding emperors, who abused this wrested law to the destruction of many innocent persons, whom on other accounts they disliked. Towards the end of this year, *Augustus* wrote two letters, one to the senate, recommending *Germanicus* to the conscript fathers, b and another to *Tiberius*, recommending the senate to him, which was generally looked upon as an open declaration on the part of *Augustus*, that he designed to leave the same authority to *Tiberius* over the senate, which he himself had enjoyed, but would have all others, those of his own family not accepted, to pay an intire obedience to that venerable body. In his letter to the senate he begged the fathers not to be at the trouble for the future of waiting upon him, acording to their custom, at his house, adding, that he hoped they would dispense with him for not attending in the senate-house as formerly, such an attendance being very inconvenient to him by reason of his age; he desired they would appoint him twenty counsellors out of their body, with whom he might advise in matters of importance relating to the state; the senate c readily granted him his request, and moreover decreed, that whatever he should resolve upon with the twenty senators assigned him, the consuls for the year, the consuls elect, and his adopted son and nephew, should have the same force as if voted and passed in the senate[u]. The following year, when *C. Silius* and *L. Munacius Plancus* were consuls, the fourth term of his ten years being near ended, he accepted, though much against his will, says *Dion Cassius*, of the government of the republic for ten years longer; and at the same time renewed the tribunitial power in favour of *Tiberius* for the like space of years[w]. As for *Drusus*, the son of *Tiberius*, he impowered him to stand for the consulate after two years, though he had not yet discharged the office of prætor; but as both he and *Germanicus* had places in the senate, and it was d natural to suppose that their sentiments were those of *Augustus*, which none of the conscript fathers would dare to contradict, he ordered them not to vote, or any ways declare their opinion, in such matters as were debated by the conscript fathers. *Augustus* having thus settled matters at home, and made his will, which he delivered to the vestal virgins, resolved once more to attempt the reduction of *Germany*, and the revenging of the death of *Varus*, and the loss of his legions. With this view he raised two numerous armies, the one to be commanded by *Tiberius*, and the other by *Germanicus*. The latter was ordered to march this very year into *Gaul*, and from thence to invade the countries, which at the instigation of *Arminius* had withdrawn their obedience to *Rome*. As for *Tiberius*, he was appointed to lead his army into e *Illyricum*, and penetrate on that side into the kingdom of *Maroboduus*, which the *Romans* had not yet subdued. *Augustus* however kept him at *Rome* all this, and part of the following, year, when *Sextus Pompeius* and *Sextus Apuleius* were raised to the consulate: the former was grandson to the famous *Sextus Pompeius*, whose war with *Augustus* we have described in this volume: his collegue *Apuleius* was one of *Augustus*'s chief favourites, and is said to have prevailed upon him to change the sentence of death, which he first pronounced against *Ovid*, into that of perpetual banishment. During their administration, *Augustus*, taking *Tiberius* for his collegue in the censorship, made a third census, by which it appeared, that the number of the *Roman* people amounted to four millions one hundred and thirty-seven thousand, counting f women and children as well as men[x]. *Eusebius* makes the number of *Roman* citizens amount to 9370000, counting probably those who lived both at *Rome*, and in the provinces[y]. While the ceremony was performing in the field of *Mars*, an eagle was observed to fly several times round *Augustus*, and then light on a neighbouring temple over the first letter of *Agrippa*'s name. This was looked upon not only by the multitude, but by *Augustus* himself, as an omen of his approaching end. He therefore ordered his collegue *Tiberius* to make the vows which were usual at the time of the census, *for the safety of the* Roman *state, and the prosperity of the citizens*, saying, that he would not make vows which he should not live to perform[z]. He was confirmed

Libels brought under the laws of majesty.

Augustus *recommends the senate to* Tiberius, *and* Germanicus, *to the senate.*

Renews his term of ten years the fifth time.

Sends Germanicus *into* Germany.

Makes a third census.

Prodigies presaging his death.

[t] Tacit. annal. l. i. [u] Dio, ibid. p. 588. [w] Idem ibid. [x] Suet. l. ii. c. 97. Gruter. inscript. p. 230. [y] Euseb. in Chron. [z] Suet. ibid.

firmed in this opinion by ſeveral other prodigies: the firſt letter of his name in an a inſcription on the pedeſtal of one of his ſtatues was ſtruck off with lightning, and the ſoothſayers, who were conſulted on that occaſion, declared, that he had only a hundred days to live, the letter C ſtanding for that number among the *Latins*; they added, that after his death he would be ranked among the gods, the word *Cæſar*, which was the remaining part of his name, ſignifying a *god* in the *Hetruſcan* language[a]. To theſe two omens *Dion Caſſius* adds a third, which in his opinion plainly preſaged his imminent death. It had been cuſtomary ever ſince the death of *Julius Cæſar*, to place his chair with a crown upon it at the public ſports. In this chair *Auguſtus* uſed to ſit, when he aſſiſted at the ſhews; but it happening to be empty while the ſports were exhibiting this year in honour of *Auguſtus*, a fool placed himſelf in it, and taking b up the crown, put it upon his head; and hence it was concluded, that the ſovereign power, ſignifyed by the crown, would ſoon paſs into other hands[b]. In the mean time, *Auguſtus* wrote a ſhort account of the chief actions of his life, which he cauſed to be engraved on braſs, and placed over his tomb[c]. Great part of this valuable monument has been tranſmitted to us in the *Marmor Ancyranum*, and is to be ſeen in the inſcriptions of the learned *Gruter*[d].

As *Auguſtus* viſibly declined every day both in his health and ſtrength, ſo that no body could doubt but his end was at hand, ſome few there were who began to talk of reſtoring the republic to its former liberty; but far the greater part, dreading a civil war, were for tamely ſubmitting to the perſon, whom *Auguſtus* ſhould think fit to c

The Romans *lay aſide all thoughts of attempting the recovery of their liberty.*

place over them. All the zealous republicans had been ſlain in the battles of *Philippi* and *Actium*; their poſterity had been long inured to the yoke, there being ſcarce any living now who had beheld the old free ſtate, and as for the *Roman* people, they were become a mere mob, addicted to idleneſs, void of all ſentiments of honour or virtue, without any traces of the ancient *Roman* ſpirit, or any attachment to the virtuous inſtitutions of their anceſtors. The zealous republicans therefore, who were very few, deſpairing of ſucceſs, and laying aſide all hopes of ever ſeeing the ancient free ſtate reſtored, reſolved to ſubmit to the heir and ſucceſſor whom *Auguſtus* ſhould name, and bear with patience the evils which it was not in their power to prevent or redreſs[e]. d

Auguſtus *goes to* Naples.

And now it being high time for *Tiberius* to leave *Rome*, and ſet out for *Illyricum*, *Auguſtus*, to the great ſurprize of the whole city, declared his intention of accompanying him as far as *Beneventum*, and purſuing his journey from thence to *Naples* in *Campania*, in order to aſſiſt at the ſolemn ſports which were to be exhibited there on his approaching birth-day. As he found his ſtrength decaying apace, he promiſed himſelf no ſmall benefit from the wholſome air of *Campania*, eſpecially of *Naples*, whither many *Romans* uſed to reſort, even in thoſe days, for the recovery of their health; and this was, as is ſuppoſed, the true motive of this ſudden and unexpected reſolution, though he did not think fit to own it. He performed the journey with uncommon chearfulneſs and alacrity, being attended by his beloved *Livia*, who, as c we may well imagine, was very aſſiduous about him in ſo critical a juncture. At *Beneventum* he parted with *Tiberius*, and purſued his journey to *Naples*, where he was received with all poſſible demonſtrations of joy. After he had ſpent ſome time at *Naples* very agreeably, and aſſiſted there at the public ſports, he was ſeized with

Is taken ill on his return.

a diarrhœa, a dangerous diſtemper in a perſon of his years. He therefore reſolved, before his ſtrength failed him, to return to *Rome*, and accordingly, leaving *Naples*, ſet out for his capital; but his illneſs increaſing in ſpite of all the remedies preſcribed him by the phyſicians who attended him, he was obliged to ſtop at *Nola* in *Campania*, and there betake himſelf to his bed. In the mean time, *Livia*, well appriſed that his end was at hand, diſpatched meſſenger after meſſenger to *Tiberius*, acquainting him with the ſtate of the emperor's health, and preſſing him to return with all poſſible expedition. *Tiberius*, upon the receipt of his mother's letters, immediately f

Tiberius *ſent for by* Livia.

left *Illyricum*, and flew to *Nola*, not with any private views, ſays *Velleius*, but merely out of the great tenderneſs and filial affection he had for *Auguſtus*, whom he found alive, if that author is to be credited, and had long conferences with him; in one of which, the dying emperor, after having publicly declared him his ſucceſſor in the ſovereign power, deſired him to maintain all his acts in their full vigor, and to purſue the ſame methods of governments which he had uſed[f]. But *Tacitus* tells us, that

[a] Idem ibid. Dio, l. vi. p. 589. [b] Dio, ibid. [c] Suet. l. ii. cap. ult. Dio, p. 591.
[d] Gruter. inſcript. p. 220. [e] Tacit. annal. l. i. [f] Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 128.

a that it was never well known, whether *Tiberius* on his arrival at *Nola* found the emperor dead, or ſtill alive, *Livia* having carefully beſet the palace, and all the avenues to it, with detachments of the guards, and given out from time to time good news of the emperor's recovery. He adds, that when ſhe had taken all neceſſary meaſures in ſo nice a juncture, in one and the ſame moment were publiſhed the death of *Auguſtus*, and acceſſion of *Tiberius* [g]. But to return to *Auguſtus*; finding his end approaching, he looked death in the face with greater intrepidity than was expected from one who had ever carefully avoided it in the field. He diſcourſed very chearfully with his intimate friends and chief favourites, giving them many wiſe and uſeful inſtructions relating to the management of their private affairs, and thoſe of the b public. In ſpeaking of his own actions, he told them, that *he had found* Rome *of brick, but left it of marble*, alluding by this expreſſion, ſays *Dion Caſſius*, not ſo much to the beauty and ſtatelineſs of the buildings, as to the majeſty, grandeur, and firmneſs of the empire. And now finding his ſtrength quite failed him, he called for a looking-glaſs, and having cauſed his hair to be ſet in order, and his wrinkled cheeks to be ſmoothed, as was cuſtomary among the ſtage-players, he aſked his friends with a languiſhing voice, *Whether he had acted his part well?* and they anſwering, *he had*; *Then clap me*, ſaid he, *for I have ended my part.* After this fixing his eyes on *Livia*, who held him in her arms, he deſired her *to remember their marriage, and the ties which had kept their hearts ſo long united*, and then quietly expired [h]. Thus c died the celebrated *Auguſtus* on the nineteenth of *Auguſt*, which month was ſo named from him, the ſame day on which he had entered upon his firſt conſulſhip. He had lived ſeventy-five years, ten months, and twenty-ſix days, and reigned from his firſt conſulſhip fifty-ſix years, but from the battle of *Actium* only forty-three. *Tacitus* and *Dion Caſſius* obſerve one very remarkable circumſtance of his death; for he died in the ſame town, as theſe two writers tell us, in the ſame houſe, and in the ſame chamber, where his father *Octavius* died [i]. *Livia* was ſuſpected of having haſtened the emperor's death, fearing he might be reconciled on his return to *Rome* with his grandſon *Agrippa Poſthumus*, whom he had privately viſited ſome months before, ſailing over to the iſland of *Planaſia* with *Fabius Maximus* alone, without the privity d of *Livia*, *Tiberius*, or any other of his moſt faithful and truſty favourites. This *Fabius* diſcloſed to his wife *Martia*, and ſhe to *Livia*, and thence the emperor knew that the ſecret was betrayed; which ſo provoked him againſt *Fabius*, that he baniſhed him his preſence for ever, bidding him, when he came to wait upon him the next morning, *an eternal farewel*. *Fabius* did not long ſurvive his diſgrace; but ſoon after laid violent hands on himſelf [k]. We are told, that in the interview between *Auguſtus* and his grandſon *Agrippa* many tears were ſhed on both ſides, and many tokens of mutual tenderneſs ſhewn, which gave the unhappy youth hopes of being reſtored to his own place in his grandfather's family. This *Livia* dreaded, and in order to prevent it, haſtened her huſband's death, as ſome authors write, with poiſoned figs [l]. e The body of the deceaſed emperor was carried from *Nola* to *Bovillæ* in the neighbourhood of *Rome* on the ſhoulders of the chief magiſtrates of the colonies and municipal towns on the road. At *Bovillæ* it was received by the *Roman* knights, and by them conveyed to *Rome*, and expoſed in the porch of the imperial palace on mount *Palatine*. *Tiberius*, in virtue of the tribunitial power with which he was inveſted, appointed the ſenate to meet the next day, but would ſuffer no other buſineſs to be tranſacted, except what related to the funeral of his deceaſed father. In the firſt place, his laſt will was brought in by the veſtal virgins, and read aloud by *Polybius* one of *Auguſtus*'s freedmen. It began thus: *Since the gods have been pleaſed to deprive me of my grand children* Caius *and* Lucius, *I declare* Tiberius *my heir*, &c. (E). By the ſame will *Tiberius* and *Livia*

He dies at Nola. *Year of the flood* 2014. *After Chriſt* 15. *Of* Rome 763.

Livia *ſuſpected of having haſtened his death.*

His body conveyed to Rome.

[g] Tacit. annal. l. i. c. 5. [h] Suet. ibid. c. 98. Vell. Patercul. ibid. Dio, p. 590. [i] Tacit. annal. l. i. c. 5. Dio, p. 589. [k] Tacit. ibid. [l] Tacit. ibid. Anonym. de vita Aug. & l, de garrulitate. Oros. Zonar. &c.

(E) From this preamble it is manifeſt, that *Auguſtus* would never have adopted *Tiberius*, or appointed him his ſucceſſor, had thoſe two young princes, or either of them, lived. Some writers tell us, that *Auguſtus* was well acquainted with the bad qualities and tirannical temper of *Tiberius*, and that on his death-bed he could not help pitying the *Roman* people, who, to uſe the expreſſions aſcribed to him, *Were to be under ſo ſlow a pair of grinders; Miſerum populum Romanum, qui ſub tam lentis maxillis erit.* What then prompted him to adopt for his ſon, and name for his ſucceſſior one whom he knew to be no ways qualified for ſo great a charge? To this queſtion ſome writers anſwer, that the promotion of *Tiberius* was intirely owing to his mother *Livia*, who had gained an abſolute aſcendant over *Auguſtus*;

His will.

Livia were appointed his firſt heirs, his grand-children, and their children, his ſecond, and the great men of *Rome* his third heirs: *Livia* was adopted into the *Julian* family, and honoured with the title of *Auguſta.* As for the great men of *Rome*, *Tacitus* tells us, that he hated them, but nevertheleſs named them out of vanity. To

And legacies.

the *Roman* people he left by way of legacy four hundred thouſand great ſeſterces; to the populace thirty-five thouſand; to every common ſoldier of the prætorian guards a thouſand ſmall ſeſterces; and to every ſoldier of the *Roman* legions three hundred.

Four writings left by him.

His laſt will being read, *Druſus* produced to the conſcript fathers four ſmall books wrote by the deceaſed emperor; the firſt of which contained regulations relating to the ceremony of his obſequies; the ſecond was a journal of the moſt memorable actions of his life, which by his laſt will he ordered to be engraved on the pillars of braſs, which ſupported the frontiſpiece of his ſtately mauſoleum. Great part of this journal has been preſerved in an ancient marble found about a hundred and fifty years ſince in the city of *Ancyra*[m]. The third book contained a ſummary of the ſtrength and income of the empire, the number of the *Romans* and auxiliaries in pay, the condition of the navy, of the ſeveral kingdoms paying tribute, and of the various provinces and their revenues, with the ſtate of the treaſury, the expences of the empire, and the demands upon the public. This regiſter, as we may call it, was all writ with *Auguſtus*'s own hand. The fourth book was a collection of inſtructions for the uſe of *Tiberius*, and the other governors and magiſtrates of the republic, whom he adviſed to lay aſide all thoughts of extending the limits of the empire by new conqueſts[n]. But whether this advice was dictated by his love for the public, ſays *Tacitus*, or by envy and jealouſy of the glory of his ſucceſſors, is uncertain[o]. The funeral honours were

Opinions of the ſenators relating to his funeral honours.

next conſidered, when *Aſinius Gallus* moved, that the funeral ſhould paſs through the triumphal gate; *Lucius Arruntius*, that the titles of all the laws he had made, and the names of all the nations he had conquered, ſhould be carried before the corps; ſome were of opinion, that on the day of his funeral all the magiſtrates and knights ſhould in token of their grief wear iron rings inſtead of their gold ones, and that, to eternalize his memory, not only the month *Sextilis*, but the whole time he had lived, ſhould bear his name, and be ſtiled *Seculum Auguſtum*, that is, *the age of* Auguſtus. *Valerius Meſſala*, departing from the matter in queſtion, added, that the oath of allegiance to *Tiberius* ſhould be renewed every year. *Tiberius*, ſurpriſed at this unexpected propoſal, aſked him, whether he had made that motion at his inſtigation! *I ſpoke it*, anſwered *Meſſala* with a new turn of flattery, *as my own opinion, nor*

[m] Vide Gruter. inſcript. p. 130. [n] Dio, Suet. ibid. [o] Tacit. annal. l. 1. c. 11.

Auguſtus, eſpecially in his old age: others ſay, that he was acted therein by a ſecret ambition of makeing his death more regretted by the badneſs of his ſucceſſor. But *Suetonius* cannot perſuade himſelf, that a prince of *Auguſtus*'s ſagacity and prudence could proceed upon motives of this nature, in an affair of ſo great importance; he is rather inclined to believe, that having weighed both his vices and virtues, he thought the latter overbalanced the former; and hence, when he adopted him, he ſolemnly declared upon oath, that he was prompted thereunto by no other motive but that of the public welfare, and often commended him in his letters not only as an excellent commander, but as the only ſtay and ſupport of the *Roman* people. Out of theſe letters *Suetonius* inſtances ſome of his expreſſions: *Farewel*, ſays he, in one of them, *my dear* Tiberius; *may you be happy in your enterprizes, fighting, as you do for me and the muſes: may I be happy, as you are a moſt valiant and accompliſhed commander. Farewel, take care of your ſummer-quarters; as for my own part, my dear* Tiberius, *I confidently believe, that amongſt ſo many difficulties and diſorders, in the midſt of ſo much remiſſneſs and cowardice in the army, no man could have behaved with more prudence than you have done; inſomuch, that all thoſe, who have had the honour of attending you, do unanimouſly acknowledge, that this verſe cannot more properly be applied to any man living, than to yourſelf:*

Unus homo nobis vigilando reſtituit rem.

And in another letter; *Whether I ſeriouſly conſider of an affair, or any thing falls out which I ought to reſent, I want my* Tiberius *immediately, and this ſaying comes conſtantly into my mind, By this man's conduct and prudence we might both eſcape even out of the fire. As often as I am told how much you are fallen away by your indefatigable labour, may I periſh if I do not tremble to hear it. Let me deſire you therefore to have more care of yourſelf for the future, leſt the firſt news of your ſickneſs be the death of your mother and me, and the people of* Rome *be in great danger of loſing their empire. I do not value my own health, unleſs you be well too. I beg the gods to preſerve you for our good, if they bear no prejudice or grudge to the* Roman *people* (59). From theſe letters it plainly appears, that *Auguſtus* had a real value and ſincere affection for *Tiberius*, that he looked upon him as the only perſon capable of ſupporting with dignity the title of emperor, and conſequently that it was not out of complaiſance to *Livia*, nor a ſecret ambition of inhancing his own reputation with poſterity by the badneſs of his ſucceſſor that he choſe him.

(59) *Suet. in Tiber.*

a *nor will I ever be controuled by any man in things which concern the welfare of the public, let who will be provoked at my freedom* [p]. The ſenators at length all agreed to carry the body of the deceaſed emperor to the funeral pile on their ſhoulders; but this *Tiberius* would not ſuffer; nay, he cautioned the people by an edict to refrain their zeal, and not to inſiſt upon having his body burnt, as *Julius Cæſar*'s had been, rather in the forum, than in the field of *Mars*, which was the place appointed. However, his funeral was perfomed with the greateſt pomp and magnificence, that had ever been ſeen in *Rome*. *Druſus* read from the roſtra a ſhort elogium of the deceaſed emperor, and *Tiberius* pronounced his funeral oration in the forum, which was received with the applauſe it well deſerved, it being a maſter-piece of the kind [q]. When fire was ſet
b to his pile, an eagle was let looſe from the top of it, as it were to carry his ſoul to heaven. *Livia* and with her ſome of the chief men among the knights continued for five days together in the field of *Mars* gathering up the aſhes and the bones which the flames had ſpared. Theſe *Livia* put into an urn of gold, which ſhe repoſited in the magnificent mauſoleum, which *Auguſtus* had long before built for himſelf in a grove between the *Tiber* and the *Flaminian* way. It was decreed that men ſhould mourn for him according to cuſtom, that is, about three weeks; but women a whole year, probably for *Livia*'s ſake. As ſoon as the funeral was over, divine worſhip was decreed him with a temple and prieſts: the houſe, in which he was born, that in which he died, and moſt of the houſes, in which he had lived, were changed into ſanctuaries. *Livia*, now *Julia Auguſta*, took upon her to be the chief prieſteſs of the new deity, and made a preſent of ten thouſand great ſeſterces to a ſenator, named *Numerius Atticus*, who ſolemnly declared upon his oath, that he had ſeen the ſoul of *Auguſtus* aſcend up to heaven. This fable, which was a copy of that which *Julius Proculus* had many ages before publiſhed concerning *Romulus*, was ſoon ſpread and credited in all the provinces ſubject to *Rome:* temples were every-where erected in honour of the deified *Auguſtus*, and a new order of prieſts inſtituted. *Tiberius* conſe-
c crated a ſanctuary to his deceaſed father in his own palace, and choſe twenty-one prieſts from among the ſenators, naming himſelf, his ſon *Druſus*, and his nephew *Germanicus*, among the firſt [r]. It was not out of any principle of religion, or any
d regard to *Auguſtus*, as *Tacitus* well obſerves, that *Tiberius* procured the deification of *Auguſtus*, but becauſe it nearly concerned him to have all the laws and acts of one who had left him his ſucceſſor paſs for ſacred. Beſides, in promoting this kind of ſuperſtition, he had another view, which was to rivet the public ſlavery, evidently included in religious worſhip paid to a prince who had inthralled his country.

His body burnt in the campus Martius.

Divine honours decreed him.

Auguſtus was a man of a ſound judgment, and great penetration, had a particular turn for buſineſs, and a wonderful talent in improving opportunities, and applying the abilities of others to his own ends. In the times of the republic, when valour and eloquence were the only means of riſing, and acquiring fame, he would have made but a middling figure; for he was quite deſtitute of the former, being bold
e indeed in council, but a coward in the field; and as to his eloquence, it was, according to *Tacitus*, eaſy and flowing, ſuch as became a prince, but no ways fit to move or controul the ſpirit of republicans. He did not make his way to the throne, but found it already made by his great uncle *Julius*, who happily accompliſhed what he would never have thought of attempting. He had, 'tis true, powerful enemies to contend with, whom he overcame; but his victories were owing to others, and not to himſelf. Thus by the bravery of *Antony* he conquered *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, and by the valour of *Agrippa* he conquered *Antony*. Nor did it require extraordinary abilities to hold the empire, when he had once acquired it, the *Roman* ſpirit being in-
f tirely broken, and all thoſe cut off either in the battles of *Philippi* and *Actium*, or by bloody proſcriptions, who had courage enough to ſtand up in defence of their liberties. He was naturally of a cruel and vindictive temper, and did many mean things to ſatisfy his revenge, which the great heart of *Cæſar* would have ſcorned. We meet with no inſtances of his ſo much boaſted clemency and moderation, till he had ſacrificed to his jealouſy all thoſe whom he either feared or ſuſpected. When he had thoroughly maſtered the ſtate, utterly extinguiſhed all maxims of liberty, and inhumanly maſſacred ſuch as he thought capable of thwarting his deſigns, or diſturbing him in the poſſeſſion of his uſurped power, he then governed with great mildneſs, and diſcharged all the duties of an excellent prince; which gave riſe to the ſaying, that

His character.

[p] Idem ibid. [q] Vide Dio, l. lvi. p. 598. [r] Dio, p. 598—600. Tacit. ibid. c. 11, 15, 78.

that *he ſhould never have been born, or never have died.* As he ſtuck at no wickedneſs to gain power, we cannot help thinking but that he would have committed more to maintain it, if he had found more to be neceſſary. He made, 'tis true, a feint or two to abdicate the ſovereignty; had he been in earneſt, he might at leaſt have left for a legacy to the *Roman* people that liberty of which he had robbed them. But inſtead of reſtoring to them that dominion over themſelves, which none but themſelves had any right to exerciſe, he provided by a long train of ſucceſſors againſt any poſſible recovery of liberty. When he had no longer any heirs of his own blood, whom he liked, he adopted the ſons of his wife, and their ſons; which plainly ſhews, that he was determined to intail ſlavery upon his country, and extend his uſurpation even beyond his grave. Some writers to excuſe him tell us, that the ſtate was irretrievable, and that it was therefore abſolutely neceſſary the ſovereign power ſhould be lodged in one man. But *Auguſtus* himſelf judged otherwiſe; for by propoſing to reſign, however inſincere this propoſal was, he at leaſt ſhewed, that he thought the reſettling of the republic practicable. *Druſus*, brother to *Tiberius*, declared his deſign to effect it; nay, it was what *Tiberius* himſelf, after he was emperor, pretended to do. *Auguſtus* might, without all doubt, by his abſolute authority have reduced the commonwealth to her firſt principles and firmneſs. This would have been true glory, the only true uſe of his abſolute power, and the only amends for having aſſumed it. But inſtead of reſtoring the ſtate to its ancient luſtre, he did all that lay in his power to perpetuate ſlavery, to extinguiſh all maxims of liberty, and to render his ſucceſſors as abſolute as himſelf. But not to dwell any longer on this ſubject, we ſhall conclude with *Dion Caſſius*, that *Auguſtus* would have been deſervedly eſteemed one of the beſt princes that ever ſwayed a ſceptre, had he not uſurped, but received the ſovereign power lawfully conveyed to him from his anceſtors. But whether the wiſe laws he publiſhed, and the mildneſs with which he governed, after his ſovereignty was thoroughly eſtabliſhed, ſufficiently atoned for his uſurpation, and the many crimes attending it, is what we ſubmit to the judgment of our readers (F).

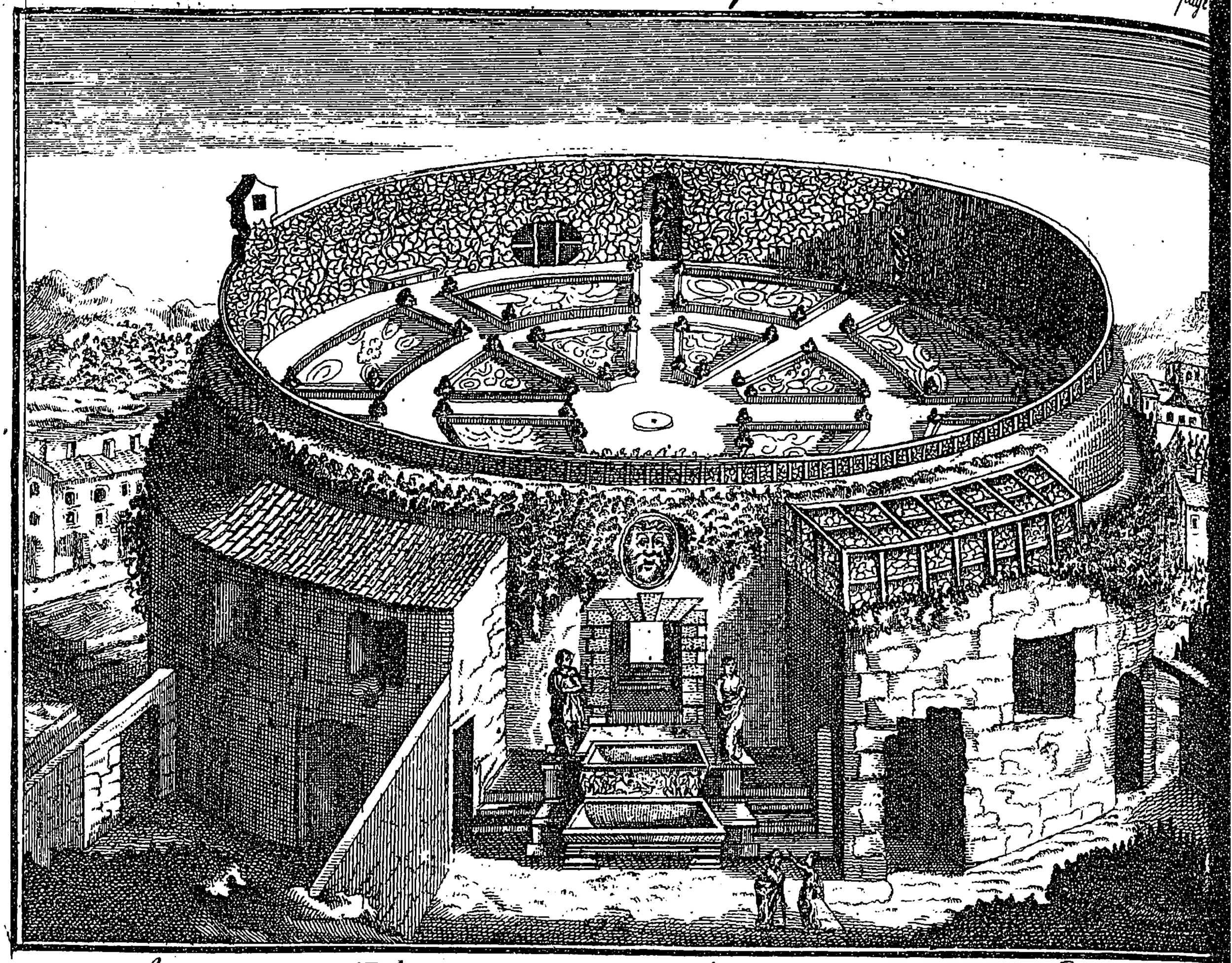
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(F) The news of *Auguſtus*'s death, when firſt brought to *Rome*, gave occaſion to various diſcourſes and obſervations concerning him, which it would be an unpardonable omiſſion in us not to take notice of, ſince they acquaint us with the ſentiments, which his friends as well as his enemies entertained of him, and have been tranſmitted to us by one of the moſt judicious and accurate writers of antiquity (60), in whoſe words we ſhall deliver them: 'The ſuperſtitious multitude, ſays that writer, admired the 'fortuitous events of his life, the laſt day of which 'and the firſt of his reign was the ſame; that he 'died at *Nola*, in the ſame town, in the ſame houſe, 'and in the ſame chamber, where his father *Octavius* 'died. They obſerved to his glory his many conſulſhips, equal in number to thoſe of *Valerius Corvinus* and *Caius Marius* put together; that he had 'exerciſed the tribunitial power for thirty-ſeven 'years ſucceſſively; that he had been proclaimed 'emperor twenty-one times, and that he had enjoyed 'many honours, ſome of which had been conferred 'upon others, and ſome created for him. Men of 'penetration entered further into his life, but differed about it. His admirers ſaid, that his filial 'piety, and the diſorders which reigned in the republic, and had got the better of the laws, forced 'him to enter into a civil war, which can never 'be carried on without dreadful diſturbances; that 'to be revenged on thoſe who had murdered his 'father, he had been obliged to comply with the 'violent temper of his colleagues, *Antony* and *Lepidus*, and give up to their revenge and jealouſy many 'illuſtrious citizens; that when *Antony* was loſt in 'ſenſuality, and *Lepidus* in ſloth and idleneſs, there 'was no other remedy for the diſtracted ſtate, rent 'into parties and factions, but the ſovereignty of 'one: *Auguſtus*, however, did never take upon him 'to rule over his country as king or dictator, but 'ſettled the government under the legal title of 'prince of the ſenate: he extended the bounds of 'the empire, and ſet for its limits the diſtant ocean, 'and remote rivers; the ſeveral parts and forces of 'the ſtate, the legions, the provinces, and the navy, 'were well connected and governed; the citizens 'lived peaceably under the protection of the laws, 'the allies reſpected the *Roman* name, and *Rome* herſelf was adorned with magnificent ſtructures: he 'had indeed on ſome occaſions exerted his arbitrary 'power, but in very few, and then only to ſecure 'the peace of the whole. In anſwer to all this, 'others, who did not entertain ſo good an opinion 'of the deceaſed emperor, urged, that his filial piety, 'and the diſtractions of the republic, were mere pretences; but his luſt of reigning the true and only 'motive, which prompted him to kindle a civil war 'in the bowels of his country; that in order to get 'the whole power of the ſtate into his hands, he 'gained over by bribery a body of veterans; and 'though a private youth, levied an army in defiance 'of the laws; that for the baſe purpoſe of power, 'he debauched the *Roman* legions under the command of the conſuls, as if he deſigned to join '*Pompey*'s republican party; that ſoon after, when 'he had obtained of the ſenate, or rather uſurped, 'the prætorſhip, the two conſuls, *Hirtius* and *Panſa* 'being ſlain, he ſeized both their armies; that it 'was doubted whether the conſuls were killed by 'the enemy, or their own men, *Hirtius* in the battle, 'and *Panſa* after it, by having poiſon poured into 'his wounds, and whether young *Cæſar* was not 'the author of this execrable treaſon; that he extorted the conſulſhip in ſpite of the ſenate, and 'employed againſt the commonwealth the very arms 'with which ſhe had truſted him for her defence 'againſt *Antony*. To all this they added, his bloody 'proſcriptions, the maſſacre of numberleſs citizens, 'his robbing the public of ſo many lands and poſſeſſions, and diſtributing them among his own 'creatures;

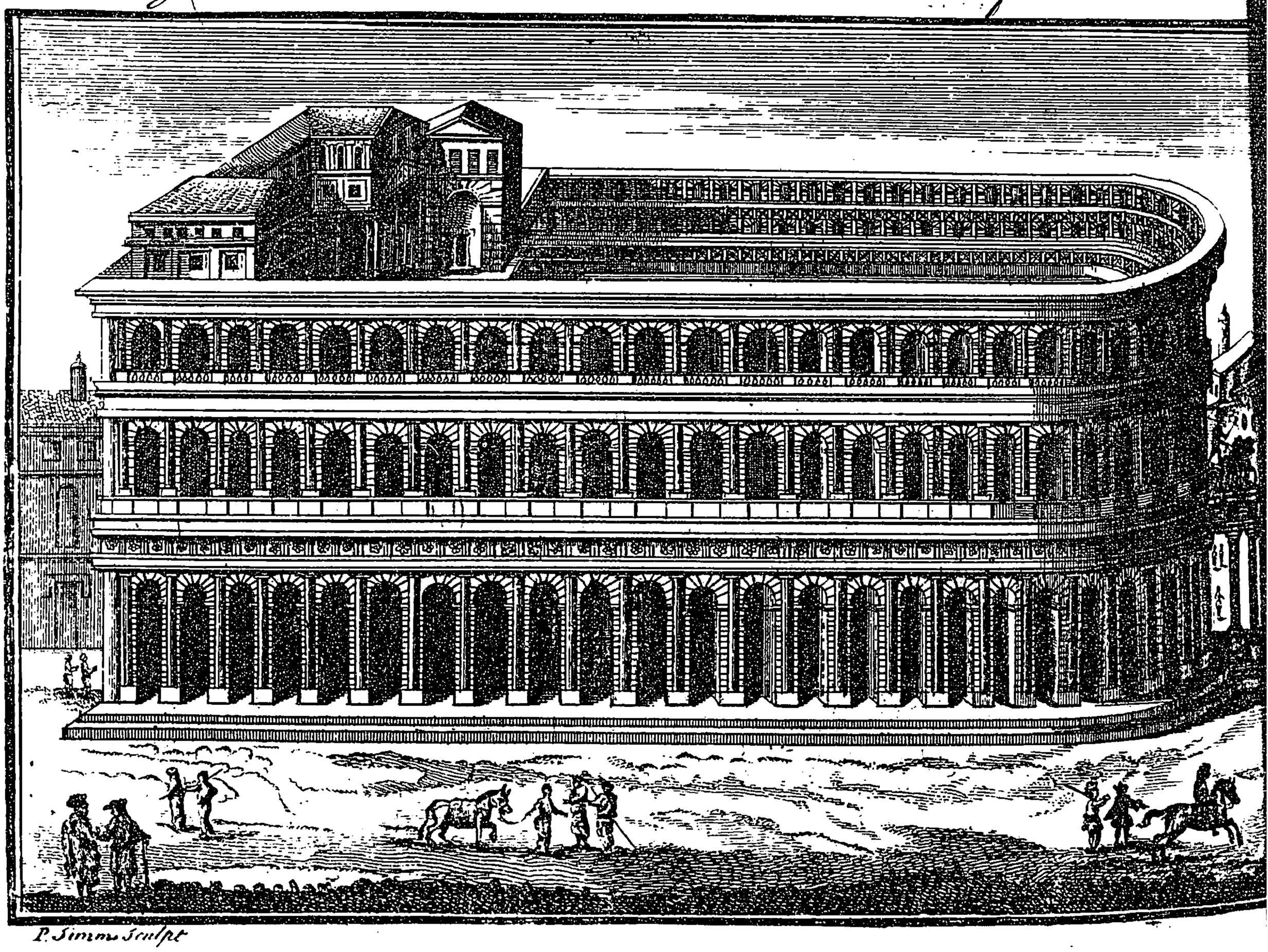
(60) *Tacit. annal. l.* i. *c.* 6.



The Mausoleum of Augustus



Augustus's Theatre erected in Honour of Marcellus



P. Simms Sculpt

THE firſt feat of the reign of *Tiberius* was the murder of young *Agrippa*, whom he cauſed to be diſpatched by a military tribune, in whoſe cuſtody he was at that time, before he ſuffered *Auguſtus*'s death to be made public. *Tiberius* avoided mentioning this tranſaction in the ſenate, and would have the world believe that it was done Tiberius.

' creatures ; a piece of injuſtice ſo notorious, that ' even thoſe who were gainers by it, could not help ' condemning it. But allowing him to have had ' no other view in the deſtructive war he carried on ' againſt *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, but to revenge by their ' death the murder of the dictator, though it had ' been more to his reputation to ſacrifice his private ' reſentment to the public welfare, did he not be- ' tray young *Pompey* by a deceitful peace ? Did he ' not inſnare *Antony* firſt by treaties, *viz.* of *Taren-* ' *tum* and *Brunduſium*, then by a marriage, that of ' his ſiſter *Octavia ?* And did not this perfidious alli- ' ance at length coſt *Antony* his life ? After this, 'tis ' true, there was peace, but a bloody peace in the ' defeat of *Lollius* and *Varus* in *Germany* ; and at ' *Rome* the *Varrones*, the *Egnatii*, the *Julii*, illuſtri- ' ous citizens, were put to death. Neither was his ' domeſtic life ſpared on this occaſion : he had ar- ' bitrarily robbed *Nero* of his wife, when ſhe was ' big with child, and in deriſion of the gods con- ' ſulted the prieſts, whether he might marry her ' before, or was obliged to wait till after her deli- ' very. His favourites, *Tedius* and *Vedius Pollio* had ' lived in exceſſive luxury : his wife *Livia*, who had ' an abſolute ſway over him had proved a cruel go- ' verneſs to the republic, and a more cruel ſtep- ' mother to the *Julian* family : he had even uſurped ' honours peculiar to the gods, and raiſing temples ' to himſelf, would be adored as a deity with all the ' ſolemnity of prieſts and ſacrifices : he adopted *Ti-* ' *berius* for his ſucceſſor, not out of affection to him, ' or any concern for the republic, but having diſ- ' covered in him a cruel and haughty temper, he ' ſought glory from the compariſon of their reigns'.

Such were the ſentiments and obſervations of the *Romans* on the deceaſed emperor. But after all, it muſt be owned, that *Auguſtus*, whether we conſider him as a magiſtrate at the helm of the republic, or, as a private citizen in his domeſtic life, had many good qualities, which few perſons in either ſtation have ever ſince his time poſſeſſed in ſo eminent a degree. Theſe together with his vices we ſhall here without any prejudice or partiality expoſe to the conſideration of our readers, that they may the better be able to form a right judgment of the famous and ſo much celebrated *Auguſtus*.

In the firſt place, when his authority was once thoroughly eſtabliſhed, he made it his whole ſtudy to redreſs the public grievances, to ſuppreſs the diſorders which had been introduced by the licentiouſneſs of the ſoldiery, during the civil wars, to ſettle in all the provinces a laſting peace, and to promote the happineſs and welfare of his ſubjects. That he had nothing more at heart than to ſee the republic flouriſh, he frequently declared in his private diſcourſe, but more remarkably in one of his edicts in the following words : *I wiſh I may be able to eſtabliſh the commonwealth on its proper baſis, and reap ſuch fruits of my labour as I deſire, that I may hereafter be reputed the founder of ſo excellent a fabric, and carry this hope with me to the grave, that the commonwealth will continue and flouriſh upon the foundations which I have laid.* Some writers have thought, that he would have reſigned after his firſt illneſs, or at leaſt left *Rome* free at his death, had he not been perſuaded, that other pretenders would have riſen up, and involved the republic in new troubles. He enacted many excellent laws for the reformation of manners, and extirpation of vice ; and it may be truly ſaid, that virtue was never more countenanced than in his reign. His ſumptuary laws, his laws againſt bribery, adultery, unnatural luſt, and all kind of incontinence, wrought a great change in the city, where vice had long appeared bare-faced, and triumphed. After he had reformed the manners of the citizens, he applied himſelf wholly to the embelliſhing of the city. In order to this, he raiſed many public buildings, among which the chief were, the *forum*, or *court of juſtice*, the temple of *Mars the avenger*, the temple of *Apollo in Palatio*, the temple of *Jupiter the thunderer* in the capitol, the portico of *Lucius* and *Caius*, the palaces of *Livia* and *Octavia*, and the theatre of *Marcellus*. He repaired many old temples, and rebuilt many, which had been deſtroyed either by time or fire, inriching both them and the reſt with moſt magnificent preſents. To the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, not to mention others, he gave at once ſixteen thouſand pound weight of gold, beſides jewels and precious ſtones, to the value of fifty millions of ſeſterces. He often exhorted the principal and moſt wealthy citizens to repair or erect ſome monument or other, which might ſerve as an ornament to the city : and upon his perſuaſion *Marcius Philippus* built the temple of *Hercules Muſarum*, *L. Cornificius*, the temple of *Diana*, *Aſinius Pollio* the *court of liberty*, *Munatius Plancus* the temple of *Saturn*, *Cornelius Balbus* a theatre, *Statilius Taurus* an amphitheatre, and *Marcus Agrippa* a great number of moſt ſtately and magnificent ſtructures. In order to ſecure the city, thus embelliſhed, againſt fires and inundations, to which it was ſubject, he divided it into fourteen regions or wards, appointing a peculiar magiſtrate for each ward, and committing the care of each ſtreet to ſome citizen of diſtinction. Theſe had under their command guards and watchmen, who were to patrol all night to prevent fires, robberies, and other diſorders : againſt the inundations of the *Tiber*, which often laid the lower parts of the city under water, he cleanſed and enlarged the bed of that river, which had been long choaked up with rubbiſh, and the ruins of houſes ; and that the city might be the more acceſſible on all ſides, he took upon himſelf the reparation of the *Flaminian* way as far as *Ariminum*, leaving the reſt of the public ways to be mended by ſuch as had triumphed, and the charges to be defrayed out of the ſpoils of the enemy.

He ſhewed high regard for the *Roman* name, and was ſparing in admitting foreigners to the rights of citizens ; whereof we have the two following inſtances : *Tiberius*, having deſired him to grant the citizenſhip of *Rome* to a certain *Greek*, who was one of his clients, he wrote him this anſwer ; that *he would not comply with his requeſt, unleſs he came himſelf, and ſatisfied him of the juſtice of it* : in like manner *Livia* interceding for a *Gaul*, he peremptorily rejected her petition, but granted the *Gaul* an exemption from his tribute with this declaration ; that *he would rather condeſcend to a diminution of the public revenue, than to proſtitute the honour of the* Roman *name*. As he had a particular veneration for the memory of thoſe heroes who had contributed to the advancement of the *Roman* empire, he repaired all their monuments, retaining their old titles and inſcriptions, and dedicating their ſtatues in the two portico's of his forum ; on which occaſion he declared in an edict, that *his deſign was to propoſe them as a pattern and example, by which he himſelf, and the princes, who ſhould ſucceed him, might frame themſelves, and regulate their conduct.*

As he had no great talent for war, he commanded the army in perſon but twice againſt a foreign enemy, *viz.*

Agrippa Poſthumus *murdered.*

done by the command of *Auguſtus*, as if he had tranſmitted orders to the tribune who guarded the youth, to diſpatch him upon the firſt intelligence of his death. The better to ſupport this ſtory, when the tribune, according to the cuſtom of the army, acquainted *Tiberius*, that his commands were executed, he anſwered, that he had given no ſuch commands, and that he ſhould be anſwerable to the ſenate for what he had

viz. in *Dalmatia*, when he was but young, and in his expedition againſt the *Cantabrians*. The other wars he managed by his lieutenants, who under his auſpices reduced the *Cantabrians*, *Aquitans*, *Dalmatians*, *Pannonians*, *Illyrians*, *Rhætians*, *Vindelicians*, *Salaſſians*, and the *Germans* inhabiting the countries between the *Rhine* and the *Elbe*. He held it for an infallible maxim, that war was never to be undertaken, nor a battle fought, but when the advantage hoped for was apparently greater than the loſs feared; *for thoſe who hazard much*, ſaid he, *to gain but little, are like men who fiſh with hooks of gold, the loſs of which will hardly be repaired by what they catch*. He uſed to ſay, that raſhneſs and precipitancy were the greateſt faults in a general; whence he had this ſaying frequently in his mouth, *Feſtina lente*, which is much the ſame in ſenſe with our common proverb, *No more haſte than good ſpeed*. He was very ſevere in keeping the ſoldiers to their duty, not ſuffering, but with much difficulty, even his lieutenants to quit the camp, and return to *Rome*; and that only when the troops were in winter quarters. A *Roman* knight, having cut off the thumbs of two of his ſons to diſable them from ſerving, he condemned him to be ſold for a ſlave, and confiſcated his eſtate. He disbanded the tenth legion only for betraying an unwillingneſs to obey his commands, and diſmiſſed others, without the rewards due to veterans for having demanded their diſcharge. If in an engagement any cohort or legion gave ground, or were even put into confuſion, he ordered every tenth man by lot to be executed, and allowed the reſt nothing but barley. The centurions and tribunes likewiſe, abandoning their poſts, were immediately puniſhed with death. For ſmall offences he contented himſelf with condemning them to ſtand all day before his prætorium, ſometimes ungirt in their tunics only, and ſometimes with long poles in their hands. After the civil wars he never called thoſe who ſerved under him *fellow-ſoldiers*, but only *ſoldiers*, nor would he ſuffer his own or his wife's children to call them otherwiſe, thinking it inconſiſtent with military diſcipline, with the tranquillity of thoſe times, and the grandeur of his family, to treat them with familiarity.

He was no leſs careful in adminiſtring juſtice, than ſevere in exacting military diſcipline: for he not only appointed ſuch judges as were men of known integrity, but was himſelf very aſſiduous in hearing cauſes, often ſitting up with great patience the beſt part of the night: when he was by any indiſpoſition confined to his palace, he uſed then to hear cauſes in his own room lying upon a couch, thinking the adminiſtration of juſtice the chief and indiſpenſable duty of a prince. Notwithſtanding his aſſiduity in hearing cauſes, and continual application, he was at all hours ready to give audience even to the meaneſt of the people, to hear their complaints, and receive their petitions; and becauſe one preſented him his requeſt ſomewhat timorouſly, he pleaſantly rebuked him, ſaying, *That he had delivered his petition to him, as if he had been preſenting ſomething to an elephant*. To encourage perſons of all ranks to recur freely to him, he carefully avoided all outward appearance of grandeur; hence he very ſeldom entered, or left any city, but in the night-time, to avoid all formalities, and the attendance of the inhabitants. He never went to the ſenate without ſaluting all the ſenators, in the order they ſat, each of them by his own name; and at his departure took his leave of them in the ſame manner. He aſſiſted in perſon at all public and private feaſts and entertainments till he began to be in years, and could no longer bear the inconveniencies of a croud. He had ſo great an averſion to the title of *dominus* or *lord*, that he looked upon it as a reproach, and even publiſhed an edict, forbidding any one, his own children and grand children not excepted, to give him that title. In the aſſemblies held for the election of magiſtrates, he gave his vote in his own tribe, as if he had been one of the people; and in the courts of judicature, he not only ſuffered himſelf to be interrogated, but allowed the judges and advocates of the adverſe party to object againſt his depoſition. How great and powerful ſoever his favourites were in *Rome*, he would not allow them any exemption from the judiciary laws, nor even recommend them to the judges. Of all the criminals and accuſed perſons in his time, he ſaved but one, by whoſe means he had diſcovered a conſpiracy formed againſt him, and him he preſerved by prevailing with his intreaties upon his accuſer to withdraw his accuſation. The ancients give us ſeveral inſtances even of his clemency, after his authority was thoroughly eſtabliſhed. One *Junius Novatus* publiſhed a letter full of bitter invectives againſt him in the name of young *Agrippa*, for which offence *Auguſtus* only laid a ſmall fine upon him. One *Caſſius Patavinus* declared boldly at a public entertainment, that *he neither wanted will nor courage to rid* Rome *of her new monarch*; and *Auguſtus* contented himſelf only with ordering him to depart *Rome*. *Æmilius Ælianus* being accuſed among other things of ſpeaking of him with great contempt, the emperor turning to the informer, and pretending to be in a great rage, *I wiſh with all my heart you could prove it*, ſaid he: *if you did, I would make* Ælianus *know, that I have a tongue as well as he, and can ſay twice as much of him*; and reſented it no further. *Tiberius* likewiſe complaining in a letter to him of the inſolence of *Ælianus*, he returned him this anſwer; *Do not, my dear* Tiberius, *indulge too much in this caſe your paſſion; let us deſpiſe words, and think ourſelves happy if they can do us no greater harm.*

As for his liberality, it knew no bounds; he conſtantly ſupplied with corn above a hundred thouſand families, which he cauſed to be diſtributed monthly among them: he frequently preſented the people with large ſums, giving them ſometimes two, ſometimes three, and ſometimes four hundred ſeſterces a head, not excluding even the children. He was always ready to lend without intereſt, any ſum to ſuch perſons as were able to ſecure him his principal by double the value. When he publiſhed the law excluding from the ſenate ſuch as were not worth twelve hundred thouſand ſeſterces, out of compaſſion for many noble families, he made up that ſum with his own money. He exhibited at an immenſe charge twenty-four ſhows in his own name, and twenty-three for other magiſtrates, who were either abſent, or not able to bear the expence attending them.

Thus far of *Auguſtus* as a public magiſtrate: as to his domeſtic and private life, *Suetonius* repreſents him as a tender and careful parent, a conſtant friend, and both a ſevere and gentle maſter. He brought up his daughter and her children with the utmoſt care, not allowing any but perſons of unblemiſhed characters

characters to have access to them: his grandchildren he taught himself the rudiments of learning, promising himself great happiness from his issue, and the care he took of their education; but he was therein, to his inexpressible grief, greatly disappointed, as we have related in the history of his reign. His friendship, when once acquired, was firm and constant: he not only rewarded his friends services, but patiently bore with their faults. Of all of them none ever received any ill treatment at his hands, except *Salvidienus Rufus*, and the famous poet *Cornelius Gallus*, who well deserved it, as we have related above. The rest of his favourites flourished in honour and riches to the end of their lives. As to his domestics, he conferred honourable employments, and heaped riches upon such of them as behaved well; but *Proculus*, a freedman, and one of his chief favourites, he caused to be put to death, for carrying on intrigues with married women. *Thallus*, another freedman, and his amanuensis, having betrayed some secrets for five hundred *denarii*, had his legs broke by his order. Several of his grandson *Caius*'s attendants he ordered to be thrown headlong into a river, and drowned, for levying money in their master's province without his knowledge. He chose rather to turn into mirth the timorousness of *Diomedes*, another of his freedmen, than to impute it to any malicious design, when walking with him alone, a wild boar coming suddenly upon them, *Diomedes*, to secure himself, made bold to thrust his master to the boar.

He applied himself from his youth to the study of eloquence, and other liberal arts. During the war of *Modena* he is said not to have passed a day in the midst of his most important affairs without reading, writing, and declaiming. He wrote several books upon different subjects; viz. *An answer to* Brutus's Cato; *exhortations to the study of philosophy*; *the history of his life* to the *Cantabrian* war in thirteen books, an epic poem intitled *Sicilia*, and a book of epigrams, which he composed for the most part in his baths: he began a tragedy in a lofty style, but finding he could not hold out at that rate, he expunged what he had wrote, and being asked by his friends what was become of *Ajax*, who was the subject of the performance, he answered, *Ajax has dispatched himself with a sponge*. Though he was well acquainted with the *Greek* tongue, yet he neither spoke it readily, nor ever ventured to compose any thing in it; when he was obliged to use that language, he first wrote down in *Latin* what he had a mind to say, and then gave it to another to translate into *Greek*. In perusing the authors of both languages, his chief observation was what precepts and examples he might collect for the public or private instruction of his subjects and friends; when he thought any of them proper, he copied them word for word, and sent them to his domestics, the governors of the provinces, or the magistrates of the city, as any of them wanted admonition; nay, sometimes he read whole books to the senate, and recommended them afterwards to the people by proclamation. His generosity to men of learning knew no bounds, and hence so many famous writers flourished in his time, that the age of *Augustus* will ever be looked upon as the age of elegancy and politeness; and every admirer of the poets and historians, who flourished in those days, will be an admirer of *Augustus*, who was so generous to them, and is the chief subject of their panegyrics.

But his virtues were not without the allay of some vices highly unbecoming a person in his station. He abandoned himself to all manner of lewdness, without renouncing even in his old age the vices of his youth: his severe laws against adultery were no check upon him, no more than the sacred ties of friendship; for he did not spare the wife even of his own favourite, and faithful counsellor *Mecænas*. It was not extreme prudence in so great a politician to be daily violating his own laws, especially after he had, by sentencing those to death, who were guilty of adultery, declared how heinous and unpardonable a crime he thought it. *Marc Antony* in one of his letters to him before they quarrelled, rallies him upon his intrigues with several married women of great distinction, whom he names. His friends, to excuse these scandalous practices, which were too notorious to be denied, pretended, that he courted the favour of the wives to discover by their means the plots and designs of their husbands. He is said to have divorced *Scribonia* for resenting the authority of one of his concubines: as for *Livia*, she out of policy indulged his vicious inclinations so far, as to make it her business to bring him acquainted with such women as she thought he might like: he employed many of his friends in the same vile ministry, which gave occasion to several lampoons, and sharp satires. *Marc Antony* reproached him with having gained the favour of his great uncle *Julius Cæsar* at the expence of his modesty, and his brother *Lucius Antonius* charged him with abandoning himself, while he was in *Spain*, to the will of *A. Hirtius*, who was afterwards consul, for three hundred thousand sesterces; hence the people at a comedy not only interpreted to his dishonour, but applauded the following expression spoke of a priest of *Cybele*, playing upon his timbrel, as if it had been spoken of him, *Videsne ut cinædus orbem digito temperet? Don't you see how the catamite governs the world with one finger?* Some writers have also represented him as covetous of rich furniture, especially of *Corinthian* vessels; and tell us, that in the time of the proscription the following pasquinade was writ under his statue, *Pater argentarius, ego Corinthiarius*, that is, *My father dealt in money, and I in* Corinthian *vessels*; for it was supposed, that several persons had been proscribed for their plate, and that his father had been a banker, which last supposition was intirely groundless, for his father was raised very early to the highest honours in the republic. As for his immoderate desire of rich furniture, *Suetonius* clears him from this imputation, by telling us, that the goods and furniture of his house, which were still to be seen in his time, were not rich enough for a private person of any taste, and adding, that at the taking of *Alexandria*, of all the queen's rich furniture, he reserved for himself only a porcelain cup. He was given to gaming, and took great pleasure in playing at dice, which gave occasion to the following distich, which was made during the war in *Sicily*:

Postquam bis classe victus naves perdidit,
Aliquando ut vincat, ludit assidue aleam.

That is, *having lost his fleet twice at sea, he plays daily, that he may at last win.* But *Suetonius* tells us, that he played only for his diversion, and not out of a desire of winning his friends money; to this purpose he quotes one of his letters to *Tiberius*, wherein he tells him, that he had passed the feast of *Minerva* merrily, and played every day at dice; *Your brother*, says he to *Tiberius* was at first a great loser, but in the end came off pretty well, having recovered himself beyond expectation: I lost twenty thousand sesterces; but had I exacted what was owing to me, or kept what I gave away, I should have won above fifty thousand. He was naturally very superstitious, a great observer of dreams, and looked upon the flight or chattering of birds as infallible presages. If in the morning his shoes were given him wrong, or the right foot shoe presented to him for the left, he counted it ominous. If it rained when he was setting out on a journey, he reckoned it a sign of a speedy and happy return: he would never begin a journey the day after the *nundinæ*, nor undertake any business of consequence upon the *nones*; he was so afraid of thunder and lightning, that he carried a seal's

had done. This alarmed *Criſpus Salluſtius* (G), who was privy to all the ſecret counſels of *Tiberius*, and had ſent the tribune the warrant: he knew it was equally dangerous to confeſs the truth, and charge the emperor, or to clear the emperor, and accuſe himſelf. In this perplexity he had recourſe to *Livia*, adviſing her, *by no means to divulge the ſecrets of the palace, the counſels of the miniſters, or the ſervices of the ſoldiery, adding, that* Tiberius *ſhould beware of weakening the ſovereign authority by referring all things to the ſenate, the nature of abſolute power being ſuch as could not be preſerved intire but in one perſon*[s]. *Livia* followed the advice of *Salluſtius*, and no farther mention was made of the murder of the young prince (H).

As ſoon as the death of *Auguſtus* was known at *Rome*, the conſuls, ſenators, and knights, ran headlong into ſlavery, as *Tacitus* expreſſes it. With ſervile flattery they took care to frame their faces ſo as to reconcile falſe joy for the acceſſion of *Tiberius* with feigned grief for the loſs of *Auguſtus*. The two conſuls *Sextus Pompeius* and *Sextus Apuleius* took firſt the oath of fidelity to *Tiberius*, and then adminiſtred it to the ſenate, the people and the ſoldiery; for *Tiberius* affected to derive all his authority from the conſuls and ſenate, as if the ancient republic ſtill ſubſiſted, and he were yet in ſuſpenſe about accepting or rejecting the ſovereign power: he even owned in his edict for ſummoning the ſenate, that he iſſued it in virtue of the tribunitial power granted him under *Auguſtus*, and that he claimed no other authority, no other title for having a ſhare in the public adminiſtration. But notwithſtanding this pretended modeſty, from the moment *Auguſtus* expired, he aſſumed all the prerogatives of an abſolute prince, gave the word to the prætorian cohorts, placed guards about his perſon, went guarded in the ſtreets, and to the ſenate, and writ letters to the ſeveral armies in the undiſguiſed ſtyle of one who was already maſter of the *Roman* empire, and had under his command all its forces. This he did to prevent the armies in diſtant provinces from declaring for *Germanicus*, who was then in *Germany* at the head of ſeven legions, and a great body of allies. But with the ſenate he proceeded in a quite different manner: when the conſcript fathers offered him the government, he pretended to refuſe it, though he had already ſecured it to himſelf, and with a great deal of artifice began to diſcourſe of the greatneſs of the *Roman* empire, and in modeſt terms of his own inſufficiency; telling them, *That the divine genius of* Auguſtus

Tiberius *affects modeſty.*

[s] Tacit. annal. l. i. c. 6. Dio, l. lvi. p. 590.

ſeal's ſkin always about him, imagining as was then generally believed, that it had we know not what ſecret virtue againſt thunder; but nevertheleſs, for his greater ſecurity, upon the leaſt apprehenſion of an extraordinary ſtorm, he uſed to ſeek for ſhelter in a vault or cellar under-ground.

Such were the virtues, ſuch the vices of the famous *Auguſtus*. As for his conduct during the civil war, it was ſuch as brought, we may ſay, diſgrace upon uſurpation itſelf. He ſtuck at no crime, however heinous; but after he had either by public proſcriptions, or private aſſaſſinations, cut off all thoſe who gave him umbrage, he reigned with moderation over the reſt. He reigned long, and eſtabliſhed a laſting peace, a great relief after ſo long and deſtructive a war. In this long tranquility, the calamities which had been occaſioned by the war were forgot, and *Auguſtus* cried up as the author of the bleſſings they enjoyed in a profound peace at home. Beſides, the badneſs of his ſucceſſors was a ſignal advantage to his name and memory; for in proportion as they were deteſted, he was regretted.

(G) *Criſpus Salluſtius* was born of an equeſtrian family, great-nephew by a ſiſter to the famous hiſtorian *Caius Salluſtius*, and by him adopted; he might have riſen to the greateſt honours in the ſtate, but in imitation of *Mecænas*, whom he propoſed to himſelf for his pattern, he contented himſelf with the title of a *Roman* knight, though he excelled in power many, who had been diſtinguiſhed with conſulſhips and triumphs. In *Mecænas*'s life-time he was next in favour with *Auguſtus*, and upon the death of that faithful counſellor, he became the chief confident firſt of *Auguſtus*, and afterwards of *Tiberius*, who repoſed an intire confidence in him: he was extreme nice in his dreſs, expenſive in his manner of living, and no ways inferior in luxury and magnificence to *Mecænas* himſelf; but could, upon any exigency, exert a vigour equal to the greateſt affairs, which he concealed under the appearance of indolence and ſloth (62).

(H) *Suetonius* tells us, that *Agrippa* was killed by a military tribune, in whoſe cuſtody he was at that time, after he had read the warrant for his execution to him; which warrant, adds that writer, whether left by *Auguſtus* when he died, to prevent any troubles which might happen upon his death, or contrived by *Livia* in *Auguſtus*'s name, with or without the privity of *Tiberius*, is a thing uncertain to this day (63). But *Tacitus* tells us in expreſs terms, that *Auguſtus* never dipt his hands in his own blood; neither does he think it credible, that he would barbarouſly ſacrifice the life of his grandſon to the ſecurity of his ſtep-ſon. It is therefore more probable, ſays that author, that this haſty murder was purely the work of *Tiberius* and *Livia*, and that the young prince fell thus untimely to ſatiate the hatred which *Livia* bore him, and to deliver *Tiberius* from a troubleſome rival. Though the aſſaſſin, who was charged with the execution of this cruel order, was a bold and reſolute centurion or tribune, as *Suetonius* calls him, and found young *Agrippa* unarmed, and little apprehending ſuch a deſtiny, yet it was with the utmoſt difficulty that he diſpatched him. In him ended the family of *Auguſtus*.

(62) *Tacit. annal. l. i.*

(63) *Suet. in Tiber. c. 22.*

guſtus *alone was equal to ſo great a charge; that as for himſelf, he knew by experience, having borne part of* Auguſtus's *cares, how many difficulties, contingencies and dangers are inſeparably annexed to rule and ſoveignity; that ſince the city was ſo happily repleniſhed with great numbers of illuſtrious patriots, they ought not to lay the whole burden of the adminiſtration upon one perſon, but divide it among many*, &c. When he had ended his ſpeech, the ſenators, who dreaded nothing ſo much as to ſeem to underſtand him, burſt into tears, and throwing themſelves at his feet, embraced his knees, begging him in the moſt low and ſervile manner imaginable not to abandon them, but to take upon him a charge, to which none but himſelf was equal. Then *Tiberius*, pretending to yield to their importunity, *I am*, ſaid he, *unequal to the weight of the* b *whole government; but if you think fit to intruſt me with any particular part, whatever it be, I am ready to undertake it.* Hereupon *Aſinius Gallus* (I) riſing up, *I beg to know*, Cæſar, ſaid he, *what part of the government you deſire for your ſhare?* This unexpected demand ſtartled *Tiberius*, who for a while ſtood mute; but recovering himſelf, anſwered, that *it ill became his modeſty to chuſe or reject any particular branch of the adminiſtration, when he deſired to be excuſed from the whole.* *Gallus*, perceiving him offended, as readily replied, that he did not offer that queſtion, as if he deſigned to divide what was in itſelf indiviſible, but to convince him by his own confeſſion, that the commonwealth was but one body, and conſequently could not be governed but by the wiſdom of one perſon: then continuing his ſpeech, he made a long deſcant upon c the great merits and accompliſhments of *Tiberius*, of his many victories and conqueſts, of the civil employments he had long borne with great credit and reputation, *&c.* but this did not aſſwage the wrath of *Tiberius*, who had long hated *Gallus* for having married *Vipſania Agrippina*, the daughter of *Agrippa*, whom *Tiberius* had been obliged by *Auguſtus* to divorce, to make room for his daughter *Julia*. He ſuſpected that *Aſinius Gallus* by this match deſigned to raiſe himſelf above the rank of a ſubject, and therefore upon this new provocation reſolved to ſeize the firſt opportunity of delivering himſelf from his fears by the death of his ſuppoſed rival. *Lucius Arruntius* (K), *Quintus Haterius*, and *Mamercus Scaurus*, likewiſe incurred on this occaſion the diſpleaſure of *Tiberius*; *Arruntius* by a ſpeech not much unlike that of d *Gallus*; *Hirtius*, by aſking him, *How long*, Cæſar, *will you ſuffer the commonwealth to remain deſtitute of a head?* and *Scaurus* for ſaying by way of raillery, *There is room to hope, that* Tiberius *will at length yield to the intreaties and prayers of the ſenate, ſince he has not oppoſed, as he might, in virtue of his tribunitial power, the motion of the conſuls in his behalf.* The ill-timed pleaſure, which theſe illuſtrious citizens took in ſhewing themſelves well appriſed of *Tiberius*'s real intentions, coſt them dear; for he afterwards ſacrificed them all, under various pretences, to his jealouſy and ſuſpicions.

He affects to decline the ſovereign power.

Several ſenators incur his diſpleaſure.

Some

(I) *Aſinius Gallus* was the ſon of the famous *Aſinius Pollio*, the favourite of *Auguſtus*, and great patron of learning, and men of letters. He had been conſul eleven years before, with *Caius Marcius Cenſorinus*, and had alſo borne the office of *triumvir monetalis*, or *overſeer of the coinage*, as appears from one of *Auguſtus's* medals with this legend on the reverſe, *C. Aſinius Gallus* III. vir. A. A. A. F. F. that is, *triumvir, auro, argento, ære, flando, feriundo.* At firſt the conſuls took upon themſelves the care of the mint, and joined two ſenators with them in this office; but afterwards the heads of the republic were eaſed of this trouble, and ſometimes two, ſometimes three, ſometimes four perſons were appointed to direct and inſpect the coinage, and were called, according to their number, *duumviri, triumviri, quatuorviri monetales, æris, argenti, auri flatores*, (64). Theſe magiſtrates are ſometimes deſcribed on medals which were probably the current coin of the *Romans*, thus; *Cur. X. Fl.* that is, *Curatores denariorum flandorum*, and they were ſo called till the *triumviri monetales* were created. But to return to *Aſinius Gallus*, *Suetonius* aſcribes to him a ſmall performance, containing a parallel or compariſon of *Cicero* and his father *Aſinius Pollio*, in which he gave the preference to the latter; in anſwer to this work, the emperor *Claudius* publiſhed a book, which he intitled, *A defence of* Cicero *againſt the writings of* Gallus.

(K) *A. Lucius Arruntius* was deſcended of an ancient and noble family, indowed with extraordinary talents, poſſeſſed of great wealth, and in high favour with the people. *Auguſtus* was well acquainted with his abilities, and not long before his death, in a familiar converſation with his friends, declared his opinion of him; for the diſcourſe turning upon the great men in *Rome*, who were equal to the ſupreme power, and ſome naming *Marcus Lepidus*, others *Aſinius Gallus*, and ſome *Lucius Arruntius*; *Marcus Lepidus*, replied *Auguſtus, is indeed capable of the ſupreme power, but will not, in my opinion, accept of it*; Aſinius Gallus *will aſpire at it, but is not qualified for it*; *as for* Lucius Arruntius, *he is both equal to ſo great a charge, and will not fail, upon a proper occaſion, to ſeize it* (65). That he ſpoke thus of *Lepidus* and *Aſinius* is agreed on all hands, but ſome writers, quoted by *Tacitus*, inſtead of *Arruntius* name *Cneius Piſo*, of whom we ſhall have frequent occaſion to ſpeak in the courſe of this reign. All theſe great men, except *Lepidus*, were ſoon cut off by *Tiberius*'s orders, being charged with various crimes feigned by him on purpoſe to get rid of all competitors to the ſovereign power (66).

(64) *Vide Pompon. l.* ii. *de orig. juris.* (65) *Tacit. ibid.* (66) *Idem ibid.*

Some other ſenators ſpoke ſtill more boldly; and yet we do not find that *Tiberius* ever reſented the liberty they had taken; they were not, in all likelihood, ſo conſiderable, either for their birth or talents, as to give him any umbrage. Of theſe one, no longer able to bear the ambiguity of his anſwers, with which he held the ſenate in ſuſpence, who were all the while at his feet, cried out, *Let* Tiberius *either accept of the empire, or declare in plain terms that he rejects it.* Another boldly addreſſing him, *Other men,* ſaid he, *perform ſlowly what they readily promiſe; but you promiſe ſlowly what you have already performed* [t]. And indeed he reigned already, having from the moment *Auguſtus* expired aſſumed all the prerogatives of a ſovereign; but in this myſterious way of dealing with the ſenate, he had two things in view; the firſt was to make the world believe that he had been by the common wealth choſen, and called to the empire, which was more glorious for him than to owe it to the intrigues of a woman, or to the adoption of a ſuperanuated prince; the ſecond thing he had in view was to diſcover the deſigns and intentions of the great men, and by that means be able to diſtinguiſh his friends from his foes [u]. At length pretending to be overcome by the importunities of the conſcript fathers, and complaining of the heavy burden they laid upon him, he began to yield by degrees to their requeſt, and in the end accepted the government, but ſo as to give them hopes that he would one day reſign it; his words were, *I accept the empire, and will hold it till ſuch time as you conſcript fathers, in your great prudence ſhall think fit to give repoſe to my old age.* Thus was *Tiberius Claudius Druſus Nero* (L), in the fifty ſixth year of his age, raiſed to the empire, and inveſted

The boldeſt of ſome ſenators.

Tiberius *takes upon him the empire.*

[t] TACIT. ibid. c. 11, 12. SUET. ibid. DIO, l. lvii. p. 602.

[u] TACIT. ibid.

(L) The *Claudian* family, of which *Tiberius* was deſcended, was one of the moſt illuſtrious families of *Rome.* They were originally of *Regillum,* a city of the *Sabines,* whence, according to ſome writers, they removed to *Rome,* in the time of *Romulus,* being invited thither by *Titus Tatius,* who reigned jointly with him, according to others, whom we have followed (67), in the fourth conſulſhip of *Poplicola,* when they were brought to *Rome* by *Actius Clauſus,* chief of the family, and received into the number of the patricians by the ſenate, who aſſigned them a certain portion of land beyond the *Anio,* and a burying place under the capitol. *Actius Clauſus,* on his arrival at *Rome,* whether he came with five thouſand families of his friends and dependents, changed his name to *Appius Claudius,* and was immediately admitted into the ſenate. In proceſs of time the *Claudian* family was honoured with twenty-eight conſulſhips, five dictatorſhips, ſeven cenſorſhips, ſix triumphs, and two ovations. They were diſtinguiſhed among themſelves by ſeveral names and ſurnames, but they agreed abſolutely to renounce the name of *Lucius,* which was common in their family; two of that name having been condemned and executed, and to take the name of *Nero* in its ſtead, which in the *Sabine* language ſignifies *ſtrong* and *valiant.* Of this family were the famous *Appius Cæcus, Appius Claudius Caudex, Appius Claudius Nero, Appius Claudius,* the decemvir, *Appius Claudius Druſus, Appius Claudius Pulcher,* of whom we have ſpoken at length in different places of this work. Of the ſame family were the two celebrated *Claudiæ,* one of whom diſingaged the veſſel, which was ſtranded at the mouth of the *Tiber,* and laden with the ſacred image and the utenſils of the great mother of the gods; the other was araigned of high treaſon before the people which had never happened before to any woman for ſaying as ſhe paſſed in her chariot through the ſtreets which were much crouded, *I wiſh my brother* Pulcher *were alive, that by loſing another ſea-fight, he might clear the ſtreets of that throng, and make more room for my chariot:* for *Claudius Pulcher,* as we have related elſewhere (68), having engaged the *Carthaginians* at ſea contrary to the opinion of all his officers, was by them entirely defeated with the loſs of ninety galleys, and twenty-eight thouſand men, killed, drowned, or taken priſoners. *P. Claudius,* the declared enemy of *Cicero,* was likewiſe of this family; but in order to obtain the tribuneſhip, and by the power annexed to that office enabled himſelf effectually to deſtroy the *Roman* orator, he renounced his nobility, and got himſelf adopted by a mean plebeian into a very low family. The reſt were all patricians, and had ever been the principal aſſertors of the power and dignity of that order. *Tiberius* was of the patrician family of the *Claudii* both by the father's ſide, who was deſcended from *Tiberius Nero,* the ſon of *Appius Cæcus,* and by the mother's, who was the daughter of *Appius Pulcher,* brother to the ſaid *Tiberius Nero.* He was alſo allied to the family of the *Livii* by the adoption of his mothers grandfather. The *Livian* family was indeed plebeian, but nevertheleſs honour'd with eight conſulſhips, two cenſorſhips, one dictatorſhip, and three triumphs. To this family *Rome* was indebted for many citizens of great prowels and renown, among whom we may well reckon *Livius Salinator,* and *Livius Druſus*; of *Livius Salinator* we have ſpoke elſewhere (69); as to *Livius Druſus,* he is ſaid to have killed in a ſingle combat a general of the enemy named *Drauſus,* and to have in memory of that exploit aſſumed and tranſmitted to his poſterity the name of *Druſus.* In his prætorſhip he recovered according to ſome writers, and brought back the gold which had been given to the *Senones,* when they beſieg'd the capitol. The father of *Tiberius,* was quæſtor to *Julius Cæſar,* and commanded his fleet in the *Alexandrian* war; after which he was by the dictator rewarded for his eminent ſervices, and appointed firſt pontifex in the room of *Publius Scipio,* and afterwards honoured with the command of the colonies which were ſent into *Gaul.* However, when the dictator was ſlain, and moſt of the ſenators, apprehenſive of new troubles, were for paſſing an act of oblivion, *Tiberius,* not thinking that enough, moved, that rewards might be beſtowed on the tyrannicides. In the *Peruſian* war he ſided with *Lucius Antonius* againſt *Octavianus,* and though

(67) *Vide Hiſt. Univerſ. Vol. IV. p.* 477, 478, *Univerſ. Vol. IV. p.* 691. 736.

(68) *Hiſt. Univerſ. Vol. IV. p.* 673.

(69) *Hiſt.*

a inveſted by the ſenate and people with the ſame unbounded power which *Auguſtus* had enjoyed.

Tiberius had no ſooner accepted the empire, than the ſenators, to curry favour with their new ſovereign, were for heaping extraordinary honours on his mother: ſome propoſed decreeing her the general title of *mother*, others that of *mother of her country*, and almoſt all moved, that to the name of *Tiberius* ſhould be added, *the ſon of* Livia. But *Tiberius*, jealous of his mother's glory, anſwered, that public honours ought to be conferred upon women warily, and with a ſparing hand, adding, that he would uſe the ſame moderation in receiving the honours which ſhould be offered to himſelf. He could not be prevailed upon to ſuffer ſo much as a lictor to be decreed her, tho' b every veſtal enjoyed that mark of diſtinction; nay, he prohibited the raiſing her an altar in memory of her late adoption into the *Julian* family, or paying her any honours of the like nature. Thus from the very beginning of his reign, he requited with the utmoſt ingratitude the infinite obligations he owed to his mother, being aſhamed, as was commonly believed, to acknowledge himſelf indebted for the empire to the intrigues of a woman [w]. He proved a no leſs cruel huſband, than an undutiful ſon. *Julia* had been long ſince baniſhed by her father into the iſland of *Pandataria* on account of her ſcandalous lewdneſs, and from thence ſome years after removed to the city

His ingratitude to his mother Livia.

[w] Idem ibid.

though the reſt abandoned *Lucius*, yet he could never be prevailed upon to forſake him; ſo that he was the only perſon who continued with him to the laſt. When the city of *Peruſia* ſurrendered, he found means to make his eſcape firſt to *Præneſte*, and from thence into *Campania*, where he armed the ſlaves with a deſign to make a ſtand againſt *Octavianus*; but his undiſciplined troops betaking themſelves to flight at the approach of *Octavianus*'s victorious legions, he was forced to ſhelter himſelf in *Sicily*, where he ſtaid a very ſhort time, being diſguſted with *Pompey*, who neither deigned to admit him into his preſence, nor would allow him to have the faſces carried before him, though the time of his prætorſhip was not yet expired. From *Sicily* he retired into *Greece*, where he was kindly received by *Marc Antony*, and entertained by him in a manner ſuitable to his rank, till a peace being concluded between *Antony*, *Octavianus*, and *Pompey*, and a general amneſty granted, he returned to *Rome* with the reſt of the exiles; where *Auguſtus* falling in love with his wife *Livia Druſilla*, obliged him to yield her to him, though ſhe had already brought him children, among the reſt *Tiberius*, and was then big with child. He died ſoon after, leaving behind him two ſons, *Tiberius* and *Druſus*, ſurnamed *Nero*'s, as we have related above.

Some authors have written, that *Tiberius* was born at *Fundi*, a city of the *Auſones* between *Terracina* and *Formia*; but the moſt credible writers aſſure us, that he was born at *Rome* on mount *Palatine*, the ſixteenth day before the calends of *December*, *M. Æmilius Lepidus* being conſul the ſecond time with *L. Munatius Plancus*. In his infancy he ſuffered great hardſhips, and was expoſed to frequent dangers, his parents having taken him along with them in their flight and exile; nay, his mother *Livia*, in their painful journeys round *Sicily* and *Greece*, is ſaid to have carried him great part of the way in her arms, her huſband being abandoned by all his friends, and even his domeſtics, on account of his ſteady adherence to the republican party. Some time after his return to *Rome* one *M. Gallius*, a ſenator, adopted him by his laſt will, and appointed him his heir: *Tiberius* accepted of the eſtate, but declined aſſuming the name of his benefactor, becauſe he had been formerly a zealous ſtickler for the republican party. He made a funeral oration for his father, when he was but nine years old, which was received with great applauſe. In *Auguſtus*'s triumph for his victory over *Antony* at *Actium*, he attended him on horſe-back with *Marcellus* the ſon of *Octavia*. He afterwards commanded the young noblemen in the *Trojan* ſolemnities, or turnament called *Troy*, which were celebrated in the circus, preſided in the *Actiac* games, inſtituted in memory of *Auguſtus*'s victory at *Actium*, and exhibited ſeveral combats of gladiators in honour of his father *Tiberius*, and grandfather *Druſus*, in one of which he engaged with three hundred thouſand ſeſterces, ſome of the *rudiarii*, or gladiators who had been diſcharged and exempted from fighting, to return to the arena. He entertained the people with ſeveral other magnificent ſhews, partly at the expence of his mother, and partly of his father-in-law. His firſt wife was *Agrippina*, the daughter of *Agrippa*, and granddaughter of the famous *Titus Pomponius Atticus*, by whom he had his ſon *Druſus*; but though ſhe was with child again, he was obliged much againſt his will to divorce her, and marry *Julia*, the daughter of *Auguſtus*, by whom he had one ſon, who died while he was yet an infant. *Julia* had, in her firſt huſband's life-time, expreſſed a great paſſion for *Tiberius*; but after their marriage ſhe deſpiſed him, and was, as it is commonly believed, with her ſcandalous and lewd life, the chief cauſe of his ſudden retreat to *Rhodes*.

He firſt ſerved under *Auguſtus* in quality of military tribune in the *Cantabrian* war; ſome time after he was appointed commander in chief of the army which was ſent into *Armenia* to place *Tigranes* on that throne. On his return from that expedition *Auguſtus* raiſed him to the prætorſhip, and took him with him into *Gaul*, whence he ſent him againſt the *Rhætians* and *Vindelicians*, whom he conquered, reducing their country to a *Roman* province, as we have related above. He was no leſs ſucceſsful in his expeditions againſt the *Pannonians* and *Germans*, whom he obliged to ſue for peace. *Auguſtus* rewarded his victories with a triumph, which he obtained in his ſecond conſulſhip. But in the height of his glory he left *Rome*, and retired to *Rhodes*, whence after ſeven years baniſhment, as we may call it, he was allowed to return to *Rome*, reinſtated in the favour of *Auguſtus* by the intereſt of his mother *Livia*, appointed to command the armies in *Pannonia*, *Dalmatia*, and *Illyricum*, made in ſome degree partner of the empire with *Auguſtus*, and in his laſt will named his chief heir (70).

(70) *Vide Suet. in Tiber. & Dio, l.* lvi.

city of *Rhegium* on the ſtreights of *Sicily*, where ſhe ſuffered a leſs painful exile. *Tiberius* in *Auguſtus*'s life-time had ſhewn great tenderneſs and compaſſion for his unhappy wife, and often ſolicited the prince to recall her, and reinſtate her in his favour. But he was no ſooner declared emperor, than he ſtopt the ſmall penſion which her father paid her yearly for her ſupport; ſo that the unfortunate princeſs, after a long ſeries of miſeries, died of want in the fifteenth year of her baniſhment (M) [x]. At the ſame time *Sempronius Gracchus*, one of her chief favourites, was by *Tiberius*'s orders put to death in the iſland of *Cercina*, to which he had been confined by *Auguſtus*. He was deſcended of one of the moſt illuſtrious families in *Rome*, had a lively wit, great eloquence, and an engaging addreſs and behaviour. With theſe parts he had captivated the heart of *Julia*, and debauched her while ſhe was yet *Agrippa*'s wife; neither did he break off his intrigues with her, after ſhe was married to *Tiberius*; nay, he is ſuppoſed to have inſpired her with contempt and averſion for her new huſband, and to have dictated the letters, which ſhe wrote to her father, full of bitterneſs againſt *Tiberius*, and painting him in the moſt odious colours. He had therefore been baniſhed by *Auguſtus* to the iſland of *Cercina*, where he had ſuffered great miſeries for fourteen years. But *Tiberius*, not judging baniſhment an adequate puniſhment for the injuries *Sempronius* had done him, ſent or ordered *Lucius Aſprenas*, proconſul of *Africa*, to ſend a band of aſſaſſins to diſpatch him. Theſe upon their landing found the unhappy exile on the ſhore, who without betraying any fear or ſurprize, went to meet them, and intreat them, being well apprized of their deſign, to ſuſpend the execution of *Cæſar*'s orders, till he wrote a letter to his wife *Alliaria*, to acquaint her with his laſt will; which he had no ſooner done, than he offered his neck to the ſword of the aſſaſſins with a conſtancy and intrepidity worthy of the *Sempronian* name, though he had in his life-time ſhamefully degenerated from the glory of his anceſtors. Some authors have written, that the aſſaſſins were not ſent directly from *Rome*, but from *Africa*, the crafty tyrant having committed the execution of his orders to *Lucius Aſprenas*, governor of that province, in order to ſcreen himſelf by that means from the imputation of putting to death an illuſtrious citizen of *Rome*, whom his father *Auguſtus* had only condemned to baniſhment, and caſt the odium of ſuch an action on *Aſprenas* [y]. But *Tiberius*'s principal care in the beginning of his reign was to engage in his intereſt his nephew *Germanicus*, who on account of his extraordinary parts, and ſweet temper, was equally adored by the people and ſoldiery. In order to this, though he hated *Germanicus* in his heart, yet pretending a tender affection for him, after he had forbid the ſenate to confer any particular honours on *Livia*, he recommended to them his nephew, and even aſked for him the proconſular power; which being granted, he immediately diſpatched into *Germany* perſons of the firſt rank to acquaint him therewith, and condole with him in his name for the death of *Auguſtus* [z] (N). He then named twelve candidates for the prætorſhip, among whom were *Velleius Paterculus* the hiſtorian, and his brother; the ſenate deſired him to appoint more, but as that number had been ſettled by *Auguſtus*, he not only refuſed to comply with their requeſt, but bound himſelf by an oath never to depart from the regulations of his predeceſſor. The people had hitherto enjoyed the privilege of creating magiſtrates, or at leaſt ſhared it with the emperor, one half of the magiſtrates being named by

The death of Julia,

Sempronius Gracchus one of her chief favourites murdered by Tiberius's *orders.*

He endeavours to engage Germanicus *in his intereſt.*

The privilege of creating magiſtrates tranſferred from the people to the ſenate.

[x] Idem ibid. c. 53. SUET. l. iii. c. 11. [y] TACIT. ibid. c. 53. [z] Idem ibid.

(M) *Auguſtus* had confined her only to the city of *Rhegium*, but *Tiberius* would not allow her the liberty of going out of the houſe in which ſhe lodged, nor ſuffer any of the inhabitants to converſe with her, or come near her. He deprived her, according to *Suetonius* (71), of the ſmall penſion which *Auguſtus* had allowed her for her maintenance, under pretence of an exact and religious obſervance of the laſt will of her father, in which no mention was made of her. But *Dion Caſſius* tells us (72), that he left her a ſmall legacy, though he ordained, that neither ſhe nor her daughter ſhould be laid in his mauſoleum; and *Tacitus* ſays, that he cauſed her to periſh with want, ſuppoſing that her tragical death, as ſhe was at a good diſtance from *Rome*, would remain concealed (73).

(N) *Germanicus* had been inveſted with the proconſular power three years before by *Auguſtus*, as Dion informs us; the power therefore, which was now conferred upon him at the requeſt of *Tiberius*, was, no doubt, a confirmation of the proconſular authority for his life, ſuch as had been formerly granted to *Auguſtus*. In virtue of this new dignity, *Germanicus* had an almoſt abſolute authority over all the *Roman* forces both in the provinces and the city, and was every-where to be acknowledged as commander in chief, and under *Tiberius* generaliſſimo of the empire.

(71) *Suet. ibid. c.* 5. (72) *Dio, l.* lvi. (73) *Tacit. annal. l.* i.

by him, and the other by the tribes, assembled in the field of *Mars* (O); but *Tiberius* in the first elections, deprived them of their ancient rights, and transferred them to the senate: the people complained of this innovation, but no disturbances ensued, the senate being well pleased with the change, since by it they were delivered from the charge of buying votes, and the shame of begging them[a].

Tiberius had scarce taken possession of the sovereign power, or, as we may well call it, the throne, when news was brought him, that the armies in *Pannonia* and *Germany* had mutinied. In *Pannonia* three legions, *viz.* the eighth, the ninth, and the thirteenth, being allowed by their general *Julius Blæsus* a relaxation for some days from their usual duties, either to mourn, according to the *Roman* custom, for the death of *Augustus*, or to rejoice for the accession of *Tiberius*, they grew wanton, quarrelsome and turbulent, began to hearken to seditious discourses, to be fond of an easy and idle life, and to have an utter aversion to the toils and discipline of the camp. They were headed and inflamed by one *Percennius*, a common soldier, who, before he served in the army, had made it his whole business to raise disturbances, and form parties in the theatres and play-houses to hiss or applaud such players as he disliked or favoured (P). As he had by this practice acquired a notable talent in speaking to a croud, and inflaming the mob, in the dusk of the evening, when those whom he distrusted were withdrawn to their tents, he used to assemble the most turbulent, stir them up to mutiny, inflame them against their officers, and encourage them to lay hold of the present occasion, while the emperor's authority was yet wavering, to prevail upon him either by force or intreaties to redress their grievances. *How long*, said he, *shall we obey, like slaves, a few centurions and tribunes? When shall we have courage enough to demand a redress of our grievances, if we let slip the present opportunity? What hinders us from laying our complaints before the new emperor, and obliging him either by our prayers or menaces to listen to them? Are we doomed to be for ever miserable? Many of us have already served thirty or forty years, are decrepit with age, and maimed with wounds; and yet either cannot obtain our discharge, or after having obtained it, are still kept in the camp under the honourable title of* veterans (Q), *and obliged*

The army in Pannonia mutinies.

Percennius *inflames them.*

[a] Idem ibid. Dio, l. liv.

(O) *Suetonius* tells us, that *Julius Cæsar shared the power of creating magistrates with the people, except in the election of consuls*, one half of the magistrates being declared by them, and the other by himself, which he signified by billets sent to the tribes in these words; *I recommend such or such a person to you, that by your suffrage he may be admitted into such or such an office* (74). The same writer in the life of *Augustus* informs us, that he restored to the assemblies of the people the ancient rights, having first enacted severe laws against all sorts of bribery, and corrupt acquisition of offices. But whether *Suetonius* by *ancient rights* meant those which the people enjoyed in the times of liberty, or only the privilege of chusing one half of the magistrates, which they were allowed in the dictatorship of *Cæsar*, and afterwards deprived of during the triumvirate, is matter of dispute among the learned (75). As to the consuls, they were both named by *Cæsar* the dictator, and afterwards by *Augustus*, at least in the first years of his reign. *Dion* seems to insinuate, that *Tiberius* named the consuls himself, but allowed the senate to chuse the other magistrates, reserving to himself the recommendation of some who were to be elected without opposition: on the other hand, *Tacitus* tells us, that as to the consular elections, he can scarce affirm any thing, there being in this particular a great disagreement among the historians of those times, and a seeming contradiction in the speeches of *Tiberius* himself, always reserved, always mysterious (76).

(P) In the circus and theatres there were in the *Roman* times parties and factions, some favouring one actor, and some another: the opposite parties often came to blows; nay, much blood was sometimes shed in these frays. *Suetonius* tells us, that the emperor *Nero* took great pleasure in these theatrical battles; and that being conveyed in his litter into the theatre, he not only beheld from the upper part of the *proscenium* the opposite parties quarrelling about the players, but set them together by the ears; and when they were engaged, took great delight in throwing stones, and pieces of broken benches, among the croud, with which he once wounded a prætor in the head (77).

(Q) In the times of the republic those were called veterans, who had served twenty years, after which they were discharged, and allowed to retire, if they pleased, as *Suidas* informs us: this discharge was called *Missio*. But under the emperors the veterans, that is, those who had served twenty years, were still kept in the camp till they received the rewards which were due to them on account of their past services, and in the mean time were exempted from all manner of drudgery, and only obliged to fight. This discharge or exemption from military toils was called by the ancients *exauctoratio*, which we must carefully distinguish from what they called *Missio*; for after the former they often continued many years under their colours, whereas the latter was an absolute discharge granted to them after they had received their rewards. *Suetonius* tells us, that *Tiberius* very rarely discharged his veterans, that he might be a gainer by their death (78); for the rewards due to them were not paid to their heirs. The same writer informs us, that *Caligula* in reviewing his army discharged several centurions, who had very near served their time, under pretence that they were too old, and unfit for the service (79). Thus some of the emperors declined discharging their soldiers after they had served their time, and others discharged them before; all with the same view, to defraud them of their rewards.

(74) *Suet. in Julio, c.* 41. (75) *Vide Lipsium in Ecurs. in annal. Tacit. l.* i. *litera E.* (76) *Tacit. annal. l.* i. *in fine.* (77) *Suet. in Ner. c.* 26. (78) *Suet. in Tib. c.* 48. (79) *Idem in Calig. c.* 44.

obliged to undergo the ſame hardſhips, the ſame labours. But ſuppoſe any of us ſhould eſcape a ſo many dangers, and outlive ſo many calamities, how in the end ſhall we be rewarded? Under the name of lands we ſhall be doomed to drain bogs and marſhes, or to till barren mountains in countries far remote from our native ſoil. Could our pay afford us a comfortable ſubſiſtence, we ſhould not have ſo much reaſon to complain of the poorneſs of our rewards. But our perſons and lives are valued only at ten aſſes a day, and out of this we muſt buy cloaths, tents, and arms; out of this we muſt bribe our cruel centurions, and redeem ourſelves from their blows: for ſo poor a price we muſt patiently ſuffer ſtripes, wounds, hard winters, laborious ſummers, bloody wars, or a barren peace. For theſe miſeries there is no other remedy left us, than that we refuſe to ſerve but upon certain conditions fixed by ourſelves particularly, that our pay be a denarius, *or ſixteen aſſes a day* (R); *that ſixteen years be the utmoſt term of ſerving, that when this time is expired, we be no longer kept under the colours, but have our rewards paid us in ready money in the camp where we earned it. Do the prætorian cohorts, who receive two denarii a day, and are diſcharged after ſixteen years ſervice, undergo greater dangers than we? I do not mean to detract from the merit of the city guards, but only ſay, that we are placed in the midſt of barbarous nations, and cannot look out of our camp without ſeeing the enemy.* This harangue was received with great applauſe by the inraged multitude: ſome of them immediately propoſed the incorporating of the three legions into one; but every one claiming for his own legion the prerogative of denominating the other two, this project was defeated; however, they agreed to place the three eagles of the legions with the ſtandards of the cohorts all together, and to raiſe with turf a tribunal, according to the *Roman* cuſtom (S), for the new general they deſigned to chuſe. While they were thus buſy, *Blæſus* artived; and having ſeverely rebuked ſome, and threatened others, *Dip your hands rather in my blood,* he cried with a loud voice to all; *for to murder your general will be a leſs crime than to revolt from your prince; for I am determined, if I fall not by your hands, to keep you in your obedience; if you think fit to murder me, I hope at the ſight of my blood you will repent of your crime, and return to your duty.* This diſcourſe did not affect the mutinous ſoldiery, who continued their work, till it was breaſt-high, when at length, being overcome by the conſtancy and intrepidity of their general, they forbore. When their fury was ſomewhat aſſuaged, *Blæſus*, who was an able ſpeaker, remonſtrated to them, that ſedition and mutiny were not the proper means of conveying their claims to the emperor; that their demands were new and extraordinary, ſuch as no armies had in former times made to their generals, nor they themſelves to the deified *Auguſtus*; beſides, that they were ill-timed, ſince princes in the beginning of their government are taken up and imbaraſſed with various cares. However, if they expected to gain in peace what the conquerors, even after the civil wars, had never had the confidence to demand, why ſhould they uſe violence, and trample upon the rules of military diſcipline? that they might appoint deputies, and in his preſence give them their inſtructions. At theſe words they all cried out with one voice, that they were willing to ſend deputies; and that the ſon of *Blæſus*, who was a tribune, ſhould be immediately diſpatched to the emperor to demand in their name, that they might*

Blœſus *endeavours to appeaſe them.*

(R) The *Roman denarius* was a piece of ſilver firſt coined in the year of *Rome* 484, *Q. Ogulnius Gallus* and *Q. Fabius Pictor* being conſuls. It was at firſt worth ten *aſſes*, and therefore marked with the numeral letter X. It underwent in proceſs of time many changes and reductions; but in the age we are now writing of, it was valued at ſixteen aſſes, and hence the mutineers demanded, that their pay might be raiſed from ten aſſes to a *denarius*. *Lipſius* in his notes upon *Tacitus* pretends, that the *denarius* at this time was worth twelve aſſes only; but that he was therein miſtaken, is manifeſt from *Gronovius*'s learned obſervations on the money of the ancients (100). The ſoldiers pay was at firſt five aſſes a day; but it was afterwards, at what time preciſely we know not, raiſed to ten. Out of theſe ten aſſes they were to buy cloaths, tents and arms, as is manifeſt from this paſſage of *Tacitus*, contrary to the law publiſhed by *Gracchus*, enacting, that the ſoldiers ſhould be ſupplied with arms, cloaths, tents, &c. at the public expence. This law was probably revoked, when their pay was increaſed; but nevertheleſs ſome of the ſucceeding emperors cloathed their ſoldiers at the expence of the public, namely *Alexander Severus*, who, as *Ælius Lampridius* tells us in the life of that emperor, *gave his ſoldiers ſhoes, boots, breeches, coats and cloaks.*

(S) The tribunal, from whence the emperors uſed to harangue their troops, was ſtill, nay, and many ages after, raiſed with turf. *Flavius Vopiſcus*, ſpeaking of the elevation of the emperor *Probus*, *the whole army*, ſays he, *cried out unanimouſly*, Probus! *we ſalute* Probus *our ſovereign. The gods ſave you! Then they erected a tribunal of turf, and proclaimed him emperor.* This cuſtom obtained likewiſe among foreign nations, eſpecially in *Britain*, as *Xiphilinus* informs us, who, in ſpeaking of the famous queen *Boadicia*, ſays, that *ſhe aſcended a tribunal reared with turf after the* Roman *manner.* Frequent mention is made of theſe tribunals by the ancient poets (1).

(100) *Vide Gronov. pec. vet. l.* iii. *c.* 2.

(1) *Vide Stat. in ſyl. Lucan. l.* v. *& Claud. de bell. Getic.*

a might be abſolutely diſcharged after ſixteen years ſervice; they added, that when he had obtained this, they would truſt him with their further pretenſions.

In the mean time, ſome manipuli or companies, which had been ſent, before the ſedition, to *Nauportum* (T), to mend the roads, being informed of the tumult in the camp, plucked up their ſtandards, and falling upon the neighbouring villages, plundered them, and *Nauportum* itſelf. The centurions endeavoured to reſtrain their violence, but the mutineers, inſtead of liſtening to their remonſtrances, or betraying any fear at their menaces, firſt derided them, afterwards abuſed them with moſt outrageous language, and at length came to blows. They were chiefly incenſed againſt *Auſidienus Rufus*, who, as he had been long a common ſoldier, and had raiſed

b himſelf by his courage and bravery to the poſt of *præfectus caſtrorum* (U), was a ſevere obſerver of the primitive diſcipline, which he exacted from others with the more rigor, as he had himſelf borne with patience the hardſhips attending it. Upon him the furious multitude firſt vented their rage; they dragged him from his chariot, loaded him with baggage, and driving him before the firſt ranks, asked him by way of inſult, how he liked ſuch burdens? how ſuch marches? Upon the arrival of theſe mutinous companies in the camp, the ſedition broke out anew with more fury than ever; the ſeditious, caſting off all obedience, roved about the country without controul, ravaging it on all ſides. Upon their return, *Blæſus*, who was ſtill obeyed by the centurions, and the legionaries of any reputation, cauſed thoſe, who were moſt

c loaded with plunder, to be beaten with rods, and caſt into priſon (W). But the furious multitude, flying to the relief of the criminals, reſcued them out of the hands of the lictors, and, breaking open the priſon, ſet all the priſoners at liberty. After ſo bold an attempt the mutineers grew more outrageous, and the mutiny more general. One *Vibulenus*, a common ſoldier, being raiſed on the ſhoulders of his comrades, before the tribunal of *Blæſus*, addreſſed thoſe who had delivered the priſoners, thus: *I cannot ſufficiently commended the zeal you have ſhewn for theſe innocent and unhappy ſufferers: you have reſtored them to their liberty: but who will reſtore life to my brother? who my brother to me? He was ſent from the army in* Germany *with propoſals for our common good: but our cruel general cauſed him to be butchered laſt night by his gladia-*

d *tors* (X), *whom he entertains and arms for our deſtruction.* Then turning to *Blæſus*, *Tell me*, Blæſus, ſaid he, *where have you thrown his mangled body? Even the moſt cruel enemies do not deny burial to the ſlain. When I ſhall have ſatisfied my grief with a thouſand kiſſes, and a flood of tears, commanded me alſo to be maſſacred, that our fellow-ſoldiers may bury my brother and me together, both inhumanly murdered for conſulting the common good of the legions.* When *Vibulenus* had ended his ſpeech, he threw himſelf at the feet of his companions, and beating his breaſt, tearing his face, and ſhewing all the ſymptoms of the deepeſt ſorrow, he endeavoured to raiſe at the ſame time pity and fury in the minds of the multitude, and indeed with good ſucceſs; for they fell immediately marched firſt the *præfecti caſtrorum*, next to them the tribunes, and after the tribunes the chief centurions (5). *Veſpaſius Pollio*, the grand-father of the emperor *Veſpaſian*, was *præfectus caſtrorum*. But we muſt not on that account confound, as a modern writer has done whom *Lipſius* confutes, the *præfectus caſtrorum* with the *præfectus prætorii*, an officer of a much ſuperior rank.

The mutineers fall upon Rufus.

They are ſtirred up by Vibulenus.

(T) *Nauportum* was a city of *Upper Pannonia*, and is placed by *Strabo*, who calls it *Naupontus*, in the country of the *Tauriſci*, three hundred and fifty furlongs from *Aquileia*. It was ſo called from the river *Nauportus*, on which it ſtood (2). *Cluverius* is of opinion, that *Nauportum* ſtood on the ſpot where the preſent city of *Oberlaubach* in *Carniola* was afterwards built.

(U) This was, without all doubt, a new office, inſtituted probably by *Auguſtus*; for no mention is made of the *præfectus caſtrorum* by any author, who wrote in the times of the republic. It was his province to pitch upon the ground for incamping, and lay it out, to diſtribute the quarters and pavilions, and to direct the workmen in raiſing the ramparts, digging the ditches, &c. He had alſo under his care all the military engines, carriages, and iron tools belonging to the army (3). Each legion had a *præfectus caſtrorum*, at leaſt when they incamped ſeparately; for *Tacitus*, ſpeaking of one *Pœnius Poſthumius*, calls him *præfectus caſtrorum ſecundæ legionis* (4). The ſame writer ſeems to place them in rank above the tribunes; for in deſcribing *Vitellius*'s entry into *Rome*, he tells us, that before their ſeveral eagles

(W) From this paſſage it is manifeſt, that the *Romans* built priſons in their camp, and alſo from the following lines of *Juvenal:*

Inde fides arti, ſonuit ſi dextera ferro
Lævaque, ſi longe caſtrorum in carcere manſit (6).

Theſe criminals were dragged along with the army in chains, when they decamped.

(X) Moſt of the governors of provinces, generals, and other great men, maintained vaſt numbers of gladiators at an immenſe charge for the public ſhews. We muſt not therefore imagine, that the gladiators mentioned in this place were liſted in the legions: they belonged to the general, and not to the army.

(2) *Vide Plin. l.* iii. *c.* 18. *& Vell. Patercul. l.* xi. *c.* 110. (3) *Vide Veget. l.* xi. *c.* 10. (4) *Tacit. l.* xiv. (5) *Tacit. hiſtor. l.* ii. (6) *Juvenal. ſatyr.* 6.

ately upon *Blæſus*'s gladiators and domeſtics, and having bound them; diſperſed themſelves about the camp and the neighbouring fields in queſt of the ſuppoſed corps, which if they had found, *Blæſus* himſelf would have been in great danger; but as they could find no corps, and it manifeſtly appeared from the depoſitions of *Blæſus*'s ſlaves upon the rack, and of other credible witneſſes, that the whole was a calumny maliciouſly invented, and that *Vibulenus* never had any brother, they ſpared their general; but nevertheleſs in the height of their rage, fell upon the *præfectus caſtrorum*, and the tribunes, drove them out of the camp, and plundered their baggage: they put to death the centurion *Lucilius*, whom they hated above all the reſt on account of his ſeverity, and had by way of ſarcaſm nicknamed *Cedo alteram*, *Reach me another*, becauſe when he had broke one rod, or vine-twig, which was made uſe of on ſuch occaſions, upon the back of a ſoldier, he was wont to call for another, and then a third (Y). The other centurions withdrew, and abſconded, all except *Julius Clemens*, whom, as he was a man of parts, the mutineers detained with a deſign to commit the management of their affairs to him. Another ceuturion, nicknamed *Sirpicus* (Z), had like to have occaſioned a bloody quarrel between the eighth and fifteenth legion, the former inſiſting upon his being put to death, and the latter protecting him; but the ninth legion, what with intreaties, what with menaces, compoſed the difference [b].

They fall upon their officers.

Druſus *ſent to quell the tumult.*

Tiberius no ſooner received intelligence of this mutiny, than he diſpatched his ſon *Druſus* to the rebellious legions at the head of the prætorian cohorts, the prætorian horſe, and the main body of the *German* horſe, at this time the emperor's guards (A). The prætorian cohorts were on this occaſion reinforced with an extraordinary addition of choſen men. Among the perſons of diſtinction who were ordered to attend and aſſiſt *Druſus* in bringing back the revolted legions to their duty, were *Cneius Lentulus*, an officer of great fame and experience, and *Ælius Sejanus*, who had been lately joined with his father *Strabo* in the commiſſion of *præfectus prætorii*, that is, in the command of the prætorian guards (B). *Sejanus* was appointed governor to the young prince; and as his credit with the emperor was known to be great, it was hoped he might either with promiſes or intreaties bring the ſeditious to a ſenſe of their duty. When news was brought to the camp that *Druſus* approached, the legions in token of reſpect marched out to meet him, not with their uſual gaiety and ſhouts of joy, but in a ſullen ſilence, diſplaying in their countenances marks of ſadneſs mixed with fierceneſs and rage. As ſoon as *Druſus* entred the camp, he placed guards at all the gates and parties under arms in ſeveral quarters to be ready againſt any ſurpriſe. *Druſus* immediately aſcended the tribunal, and having made a ſign with his hand to the crouds that ſurrounded it to be ſilent, he read to them his father's letter; the ſubſtance of which was, that he would take a particular care of the brave legions with whom he had ſucceſsfully carried on ſo many wars; that as ſoon as his grief was allayed, he would treat with the ſenate about their demands; that in the mean time,

How received.

Tiberius's *letter to them.*

[b] Tacit. annal. l. i. c. 16—30.

(Y) We have another inſtance of a nick-name made up of different words in the life of the emperor *Aurelian* wrote by *Flavius Vopiſcus*, who tells us, that there being two *Aurelians* in the army, and both tribunes at the ſame time, the ſoldiers uſed by way of diſtinction to call the *Aurelian* who was afterwards emperor, *Aurelianus Manu ad ferrum*, becauſe he was on all occaſions ready to draw his ſword.

(Z) The word *Sirpicus* may be derived from the ancient verb *Sirpare*, which ſignifies *to bind*, and is uſed in that ſignification by *Varro* (7). The centurion was perhaps called *Sirpicus*, becauſe he had frequently in his mouth that obſolete verb; perhaps becauſe he kept the ſoldiers to their duty with great ſeverity, and cauſed them to be bound and caſt into priſon for the leaſt breach of military diſcipline.

(A) *Suetonius* tells us, that *Auguſtus*, after the defeat of *Varus*, who was cut off with three legions in *Germany*, disbanded all his *German* guards (8). But *Tiberius*, it ſeems, ſet that corps on foot again, in the very beginning of his reign.

(B) The *præfectus prætorii* was the chief commander of the emperor's guards called *Prætorians* from the *Latin* word *Prætorium*, which at firſt ſignified the general's quarters in the camp, the word *prætor* being in the firſt ages of the republic common to all magiſtrates, whether civil or military. In the times of the emperors, by *prætorium* was meant the emperor's quarters in the camp, and his houſe in the city: hence in *prætorium accipi*, is to be liſted among the prætorian ſoldiers, or the emperor's guards (9). *Auguſtus* was the firſt, as *Dion* informs us (10), who gave the title of *præfectus prætorii* to the chief officer of his guards. The *præfecti prætorii* under *Conſtantine the Great*, and his ſucceſſors, were the firſt officers of the empire, and had quite different functions from thoſe of the *præfecti prætorii* appointed by *Auguſtus*.

(7) *Varro*: *l.* iv. *ling. Latin.* (8) *Suet. in Aug.* c. 48. (9) *Vide Tacit. hiſt. l.* iv. c. 48. (10) *Dio*, *l.* lv. *p.* 555.

a time, he had ſent them his ſon, and impowered him to make them forthwith ſuch conceſſions as could be made without further conſultation; but as to other demands, they were to be referred to the ſenate, wihom he would not by any means deprive of the right of diſtributing rewards and puniſhments. When *Druſus* had read his father's letter, the aſſembly appointed the centurion *Julius Clemens* to be their ſpeaker; who accordingly began with propoſing to *Druſus* their demands, which were, that they ſhould be diſcharged after ſixteen years ſervice; that they ſhould upon that diſcharge receive the rewards which they claimed; that their pay ſhould be increaſed to a *Roman denarius*, and that the veterans ſhould be no longer detained under their enſigns. To theſe demands *Druſus* anſwered, that they exceeded his power, and therefore ought to be laid before the ſenate and his father. He had ſcarce uttered

Their demands.

Druſus's anſwer inflames them.

b theſe words, when the multitude cried out with one voice, *To what end then are you come, ſince you can neither increaſe our pay, nor redreſs our grievances? Every officer is allowed to puniſh us with blows, and even death; and the ſon of the emperor has not power to relieve us by one beneficent action!* Druſus, *we find, has already attained to a great perfection in the arts and policy of his father, who, to fruſtrate the requeſts of the ſoldiers, uſed to refer all to* Auguſtus. *It is ſurpriſing, that the emperor ſhould take upon himſelf the command and whole direction of the army, and at the ſame time refer the ſoldiery to the ſenate for their rewards! Why ſhould he not in like manner conſult the ſenate, when a battle is to be fought, or a ſoldier to be puniſhed? Are puniſhments to be inflicted without any controul or reſtraint, and rewards not beſtowed without the conſent and approbation*

c *of many?* Having thus ſpoke, they left the tribunal, threatening and inſulting all thoſe they met belonging to *Druſus*, either as friends or guards, in order to pick a quarrel with them, and have ſome pretence to fall upon them ſword in hand. They were chiefly inraged againſt *Cneius Lentulus*, who they ſuſpected had hardened the young prince againſt their complaints, and encouraged him to deſpiſe the menaces of the ſoldiery. Of this *Lentulus* was well appriſed, and therefore reſolved, before their fury broke out, to quit the camp, and return to his winter quarters. But as he was departing, the mutineers ſurrounding him, asked, whither he went? to the emperor or ſenate, to oppoſe their advantages with them as he had done in the camp with *Druſus?*

They inſult Cn Lentulus

d Theſe words were followed with a ſhower of ſtones, and he had been ſoon diſpatched, had not the troops that attended *Druſus*, who was with him, reſcued him already covered with wounds and blood. As the inraged multitude ſeemed now determined to keep no meaſures, *Druſus* was under dreadful apprehenſions of the following night, which every one believed would prove fatal to many, perhaps to *Druſus* himſelf. But it happened quite otherwiſe. Ignorance and ſuperſtition that very night put an end to the revolt, reſtored calm to the alarmed camp, and quieted the minds of the ſoldiery, after they had ſo long continued deaf to reaſon, and trampled upon all the laws of military diſcipline. The moon all on a ſudden began to darken in the midſt of a clear sky, till ſhe was by degrees totally eclipſed (C). The ſoldiery, ignorant of the

They are frightned by an eclipſe of the moon, and return to their duty.

e natural cauſes of this phænomenon, and imagining that the gods were angry with them on account of their revolt, and the crimes attending it, began to ſhew ſome ſigns of repentance. *Druſus* did not fail to improve this their diſpoſition; he immediately ſent the centurion *Julius Clemens*, and other officers and ſoldiers, in whom he could confide, to mix with the mutineers, and try whether they could, while they were thus alarmed, inſpire them with a love of their duty. Theſe, purſuant to the prince's orders, going round from tent to tent, and inſinuating themſelves everywhere, firſt prevailed upon the legionaries to abandon the veterans, and the three legions to ſeparate. After this the love of duty and obedience returning by degrees, thoſe who guarded the gates to keep *Druſus*, as it were, beſieged, retired from their

f poſts; the eagles and other enſigns, which, in the beginning of the tumult, had been thrown together, were carried back each to its proper place; and, after ſo dreadful a ſtorm, calm and tranquillity reſtored to every quarter of the camp.

EARLY next morning, *Druſus*, having ſummoned an aſſembly aſcended the tribunal, and though unskilled in ſpeaking, yet with a haughtineſs natural to the *Claudian* family, inveighed againſt their paſt, and commended their preſent behaviour. After this great debates aroſe in his council, ſome adviſing him to ſuſpend all proceed-

ings

b Idem ibid.

(C) This total eclipſe happened, according to the learned biſhop *Uſher*, on the twenty-ſeventh of *September* at five in the morning.

ings till the return of the deputies, whom he had allowed them to ſend with their petitions to *Tiberius*, while others were for immediately condemning and executing the ring-leaders of the ſedition. *Druſus*, as he was naturally inclined to ſeverity, followed the advice of the latter; and having ſummoned *Vibulenus* and *Percennius* before his tribunal, he condemned them, and cauſed them immediately to be executed. Some writers ſay, that they were privately executed, and buried in *Druſus*'s tent; others, that their bodies were ignominiouſly thrown over the intrenchments to ſtrike terror into the reſt. The other ring-leaders of the ſedition were diſcovered ſculking about the camp, and either ſlain by the centurions and prætorian guards, or delivered up to *Druſus* by their comrades as a proof of their ſincere repentance. After this they were terrified anew with dreadful ſtorms, and ſuch violent rains, that they could not ſtir out of their tents; which they looking upon as ſent by the angry gods, reſolved to abandon a camp, which they had polluted with ſo many crimes, and return to their ſeveral gariſons. Accordingly the eighth legion departed firſt, and then the fifteenth, though earneſtly preſſed by the ninth to wait till the return of their deputies: at length the ninth likewiſe, their courage failing them after they were deſerted by the other two, abandoned the camp, and quietly followed them. *Druſus*, ſeeing tranquillity thus reſtored, returned to *Rome* to acquaint *Tiberius* with the ſucceſs of his negotiations, which indeed was more owing to chance than his addreſs [c].

The authors of the revolt condemned and executed.

The legions in Germany *revolt.*

ALMOST at the ſame time, and for the ſame cauſes, the legions in *Germany* revolted with far greater fury, as they were far more numerous. On the *Rhine* were quartered two armies, the one called the *Upper*, commanded by *Caius Silius*, the other the *Lower*, by *Aulus Cæcina*; but the chief command of both was veſted in *Germanicus*, who was then buſy in collecting the tribute in *Gaul*. The legions under *Silius*, however diſcontented, waited for the ſucceſs of the revolt, which the *Lower* army had begun. The latter, conſiſting of four legions, *viz.* the firſt, the fifth, the twentieth, and the one and twentieth, were incamped on the borders of the *Ubii* (D); where they no ſooner received the news of *Auguſtus*'s death, than the recruits lately raiſed in *Rome*, men accuſtomed to the ſoftneſs and gaieties of the city, and impatient of military labour and diſcipline, began to ſtir up the reſt with ſeditious harangues, inſinuating, that a favourable opportunity offered at length for the veterans to demand an abſolute diſcharge, for the ſoldiers who had not ſerved out their time, to inſiſt upon larger pay, and for all to obtain by ſome means or other a mitigation of their miſeries. We could not have wiſhed for a more favourable conjuncture, ſaid they, to be revenged on the centurions for their cruelties: the fate of *Rome* depends upon us: we

Their demands.

[c] Idem ibid.

(D) The *Ubii* in *Cæſar*'s time dwelt on the other ſide of the *Rhine*, as is manifeſt from his commentaries, where he ſpeaks of them thus: *The country of the* Suevi *is bounded on the other ſide by that of the* Ubii, *who poſſeſs a large and flouriſhing city, and are a people far more polite than the other* Germans, *becauſe lying nearer the* Rhine, *they have more commerce with merchants, and converſation with the* Gauls; *with theſe the* Suevi *had many diſputes; and tho' the* Ubii *were ſo experienced ſoldiers, ſo powerful and ſo numerous a people, that they could not expel them the country, yet they made them their tributaries, and reduced them to a very low condition* (11). And elſewhere; *The* Ubii, ſays he, *the only people on the other ſide of the* Rhine, *who had ſent embaſſadors to* Cæſar, *had entered into an alliance with him, and delivered hoſtages, earneſtly deſired him to aſſiſt them againſt the oppreſſions of the* Suevi; *if the ſtate of affairs did not permit him to go in perſon, they begged, that he would only ſend his army into* Germany; *for ſo great was the reputation which the* Romans *had acquired by defeating* Arioviſtus, *that if they appeared in defence of the* Ubii, *if they owned them for their allies, their name alone would be ſufficient to defend them from the inſults of the remoteſt* Germans (12). For their ſake chiefly, *Cæſar* reſolved to croſs the *Rhine*, and not thinking it either ſafe to tranſport his army in boats, or ſuitable to his character, and the dignity of the *Roman* name, he built the famous bridge, which he minutely deſcribes in his commentaries. As the *Ubii* continued faithful to *Rome*, and were on that account greatly haraſſed by their *German* neighbours, they were allowed by the *Romans* to ſettle on the oppoſite bank of the *Rhine*. This migration happened, according to *Strabo*, in the reign of *Auguſtus*; for that writer, ſpeaking of the *Treviri*, adds, *Next to them dwelt the* Ubii, *whom* Agrippa, *agreeably to their inclination, placed on this ſide of the* Rhine (13). *Dion Caſſius* mentions two expeditions of *Agrippa* into *Gaul*, the firſt in his firſt conſulſhip, the ſecond eighteen years after in the conſulſhip of *C. Sentius* and *Q. Lucretius* (14). It is moſt likely, that the migration of the *Ubii* happened in the firſt expedition; for then he built, as *Dion* informs us, a bridge croſs the *Rhine*. *Tacitus*, ſpeaking of the *Ubii*, ſays, that they came from beyond the *Rhine*, and that for the many proofs of their fidelity, they were ſettled upon the bank of that river, not to be there guarded, but to guard and defend that boundary againſt the reſt of the *Germans*. The country allotted to them comprehended the greater part of the preſent duchy of *Juliers*, and almoſt the whole archbiſhoprick of *Cologne*.

(11) *Cæſar comment. l.* iv. *c.* 3. (12) *Idem ibid. c.* 16. (13) *Strab. l.* iv. *p.* 134. (14) *Dio, l.* xlviii. & liv.

a we have inlarged the empire with our victories: to us the *Cæſars* are indebted for the glorious ſurname of *Germanicus*. As *Cæcina*, inſtead of exerting his authority, betrayed fear, and gave way to their fury, they fell at once upon the centurions, the chief objects of their reſentment, and, dragging them to the ground, diſcharged upon each of them ſixty blows, that is, as many as there were centurions in a legion (E). Then, thus bruiſed and near expiring, they drove them ignominiouſly out of the camp, nay, ſome they threw into the *Rhine*. One *Septimius* fled for refuge to the tribunal of *Cæcina*; but the general was forced to deliver him up to the incenſed multitude. *Caſſius Chærea*, another centurion, afterwards famous for the murder of the emperor *Caligula*, boldly opened himſelf a way, ſword in hand, through the b croud. After this the mutineers, deſpiſing the authority of their tribunes and their *præfecti caſtrorum*, ſet and relieved the centries themſelves, appointed the guard, and gave ſuch orders as they judged proper in the preſent conjuncture.

They fall upon their centurions.

In the mean time, *Germanicus*, who, as we have hinted above, was collecting the tribute in *Gaul*, no ſooner heard of this inſurrection, than he flew to the camp. The legions, as he drew near, marched out to meet their general, expreſſing their diſſatiſfaction with hideous clamours; nay ſome, taking him by the hand, as if they deſigned to kiſs it, thruſt his fingers into their mouths, to ſhew him they had with age loſt all their teeth; others deſired him to behold their hoary heads, the wounds they had received, *&c.* *Germanicus*, inſtead of returning any anſwer to particulars, as c ſoon as he had entered the intrenchments, ordered them to range themſelves into manipuli, and place before them their ſeveral enſigns, as was cuſtomary when the general aſſembled and harangued his troops. They obeyed ſlowly and with reluctance; then *Germanicus* beginning his ſpeech with an encomium upon *Auguſtus*, proceeded to the many victories of *Tiberius*, inlarging on the glorious exploits he had atchieved in *Germany* with thoſe very legions; he then acquainted them, that all *Italy*, both the *Gauls*, and every province of the empire had received and acknowledged *Tiberius* for emperor, without betraying the leaſt diſaffection. Thus far they liſtened to him with attention; but when he began to expoſtulate with them about their ſeditious behaviour, the ſcene changed; *Germanicus* was interrupted with loud d clamours and a general uproar: ſome ſtripping themſelves ſhewed him the ſcars of the many wounds they had received; others the marks of the ſtripes inflicted on them by the mercileſs centurions; they urged their ſcanty pay, their great labours, the hardſhips attending a military life, *&c.* Above all, from the veterans aroſe a dreadful cry; they enumerated thirty years of ſervice and upwards, and begged, that to men quite ſpent and worn out he would at length grant ſome reſpite, that he would not ſuffer them to be indebted to death for their relief, but diſcharge them forthwith, and allow them a comfortable maintenance. Some demanded the money which had been bequeathed to them by *Auguſtus*, mixing with their demands zealous vows and omens of happineſs for *Germanicus*; nay, ſome went ſo far as openly to declare, that e they would ſtand by him to the laſt, if he would himſelf aſſume the empire. At theſe words *Germanicus*, ſtruck with horror, leaped from the tribunal and attempted to make his eſcape, leſt he ſhould be ſtained with their treaſon: but the ſeditious legionaries, drawing their ſwords, ſtopt him, and even threatened to kill him, if he offered to withdraw. Then the generous *Germanicus*, proteſting, that he would rather die than betray the truſt repoſed in him, drew his ſword, and would have ſacrificed his life to his fidelity, had not thoſe who ſtood next to him ſeized his hand, and reſtrained him by force. There were not, however, ſome wanting in the aſſembly, who cried out to him *to ſtrike* and not ſpare himſelf; nay, one *Caluſidius*, a common ſoldier, offered him his naked ſword, ſaying, *Take this*, Germanicus, *it is perhaps* f *ſharper than your own*; a behaviour which was highly condemned by the reſt as ſavage and barbarous. In the mean time, the friends of *Germanicus* had time to convey him out of the croud to his tent, and there to conſult about the moſt proper meaſures in ſo critical a juncture. For *Germanicus* was informed, that the ring-leaders of the ſedition were preparing to diſpatch meſſengers to the *Upper* army, in order to draw them

Germanicus *endeavours to appeaſe them.*

They lay their complaints before him.

And offer him the empire.

Which he generouſly refuſes.

(E) There were in a complete legion thirty *manipuli* or companies: each company conſiſted of a hundred and twenty men, and was divided into two bands, or, as the ancients ſtyle them, *orders*; each order conſiſted of ſixty men, and had its peculiar centurion; ſo that there were in a complete legion ſixty centurions, and each centurion had ſixty men under his command (15).

(15) *Vide Lipſ. de militia Rom. l.* ii. *dial.* 5. & 8. & *Dion. Hal. l.* ix.

them too in the revolt; that they designed to plunder the city of the *Ubii* (F); and that the *Germans*, already acquainted with the sedition in the *Roman* army, were ready to invade *Gaul*, as soon as the banks of the *Rhine* were left unguarded. In the council, which *Germanicus* held in his own tent, various measures were proposed, and at last the following resolution unanimously agreed to, *viz.* that letters should be feigned from *Tiberius*, with directions, that those who had served twenty years should be finally discharged; that such as had served sixteen should be deemed veterans; and that the legacy, which they demanded, should not only be paid, but doubled. But the mutineers, suspecting these concessions to be forged purely to gain time, insisted on their being forthwith executed. The tribunes therefore were obliged to discharge immediately the veterans; but as to the payment of the legacy, *Germanicus* would have fain put it off, till they were retired to their winter-quarters; and indeed the first legion and the twentieth trusted him upon his word, but the fifth and the one-and-twentieth refused to stir from the camp, till they were satisfied; so that he was obliged to raise the sum out of the money which he and his friends had brought with them, to defray the expences of their journey, which they no sooner received, than they retired quietly to their winter-quarters. *Germanicus* then hastened to the upper army under the command of *Silius*, and easily prevailed upon the second, the thirteenth, and the sixteenth, to swear allegiance to *Tiberius*; the fourteenth shewed some hesitation, but *Germanicus* discharging forthwith the veterans, and paying the rest the money bequeathed them by *Augustus*, cut off all occasion of complaints.

He feigns letters from Tiberius, *granting their demands.*

And satisfies some with his own money.

But a party of veterans (G) belonging to the mutinous legions, and then in garison in the country of the *Chauci* (H), began a sedition there, which was at first quelled by *Memmius*, *præfect of the camp*, who, though not vested with any such power (I), put instantly two of the ring-leaders of the sedition to death. But the tumult breaking out afterwards with fresh fury, *Memmius* was obliged to withdraw himself from their rage and lie concealed: the mutineers discovered him, and then *Memmius* declaring that these outrages were not offered to him, but to *Germanicus* and *Tiberius*, who would not fail to resent them, he snatched the colours, faced about towards the *Rhine*, and boldly threatening those, who should dare to abandon their ranks, with the punishments due to deserters, he led them back to their winter-quarters. In the mean time, deputies sent either by *Tiberius* or the senate, probably to quell

Some veterans in the country of the Chauci *revolt, but are quelled by* Memmius.

(F) By *the city of the* Ubii *Tacitus* means *Colonia Agrippinensis*, which he calls *the city of the* Ubii, either because it was their metropolis, or because they had not yet built any other. They probably laid the foundations of this city upon their first settling on this side of the *Rhine*. It was afterwards made a *Roman* colony, and peopled by veterans in the consulship of *C. Antistius* and *M. Suilius*, at the request of *Agrippina*, the daughter of *Germanicus* and wife of the emperor *Claudius*, who was born there. From her it was called *Colonia Agrippinensis*, and in after-ages *Agrippina*; which has made some writers doubt, whether it borrowed its name from *Agrippina*, or from her grandfather *Agrippa*, who brought the *Ubii* over the *Rhine*. But to *Lipsius* this doubt seems quite groundless, since the colony, had he been the founder of it, would have been called *Colonia Agrippensis*, and not *Agrippinensis*. What name it bore before it was made a *Roman* colony we find no where mentioned; for *Tacitus* calls it constantly *the city of the* Ubii.

(G) The veterans formed a corp apart, and had their peculiar standard called *Vexillum*, whence they are commonly styled by the ancients *Vexillarii* and also *Emeriti*, from their being exempted from all manner of drudgery, and only obliged to fight the enemy. In this condition they continued till they received the rewards due for their service; and their final discharge, which the emperors used, under various pretences, to put off for many years, in order to defraud them of the promised lands or money.

(H) The *Chauci* inhabited *East-Friesland*, the counties of *Hoy* and *Oldenburg*, the duchy of *Bremen*, and part of *Lawenburg*. *Tacitus* describes the situation of their country and the manners of the people, thus: *Germany* extends northward a great way; first of all occurs the nation of the *Chauci*, who, though they begin immediately at the confines of the *Frisians*, and possess part of the shore, extend so far as to border upon the several people, of whom I have already spoken, till they reach quite to the borders of the *Catti*; so vast a country the *Chauci* not only possess, but fill! They are the most noble people of *Germany*, and chuse rather to maintain their grandeur by justice than violence: they live quietly, free from the ambition of possessing more, and of domineering over others. They give no occasion to wars, they ravage no countries: without wronging or oppressing others, they are come to be superior to all (16). However, they drove out the *Ansibarii*, and seized on their country, and made incursions into *Lower Germany*, as *Tacitus* himself informs us elsewhere (17).

(I) The power of life and death was at first lodged only in the commander in chief of the whole army, but afterwards extended by *Augustus* to his lieutenants, and by the other emperors to the proconsuls, proprætors, and all the governors of provinces: but no such power was ever granted to the prefects of the camp, to the tribunes, or other inferior officers.

(16) *Tacit. de mor. German. c.* 35. (17) *Idem annal. l.* xiii. *c.* 55. *& hist. l.* v. *c.* 19.

a quell the ſedition, meeting *Germanicus* near the *altar of the* Ubii (K), gave occaſion to new diſturbances. The firſt and the twentieth legions, who were incamped there with thoſe legionaries, who had been lately placed under the ſtandard of the veterans, apprehending that theſe deputies were come to revoke the conceſſions, which they had extorted by their ſedition, and imputing the imaginary decree to *Munatius Plancus*, who had been conſul the year before and was at the head of this deputation, they reſolved to vent their rage chiefly upon him; which he being aware of, fled for refuge to the quarters of the firſt legion, and there embracing the eagle and other enſigns, hoped the veneration, which the ſoldiers paid them, would reſtrain their fury. But had not *Calpurnius* the eagle-bearer, with great bravery and reſolution, repulſed b the audacious multitude, the *Roman* camp had been ſtained with the blood of an embaſſador of the *Roman* people. This diſorder happened in the night, and early next morning *Germanicus* entering the camp, aſcended the tribunal, and placing *Plancus* by himſelf on the tribunal, inveighed againſt the horrible diſorders of the preceding night, acquainted the ſoldiery with the true purpoſes of that embaſſy, complained in an affecting manner of the unheard-of outrages offered to *Plancus* without any provocation, aggravated the diſgrace which the violating of the ſacred perſon of an embaſſador brought upon the legions, *&c.* But as the aſſembly ſhewed no great tokens of repentance, he firſt diſmiſſed the deputies under a ſtrong guard of auxiliary horſe, and then, at the motion of his friends, ſolicited his wife *Agrippina*, who had attended c him with her ſon *Caius*, at that time an infant, into *Germany*, and was big with child, to withdraw out of the camp, and not expoſe herſelf to the fury of an outrageous multitude. *Agrippina* was unwilling to leave him, urging, that it was below her, who was the grand-daughter of *Auguſtus*, to betray any fear, or abandon her huſband in time of danger. But *Germanicus*, tenderly embracing her and their little ſon, prevailed upon her at length by his tears and intreaties to depart. As ſhe was attended by many women of diſtinction, wives of the chief officers in the camp, who it ſeems in thoſe days accompanied their huſbands in all their military expeditions, their tears, cries, and lamentations, in parting with their huſbands, occaſioned a great uproar in the camp, and drew together the ſoldiers from all quarters. This d was ſo melting a ſcene, that the moſt obſtinate among the rebellious legionaries were touched with it. They could not behold, without being at the ſame time ſeized with ſhame and compaſſion, ſo many women of rank travelling thus forlorn without a centurion to attend them, or a ſoldier to guard them, and their general's wife among them, carrying in her arms her little child, and repairing, like an exile, for ſhelter againſt the fury of the *Roman* legions to *Treves*, as if ſhe repoſed greater confidence in foreigners, than in her own countrymen. This made ſo deep an impreſſion on their minds, that ſome ran to ſtop her, while the reſt recurring to *Germanicus*, earneſtly conjured him to recall her, that it might not be ſaid, to their eternal ſhame and diſgrace, that the daughter of *Agrippa*, the grand-daughter of *Auguſtus*, the daughter-in-law of *Druſus*, whoſe memory they adored, had been frightened from the *Roman* camp, and obliged to ſeek ſanctuary among foreigners. *Germanicus*, obſerving both their ſentiments and countenances changed, reſolved to improve their preſent diſpoſition; and accordingly in a long and affecting harangue, which in the height of his grief he uttered with great vehemence, he painted to them the blackneſs of their guilt in ſuch lively colours, that they not only confeſſed, that all his reproaches were true, but, their minds being quite changed, they earneſtly beſought him to puniſh the authors of the late ſedition, by whom they had been miſled, and offered f to march forthwith againſt the enemy, provided he would recall his wife and his ſon. *Germanicus*, finding them intirely reclaimed, anſwered, that his ſon ſhould return, but againſt the recalling of *Agrippina* he alledged the ſeaſon already far advanced, and her approaching delivery; and as to the puniſhing the authors of the ſedition, he told them, that he left that to them. He had ſcarce uttered theſe words, when the legionaries ran to ſeize the chief authors of the ſedition, and dragged them in chains to *Caius Cetronius*, commander of the firſt legion, who judged and puniſhed them in the following manner: The legions with their drawn ſwords ſurrounded the tribunal,

The diſturbances revived.

Germanicus *ſends away his wife* Agrippina, *and his ſon* Caius.

Their departure affects the ſoldiery.

Germanicus *improves this opportunity.*

(K) This altar was probably raiſed in honour of *Auguſtus*, and ſeems to have been at a ſmall diſtance from *Cologne*: *Cluverius* is of opinion, that the city of *Bon*, called by the ancients *Bonna*, was built in the place where this altar ſtood; but he is therein contradicted by *Lipſius* and others, who from ſeveral paſſages out of *Tacitus* ſhew pretty plainly, that *the altar of the* Ubii ſtood in the neighbourhood of their city, that is, of *Cologne*, whereas *Bonna* was twelve miles diſtant from it.

They ſeize and puniſh the ring-leaders of the revolt.

burial, from whence the priſoner was expoſed to their view; if they pronounced him guilty, he was immediately thrown down headlong, and cut in pieces by his comrades. As *Germanicus* did not order, but only permitted, this new method of condemning and executing, he did not forfeit by it the reputation he had acquired of a humane and good-natured commander. The veterans followed the example of the legionaries, puniſhing the moſt ſeditious of their corps in the ſame manner. But, notwithſtanding theſe ſigns of remorſe and pledges of fidelity, *Germanicus*, glad to get rid of them, ordered them into *Rhætia* to defend that province againſt the *Suevi*, who were ſaid to be in motion. After this he made a ſtrict inquiry into the conduct and characters of the centurions, who were all cited before him to give each an account of his country, rank, the years of his ſervice, his exploits in war, military preſents, *&c.* If the tribunes or his legion were ſatisfied with his conduct, he kept his poſt, if they charged him with cruelty or avarice, he was immediately diſcharged. Thus were the firſt and the twentieth legion intirely reclaimed, and brought back to a ſenſe of their duty. But the fifth and twenty-firſt, who were in winter-quarters ſixty miles off in a place called *Vetera*, that is, *the old camp* (L), continued obſtinate in their revolt, nor was there any wickedneſs which they did not commit. Againſt them therefore *Germanicus* reſolved to lead the legions that had returned to their duty, and give them battle, if he could not reclaim them by fair means. With this view he prepared veſſels and arms, and drew together his troops; but before he put them on board the veſſels which were to convey them down the *Rhine*, judging it proper to allow the mutineers time to return to themſelves, he wrote a letter to *Cæcina* who commanded them, acquainting him, that he approached with a powerful army, reſolved to put them all to the ſword without diſtinction, if they did not prevent him by taking vengeance themſelves on the guilty. This letter *Cæcina* communicated only to the chief officers, and ſuch of the ſoldiers as had all along diſapproved of the revolt, exhorting them at the ſame time to enter into an aſſociation againſt the ſeditious, and redeem themſelves from death and ignominy, by putting thoſe to the ſword who had brought them into the preſent danger. The officers approved of the propoſal, and having, by ſounding the legionaries and veterans, found, that the majority diſapproved of the conduct of their comrades, they privately acquainted them with the contents of *Germanicus*'s letter, and eaſily prevailed upon them to concur with their commanders, in ſacrificing to their own ſafety the chief authors of the ſedition. The time therefore was ſettled for falling ſword in hand upon the moſt notoriouſly guilty and turbulent; and when it came, upon a ſignal agreed on before-hand, the faithful legionaries, ruſhing into the tents of the moſt ſeditious, maſſacred them without mercy, before they were aware of their danger: nothing was to be heard but dreadful outcries and groans in all the quarters of the camp; nothing to be ſeen but ſtreams of blood and heaps of dead bodies. Neither *Cæcina*, nor any of the tribunes, offered to ſtop the fury of the inraged ſoldiery; ſo that the ſlaughter was general, and the camp in an inſtant turned into a ſhambles: comrades were butchered by comrades, and friends by friends, in the ſame tents where they uſed to eat and ſleep together. The maſſacre was ſcarce ended, when *Germanicus* arrived, who, as he was naturally inclined to pity and mercy, could not behold the camp ſtreaming with blood and filled with carcaſſes, without burſting into tears, and crying out, *This is not a remedy; but ſlaughter and deſolation.* After he had with a flood of tears given vent to his grief, he cauſed the bodies of the ſlain to be burnt, and celebrated their obſequies with the uſual pomp[d]. Thus was this dangerous ſedition intirely quelled, diſcipline re-eſtabliſhed, the rebellious legions thoroughly reclaimed, and the ſupreme power ſecured to *Tiberius*, by the addreſs and intrepidity of the brave *Germanicus*; who, had his unbounded greatneſs of mind and unſhaken

Two legions continue obſtinate in their revolt.

Germanicus *propoſes to march againſt them.*

But they prevent him by puniſhing the ſeditious themſelves.

The ſedition intirely quelled.

[d] Tacit. annal. l. i. c. 40---51. Dio, l. lvii. p. 604, &c.

(L) This place began, no doubt, to be ſtyled *the old camp*, after the *Romans* had formed a new camp in the country of the *Ubii*, or their neighbours the *Vangiones*. *Tacitus* often mentions this camp in his hiſtory (18); whence *Cluverius* concludes, that it was not a naked camp, but a conſiderable town, built on occaſion of the ſtay the *Romans* made there. As it was diſtant ſixty miles from the camp between *Cologn* and *Bon*, the above-mentioned writer thinks that the preſent city of *Santen* ſtands on the ſame ſpot of ground; in which opinion he *is* confirmed by the deſcription *Tacitus* gives us of *the old camp* (19), which, he ſays, perfectly agrees with the ſituation of *Santen*.

(18) *Vide Tacit. hiſt. l.* iv. *c.* 18. *c.* 21. *& alibi.* (19) *Tacit. hiſt. l.* iv. *c.* 21.

ANTIENT GERMANY

MARE HYPERBOREVM
OR
NORTHERN OCEAN

EAST BALTIC

SCANDIA alias SCANDINAVIA

SINUS CODANUS OR BALTIC SEA

Clilipenus Sinus

SARMATIA EUROPEA

Aestii

Sinus Venedicus

Electrides Insulæ

MARE SVEVICVM

CHERSONESVS CIMBRICA now DENMARK

Cimbrorum Reliquiæ

Teutoni

Teutoni

Copenhagen

Mouth of the Elbe

R Weser

Mouth of the Ems

Fosi qui & Saxones

Chalusus Flu

Angii

Marionis

Treua

Marionis altera

Eudoses

Varmi

Suardones

Lemouii qui & Heruli

Gothones

Rugii

Ragum

Sidini

Veritum

Burgundiones

Auiones

Lauriburgum

Albis Flu

Chauci sive Cauchi maiores

Fabiranum

Catthi, sive Chauci minores

Amisia Flu

Flauum Statio

Castellum

Frisii maiores

Vetus Flu

Frisii

Marsaci

Bructeri

Chamaui

Tecklia

Langobardi

Carini

Venedi

Venedici Montes

PARTE OEVENEDI

Sciri

GERMANI

Cher usci

Tropæum Druси

Sprea alijs Suevus Flu

Semnones

Lugii

Lugiones

TRANS VISTVLANI

Burii

Osi

Marsingi

Marcomannorum

Luna Silua

Albis Flu

Vistula Flu

Carrodunum alterum

Vibantauarium

Alpidana hodie Niester

Tyras Flu

Iazyges

Carrodunum

Harudes

Marcomannorum antiqua sedes

Naharuali

Gothini

Quadi

Cusus flu

Carpates Montes

Alpes Basternicæ

Hierasus flu

Tibiscus Flu

Pruth

Danubius Flu

Celeiantia

Batauia castra

Germania magna

Camuntum

Vindobona

Vindelicia

Rhætia

Vindelicorum

Augusta

Isarus Flu

Rhenus Flu

Augusta Rauracorum

Mons Brisacus

Fons

Arbona Mons

Campodunum

Iuuauia

Atius Mons

Murus Flu

Adpontem

PANNONIAE PARS

NORICI PABS

HERCYNIA SILVA

Sudeti Montes

Melibocus Mons

Saltus Hercynius

Saltus Teutobur

Saltus Luppia

Alisonis Castellum

Saltus Latto

Luppia Flu

Alisonis Flu

Aduatuci

Tungri

Treueri

Vbii

Ubiorum Colonia Agrippina

Ara Vbiorum

Sedusii

Nemetes

Vangiones

Nemetacum

Borbetomagus

Mogontiacum

Decumates agri

Argentoratum

Helvetii

Sebus Flu

Mosa Flu

Scaldis Flu

Toxandri

Monapii

Vsipii ja Tipeter

Tencteri

Sedusiorum

Catti

Mattium

Hattiaci

Castellum

Germanici

Monimentum Traiani

Pontes Mogontiaci

Augusta Nauali

Arduenna

Sabis Flu

Mosa Flu

Belgicæ

Mediomatrici

Leuci

Treuerorum

Diuodurum

Belgica

Pars

Gallia

Gallia

Meridies

Occidens

Oriens

57

56

55

54

53

52

51

50

49

48

a unſhaken loyalty ſuffered him to ſecond the ardent wiſhes of the ſoldiery, might have eaſily ſeized it for himſelf; for he was the darling of the ſoldiers, and adored by the people, both on account of his own merit, and that of his father *Druſus*, whoſe memory was dear to every true *Roman*, no-body doubting, but he would have reſtored the republic to her former ſtate, had he ſucceeded to the empire; nay, the letter he wrote to his brother *Tiberius* about compelling *Auguſtus* to reſtore the public liberty, was commonly believed to have been the occaſion of his death, as we have obſerved above. Of *Germanicus* they entertained the ſame hopes, and thence their zeal for his ſafety and advancement; but the noble youth himſelf was the only perſon who defeated all their meaſures, and reſolutely oppoſed his own promotion. We ſhall b ſoon ſee what return *Tiberius* made him for his unalterable attachment to his perſon and intereſt (M). *The generoſity of* Germanicus.

In the mean time, ſuch of the veterans and legionaries as had been no-ways concerned in the late ſedition, in order to give *Germanicus* new proofs of their fidelity, begged him to lead them againſt the enemy, who had enjoyed ſome reſpite, firſt by the death of *Auguſtus*, and afterwards by the inteſtine tumult in the camp. *Germanicus* complied with their requeſt, and laying a bridge croſs the *Rhine*, marched over twelve thouſand legionaries, twenty-ſix cohorts of the allies, and eight *alæ* (N) of horſe. With theſe he traverſed the *Cæſian* foreſt (O), and other woods lying between him and the enemy; and being informed on his march, that the *Germans* were cele- c brating that night a feſtival with great mirth and revelling, he advanced with ſuch expedition, having ſent *Cæcina* before with the cohorts, to clear a paſſage through the foreſt, that he reached the villages of the *Marſi*, before the inhabitants had recovered themſelves from their debauch. Here he divided his army into four bodies, and giving them full liberty to make what havock they pleaſed, ſent them into different quarters of the unhappy canton, that no part of it might be exempt from ravage and devaſtation. We may well imagine what ſlaughter they made of thoſe unfortunate wretches, whom they found ſcattered here and there and aſleep, ſome in their beds, others lying by their tables; no ſex or age was ſpared; places ſacred and profane were equally plundered and laid in aſhes, and among them the temple of d *Tanfana* (P), the tutelar god of the *German* nation. In ſhort, the country was waſted with *He invades* Germany. *Commits a dreadful havock in the country of the* Marſi.

(M) *Tacitus* tells us, that *Tiberius* was highly blamed at *Rome* for not going in perſon to quell the ſedition of the mutinous legions. "The rebel- "lion, ſaid they, ſpeaking both of the *Pannonian* "and *German* legions, has gathered too much "ſtrength to be ſuppreſſed by two young princes, "whoſe authority the ſoldiery deſpiſes. Why does "he not go himſelf to awe the mutineers with his "uncontrouled power? They would, no doubt, "return to their duty at the bare ſight of their em- "peror, a man of great experience in war, and in "whoſe power alone it is to puniſh with ſeverity, "and liberally to reward, every one according to "his deſerts. How many journies did *Auguſtus* "take into *Germany*, even in his old age? And "ſhall *Tiberius*, in the vigor of his, continue un- "active and idle in the city, without any other "employment, but to cavil at the ſpeeches of the "ſenators?" *Tiberius*, tho' not ignorant of theſe complaints, was determined not to leave *Rome*, judging his preſence more neceſſary in the capital, where all affairs were tranſacted, than in the camp. Beſides, he was at a loſs to which army he ſhould repair firſt, and at the ſame time afraid, leſt the laſt he viſited ſhould think themſelves affronted, and thence become more outrageous. To treat them therefore both equally, and maintain the majeſty of an emperor, which is ever moſt reverenced at a diſtance, he thought it ſafeſt to viſit neither, but to ſend to the one his natural, to the other his adopted, ſon. Moreover he conſidered, that the two young princes might well refer many things to him, which would be gaining time; and that if the mutineers deſpiſed them, his own authority ſtill remained to awe them into obedience; whereas if they contemned, in the firſt tranſports of their rage, the emperor himſelf, no authority was left to controul them. However, to obviate the complaints and clamours of the people, he gave out, that he deſigned to viſit the rebellious armies; and even choſe his attendants, provided his equipage, and prepared a fleet; but ſometimes pretending buſineſs, ſometimes alledging the approach of winter, he deceived not only the common people, but even the wiſeſt ſenators.

(N) An *ala*, which we may call a ſquadron, conſiſted of three hundred horſemen, and was divided into *turmæ* and *decuriæ*, each *turma* conſiſting of thirty men, and each *decuria* of ten; ſo that there were in every *ala* ten *turmæ*, and in every *turma* three *decuriæ*.

(O) The *Cæſian* foreſt was part of the *Hercynian*, and is placed by *Cluverius* partly in the duchy of *Cleves*, partly in *Weſtphalia* between *Weſel* and *Koefeld*. Some modern critics think, that it was called by the ancient *Germans*, not the *Cæſian*, (for this, ſay they, is a *Roman* name) but the *Heſian* foreſt, from *Heſus*, the god of war amongſt the ancient *Germans* and *Gauls*.

(P) *Gronovius* derives the name of this *German* deity from the words *tan*, or *than*, ſignifying in the *German* language *a fir-tree*, and *fachna* or *fan*, which in the ancient *Gotho-Teutonic* tongue ſignifies *Lord* or *God*; ſo that the import of *Tanfana* is *the lord* or *the god of fir-trees*. That author concludes, that the *Tanfana* of the *Germans* was the ſame as the *Sylvanus* of the *Romans*, and called the god *Tanfana*, or the *god of firs*, becauſe his chief temple was in a foreſt of fir-trees (20), as *Jupiter* was ſtyled by the *Romans*, *Fagutalis*, from a grove of beeches conſecrated to him. the word *fagus* ſignifying in *Latin a beech* (21). *Lipſius*

(20) *Vide Gron. in Tacit*

(21) *Vide Plin. l* xvi. *c.* 10, *& ult.*

with fire and ſword fifty miles round, without the loſs, nay, without the wound, of a ſingle man on the ſide of the *Romans* [e]. This general maſſacre rouſed the *Bructeri* (Q), the *Tubantes* (R), and the *Uſipetes* (S), who beſetting the paſſes of the foreſt through which the *Roman* army was to return, fell upon their rear, and put the light-armed cohorts into diſorder; but *Germanicus*, riding up to the twentieth legion, and crying out, That the time was come for them to redeem their reputation, and cancel the memory of their late ſedition, by falling upon the enemy, they attacked them ſo briſkly, that the *Germans* were broke at the firſt onſet, and driven out of the wood into the neighbouring plain, where great numbers of them were cut in pieces. In the mean time, the van-guard, paſſing the foreſt, had time to form a camp, whither the reſt of the army retired to reſt themſelves that night after ſo fatiguing a march. The next day they purſued their rout uninterrupted, and arrived, loaded with booty, at the place appointed for their winter quarters [f]. The fame of theſe exploits ſoon reached *Rome*, and filled the city with joy. As for *Tiberius*, he was highly pleaſed to hear, that the ſedition was ſuppreſſed, and the beginning of his reign ſignalized by ſo remarkable a victory. But his joy was not without allay: *Germanicus*, by finally diſcharging the veterans, by ſhortening the term of ſervice for the reſt, and by liberally diſtributing money among them, had gained the affections of the army, and beſides, great glory by his late expedition. This gave the jealous and ſuſpicious emperor great uneaſineſs, which, however, he artfully diguiſed, giving the ſenate a pompous account of the exploits of his nephew, and beſtowing upon him the higheſt encomiums. He commended at the ſame time the addreſs of his ſon *Druſus* in quelling the ſedition of the *Pannonian* legions in few words, but which ſeemed dictated by his heart and more ſincere [g]. In ſhort, he ſpoke of *Germanicus* like an orator, but of *Druſus* like a father. However, he approved whatever *Germanicus* had done, and, to gain the affections of the *Pannonian* legions, extended to them all the privileges which *Germanicus* had granted to his own.

Several German *nations, falling upon the* Romans *in their retreat, are defeated.*

Tiberius *jealous of* Germanicus's *glory.*

Tiberius's *excellent behaviour in the beginning of his reign.*

His modeſty.

These diſorders in *Germany* and *Pannonia* and the great veneration which the ſoldiery, as well as the people, had for *Germanicus*, were a great reſtraint upon *Tiberius*, who now with wonderful art diſguiſed thoſe vices, which afterwards diſplayed themſelves ſo openly. He acted in moſt things like a truly generous, good-natured, and clement prince. Of the many and extraordinary honours that were offered him, he accepted but few, and thoſe of the meaneſt ſort. He forbad any prieſts or temples to be decreed for him, or ſtatues erected but by his own permiſſion, which he granted ſometimes, upon condition that they ſhould be placed, not among the images of the gods, but the ornaments of their houſes. He refuſed the title of *father of his country*, and never took upon him the name of *Auguſtus*, though it was hereditary,

[e] Idem ibid. c. 49—51. [f] Idem ibid. c. 52, 53. [g] Idem ibid. c. 54.

Lipſius derives the name of *Tanfana* from the *Flemiſh* word *taenfanct*, ſignifying *the principal* or *firſt cauſe of things*; ſo that the *Germans*, under the name of *Tanfana*, adored, according to him, the ſupreme being.

(Q) The *Bructeri* are placed by moſt geographers next to the *Friſii*, between the *Amiſia*, now the *Ems*, and the lake *Flevus*, now the *Suyderſee*. *Tacitus* ſpeaks of them thus. "Next to the *Tencteri* "dwelt the *Bructeri*, in whoſe room the *Chamavi* "and *Angrivarii* are ſaid to have ſettled, after "having driven out and utterly extirpated the "*Bructeri*, with the concurrence of the neighbouring nations, either in deteſtation of their pride, "or enticed by the love of booty, or through the "ſpecial favour of the gods towards the *Romans*. "They were even pleaſed to indulge us the pleaſure of ſeeing the battle, in which there fell above "ſixty thouſand men, without a blow ſtruck by "the *Romans*, &c. May the gods continue and "perpetuate among theſe nations, if not any love "for us, yet by all means their animoſity and hatred to each other, ſince fortune cannot more ſignally befriend us, than in ſowing diviſions amongſt "our enemies." As to the time of this general ſlaughter of the *Bructeri* mentioned here by *Tacitus*, we are quite in the dark; for this nation was ſtill in being in *Tiberius*'s reign, nay, and many years after *Tacitus*'s time, but probably at a greater diſtance from the *Rhine*; for they are mentioned by *Eumenius* and *Nazarius* in their panegyrics upon *Conſtantine*, and alſo by the poet *Claudian* (22). The ſlaughter therefore was not ſo general as is by *Tacitus* ſuppoſed (23).

(R) The *Tubantes* poſſeſſed great part of *Weſtphalia*. *Cluverius* places the ancient city of *Teclia* mentioned by *Ptolemy*, now *Teklenburg*, on the borders of the *Tubantes* and *Chamavi*.

(S) The *Uſipites*, *Uſipii*, or *Uſipetæ*, are placed by *Rhenanus* between the *Rhine* and the mountains of *Heſſe*. In *Cæſar*'s time they bordered upon the countries of the *Sicambri* and *Tencteri*, of whom we have ſpoken above. *Dion Caſſius* ſeems to place them between the *Rhine* and the *Lupias*, now the *Lippe*, and the *Sicambri* beyond the latter of theſe rivers; for, in deſcribing *Druſus*'s expedition into *Germany*, he tells us, that he paſſed the *Rhine*, and having ſubdued the *Uſipetes*, laid a bridge over the *Lupias*, and entered the country of the *Sicambri* (24).

(22) *Vide Claud.* 4. *conſul Honor. ver.* 450. *Dio, l.* liv. *p.* 544.

(23) *Vide Tacit. de mor. Ger. c.* 33.

(24)

a tary, but in his letters to foreign potentates. For flattery he had an utter averſion. If, in private converſation or public ſpeeches, any thing was ſaid to his praiſe, he immediately not only interrupted, but rebuked, the ſpeaker. One calling him *Dominus* or *Lord*, he deſired him not to mention him any more in deriſion. Another calling his employments *ſacred*, he entreated him to change his epithet, and to ſtyle them *troubleſome*. He would not permit the ſenate to ſwear to the obſervation of his acts, urging againſt it the inſtability of all mortal things, and that the higher he was raiſed, the more he was expoſed to danger. All ſlanderous reports, libels, and lampoons upon him and his adminiſtration he bore with extraordinary patience, ſaying, *That in a free city, the thoughts and tongues of every man ought to be free*; and when the ſenate would have proceeded againſt ſome, who had publiſhed libels againſt him, he

b would not conſent to it, ſaying, *We have not time enough to attend ſuch trifles: if you once open a door to ſuch informations, you will be able to do nothing elſe; for, under that pretence, every man will revenge himſelf upon his enemies by accuſing them to you.* Being informed that one had ſpoke very detractingly of him; *If he ſpeaks ill of me*, ſaid he, *I will give him as good an account of my words and actions as I can; and, if that is not ſufficient, I will ſatisfy myſelf with having as bad an opinion of him as he has of me.* His carriage towards the ſenate was very reſpectful; nothing of moment was tranſacted without their advice and approbation. To them were referred the collecting of the taxes and tributes, the building and repairing of all public edifices, the raiſing or diſbanding of forces, the muſtering of the legions and auxiliaries, the prolonging or grant-

c ing commiſſions upon any extraordinary war, the returning of anſwers to the letters of kings, *&c.* He never entered into the ſenate with any attendants but once, when he was brought in, on account of an indiſpoſition, in a litter; and then he immediately ordered his company to withdraw. In the ſenate he allowed every one to ſpeak his mind with great freedom. Having one day diſſented in his opinion from *Q. Haterius*; *Pardon me, I beſeech you* ſaid he, *if as a ſenator I ſpeak againſt you with more freedom than ordinary.* Then turning to the whole aſſembly, he addreſſed them thus; *Moſt venerable fathers, what I ſay now I have often ſaid before; a good and prudent prince, to whom you have given ſo great and abſolute a power, ought to be ſerviceable, not only to the ſenate and the body of the city, but to every particular citizen: nor do I repent*

d *of any thing I have ſaid of this nature, having always accounted you, as I ſtill do, my good, juſt, and moſt gracious lords.* If in the ſenate any thing was decreed againſt his judgment, he did not complain, nor ſeem the leaſt diſpleaſed. He allowed the conſuls ſo much power, that certain embaſſadors from *Africa* had recourſe to them, deſiring they would return them a ſpeedy anſwer, ſince *Cæſar*, to whom they had been ſent, put them off from day to day. When the conſuls came into the ſenate, the theatre, or any other place where he was, he always roſe up to them, and turned out of the way, if he met them in the ſtreets. He often aſſiſted at the trials in the courts of juſtice, eſpecially if any criminal was reported to be like to eſcape by favour or connivance; he then appeared unexpectedly, and with a grave air put the

e judges in mind of the laws and the crimes before them. He applied himſelf with great care to the reformation of manners, and made many excellent regulations, by which he reſtrained the immoderate expences of plays and public ſhews, retrenched the ſalaries of the players, and reduced the gladiators to a fixt number. The prices of *Corinthian* veſſels growing extravagant, and the luxury of entertainments to ſuch an exceſs, that thirty thouſand ſeſterces were paid for three mullets, he complained of theſe diſorders to the ſenate, and got a law paſſed, ſetting bounds to the expences in furniture, and ordaining, that the prices of proviſions in the markets ſhould be annually regulated by the ſenate. As to the eating-houſes and taverns, which at this

f time were very numerous in *Rome*, they were all, by *Tiberius*'s orders, utterly ſuppreſſed; and that he might, by his own example, countenance frugality and parſimony in others, he had, at his public and moſt ſolemn entertainments, meat ſerved up, which had been dreſſed and cut up the day before, contrary to the cuſtom which then obtained, ſaying, that *every part had the ſame taſte as the whole.* To check the progreſs of vice, he drove out of *Rome* a great number of young noblemen, and alſo ſome women of diſtinction, who were noted for their debaucheries; and at the ſame time revived an ancient law, impowering all parents to puniſh their daughters, even after they were married, if, by their debauched lives, they brought diſgrace upon their families. In this particular he was ſo ſtrict, that by proclamation he prohibited the kiſſes that were, according to cuſtom, given by way of ſalutation. He ſeemed

His extraordinary patience

His reſpect for the ſenate.

And the conſuls.

Applied himſelf to the reformation of manners.

His frugality.

intirely

intirely averſe from loading his people with any new taxes; and when ſome governors of provinces adviſed him to raiſe their taxes, he anſwered, that *it was the duty of a good ſhepherd to ſhear, not to flay, his flock,* and was ſo far from hearkening to the remonſtrances of his preſidents and governors, that, inſtead of raiſing, he leſſened the tributes that were annually remitted to *Rome* from the provinces [h]. Such was the deportment of *Tiberius*, while his authority was yet wavering; but we ſhall ſoon ſee him pull off the maſk, and abandon himſelf without controul to thoſe vices, which he now ſo artfully diſguiſes with the oppoſite virtues. But to return to the brave *Germanicus*:

Leſſens the taxes.

The following year, *Druſus Cæſar* and *Caius Norbanus* being conſuls, *Germanicus* made vaſt preparations, with a deſign to purſue the war againſt the *Germans*, and revenge the death of *Varus* and the ſlaughter of his legions. He had indeed no thoughts of attempting any thing till the ſummer; but being informed, that violent diſſentions reigned among the enemy, he reſolved early in the ſpring to make an irruption into the country of the *Catti* (T). Theſe inteſtine broils, of which *Germanicus* reſolved to take advantage, were occaſioned by the oppoſite parties of *Arminius* and *Segeſtes*, the former the incendiary of *Germany*, and chief author of the inſurrection in which *Varus* periſhed with his legions; the latter a ſincere and faithful friend to the *Romans*; nay, he had even given *Varus* notice of the intended revolt, and adviſed him to ſecure himſelf, *Arminius* and the other chiefs aſſuring him, that, without their leaders, the multitude would not dare to attempt any thing. But the *Roman* general deſpiſed his advice, which coſt him dear, as we have related above. *Segeſtes*, tho' forced to join his countrymen in that general revolt, yet remained at conſtant variance with *Arminius*; and at this time their animoſities were heightened by a domeſtic quarrel, *Arminius* having carried away by force the daughter of *Segeſtes*, named *Thuſneldes*, and married her, though already betrothed to another. This attempt gave riſe to an open rupture between the two chiefs, of which *Germanicus* no ſooner had intelligence, than he put four legions, five thouſand auxiliaries, and ſome *German* troops drawn ſuddenly together, under the command of *Cæcina*, ordering him to ſcour the country, while he himſelf, at the head of as many legions and double the number of allies, advanced with incredible expedition into the country of the *Catti*; and falling upon the enemy before they were appriſed of his march, put vaſt numbers of them to the ſword, without diſtinction of ſex or age. Moſt of their youth eſcaped by ſwimming over the *Adrana* (U), and attempted to prevent the *Romans* from laying

Germanicus *invades and ravages the country of the* Catti.

[h] Suet. in Tiber. c. 26—36. Tacit. ibid.

(T) The *Catti* or *Chatti* poſſeſſed, as we have hinted above, part of the duchy of *Brunſwick*, of the biſhopric of *Hildeſheim*, of *Thuringen*, *Heſſe*, and the territories of *Fulda*, with the counties of *Schauwemberg*, *Waldeck*, and *Mansfeld*. *Tacitus* ſpeaks of them thus: "The territories of the *Catti* begin at "the *Hercynian* foreſt, and conſiſt not of ſuch wide "and marſhy plains as thoſe of the other communities contained within the vaſt compaſs of *Germany*; but of hills, which, for a long tract, run "high and contiguous, then by degrees ſink. Moreover, the *Hercynian* foreſt attends for a while its "native *Catti*, and then forſakes them. They are "diſtinguiſhed with more hard and robuſt bodies, "compact limbs, ſtern countenances, and a more "ſprightly vigor of mind. For *Germans*, they "are men of much ſenſe and addreſs. They commit the government to choſen men, and liſten to "them when ſet over them. They know how "to maintain their ranks, to diſcern occaſions, to "reſtrain their own ardour, how to employ the "day, how to intrench themſelves by night. They "reckon fortune among uncertain things, and valour among ſuch as are ſecure; and, what is very "rare, and never learnt but by men inured to diſcipline, they repoſe more confidence in the conduct of the general, than in the ſtrength of the "army. Their whole ſtrength conſiſts in foot, "who, beſides their arms, carry iron tools and their "proviſions. Other *Germans* take the field equipped for a battle; but the *Catti* equipped for a "war. They ſeldom make excurſions, or expoſe "themſelves to the dangers of caſual encounters. It "is peculiar to cavalry ſuddenly to conquer, or ſuddenly to fly. Such haſte and expedition borders "upon fear: warineſs and deliberation are more akin to intrepidity." *Tacitus* adds, that a cuſtom, practiſed only by ſome particular perſons of other *German* nations, univerſally obtained among the *Catti*; which is, to let their hair and beards grow till they have ſlain an enemy, being perſuaded, that only by the death of a foe they can acquit themſelves of the debt and duty contracted by their birth, and render themſelves worthy of their country and parents; ſo that the cowardly and unwarlike among them were eaſily diſtinguiſhed by their long hair and beards. The moſt brave likewiſe wear an iron ring, which is a mark of great diſhonour in that nation, as a chain or badge of ſlavery, till they ſet themſelves, as it were, at liberty, by killing an enemy (25). However, as *Germanicus* came upon them unawares, they were forced either to ſubmit, or ſhelter themſelves in the woods, that is, in the *Hercynian* foreſt, which, as *Tacitus* has told us, began in their country.

(U) The *Adrana*, now the *Eder*, riſes in *Upper Heſſe*, waters the county of *Waldeck* and *Lower Heſſe*, and falls into the *Fulda* or *Fulden* about two miles above *Caſſel*.

(25) *Tacit. de mor. Ger.* 30, 31.

a ing a bridge over that river; but their efforts proving unſucceſsful, ſome of them ſubmitted to *Germanicus*; but the greater part, abandoning their villages, took refuge in the woods; ſo that the *Romans*, without oppoſition, laid waſte all the open country, ſet fire to their dwellings, laid *Mattium* (W) their capital in aſhes, and then began their march back to the *Rhine*. The *Cheruſci* alone made ſome motions, as if they deſigned to aſſiſt the *Catti* and fall upon the *Romans* in their retreat, but were reſtrained by *Cæcina*, who, with his army of obſervation, moved about from place to place, and had even defeated the *Marſi* (X), who had dared to engage him [i].

Germanicus had ſcarce reached his camp, when deputies arrived from *Segeſtes*, praying relief for that faithful friend to the *Romans* againſt his and their declared enemy

b *Arminius*, who had beſieged him in his camp. At the head of this embaſſy was *Segimundus*, the ſon of *Segeſtes*, whom, though he had formerly revolted from the *Romans*, *Germanicus* received with great kindneſs; but ſent him, as he could no longer depend upon his fidelity, under a ſtrong guard to the frontiers of *Gaul* (Y). As to his requeſt, he readily complied with it, led back his army without loſs of time to the relief of *Segeſtes*, engaged the beſiegers, put them to flight, and reſcued that faithful friend of the *Romans* out of the hands of his moſt inveterate enemy. On this occaſion the *Romans* took a great many priſoners, among whom was *Thuſneldis*, the wife of *Arminius* and daughter of *Segeſtes*, who had been the chief occaſion of the preſent rupture between the two illuſtrious families (Z). She was then big with child, and ſeemed to be

c concerned only for the fate of her unhappy babe deſtined to be born in ſlavery. As for her own captivity, ſhe bore it with the intrepidity of a true heroine, without ſhedding a tear, or uttering a word in the ſtyle of a ſuppliant. Among the booty were found but not ſuffered to return among his countrymen. What became of him afterwards, *Tacitus* does not tell us; but *Strabo* names him among the illuſtrious capives, who marched before the chariot of *Germanicus*, when he entered *Rome* in triumph (29). If he did not join the rebels a ſecond time, *Germanicus* acted contrary to the law of nations in thus ſeizing the perſon of an embaſſador, and treating him as if he had been taken in war.

Marches againſt Arminius.

Whom he defeats and takes his wife priſoner.

[i] Idem ibid. c. 56.

(W) *Tacitus* in this place ſtyles *Mattium* the capital of the *Catti*; but elſewhere (26) diſtinguiſhes the *Mattiaci* from the *Catti*: *The army*, ſays he, *was compoſed of* Catti, Uſipii, *and* Mattiaci. Their country, according to the accounts of the ancient geographers, was incloſed on all ſides by the territories of the *Catti*; whence they are often confounded with them. *Cluverius* and *Cellarius* think, that the ſituation of *Mattium*, or, as *Ptolemy* calls it, *Mattiacum*, agrees with that of the preſent city of *Marpurg*; for it ſtands on the road leading from mount *Taunus*, now known to the natives by the names of *Der Heyrick* and *Die Hohe*, over-againſt *Mentz*, to the *Adrana* or the *Eder*, which was the rout *Germanicus* took in this irruption, as *Tacitus* informs us. *Pliny* mentions the hot baths of *Mattium* (27), which all modern geographers take for the hot waters of *Wisbaden* over-againſt *Mentz* or *Moguntiacum*, as it was called by the ancients; ſo that the territories of the *Mattiaci* extended at leaſt from the *Rhine* to the *Eder*. Whether they reached beyond that river, and how far, we know not. *Tacitus* tells us, that the *Mattiaci* in his time were friends to the *Romans*. The *Roman* people, ſays he, have carried the awe and eſteem of their empire beyond the *Rhine* and the ancient boundaries. Thus the *Mattiaci*, living on the oppoſite bank, enjoy a ſettlement of their own; but by inclination are *Romans* (28).

(X) Part of *Weſtphalia* and of the biſhoprick of *Paderborn* were, according to moſt of our modern geographers, the ancient habitation of the *Marſi*.

(Y) *Segimundus* had been greatly favoured by the *Romans*, and by them appointed prieſt of the altar of the *Ubii*, of which we have ſpoken above; but when his countrymen revolted, he rent the ſacerdotal tiara and fled to the revolters. Hence, when his father declared to him his intention of putting him at the head of the embaſſy which he was ſending to *Germanicus*, he deſired at firſt to be excuſed; but afterwards truſting to the clemency of the *Roman* general he undertook the execution of his father's orders, and was favourably received by *Germanicus*,

(Z) *Tacitus* tells us, that the *Germans* carried about with them in all their wars their wives and children, whom they placed near the field of battle, that, by the tears of their wives and the cries of their tender infants, they might be the more encouraged to exert themſelves in the defence of thoſe intereſting pledges of nature. Their armies, when yielding and ready to fly, have been often prevailed upon to maintain their ground and ſtand the ſhock of the enemy, by the importunity and intreaties of their women, preſenting their breaſts, and putting them in mind of their impending captivity; an evil which they far more dreaded in their women than in themſelves. When any of them happened to be ſo wounded in battle, that they could not continue the fight, they retired to their mothers or wives, who, without being ſhocked, ſucked their bleeding wounds. The wife among them brought no dowry to the huſband, but the huſband to the wife, *viz.* a couple of oxen yoked together, a horſe accoutred, a ſhield, a javelin, and a ſword. The woman on her part too made her huſband a preſent of ſome arms. By the mutual approbation and acceptance of theſe gifts, in the preſence of their parents and relations, they were married. The oxen joined in the ſame yoke, the horſe ready equipped, and the preſent of arms, ſerved to put the woman in mind, that ſhe came to her huſband as a partner of his hazards and dangers in war as well as in peace, and that ſhe was not exempt from fighting and exerting her courage in battle for the defence of her huſband or country (30).

(26) *Tacit. hiſtor. l.* iv. *c.* 37. (27) *Plin. l.* xxxi. *c.* 20. (28) *Tacit. de mor. Ger c.* 29. (29) *Strabo, l.* vii. (30) *Tacit. ibid. c.* 7 & 18.

found *Roman* ſpoils taken from *Varus* and his ſlaughtered legions, and divided among thoſe who were now priſoners. *Arminius* being now put to flight, *Segeſtes* thought it his duty to wait upon his deliverer; and accordingly, from a confidence in his ſincere attachment to the *Roman* intereſt, he appeared before *Germanicus*, without betraying the leaſt fear, and, addreſſing him with a majeſtic air, enumerated, with great modeſty, the ſervices he had rendered the republic, which had drawn upon him the hatred of *Arminius*; offered his mediation for the *German* nation, if they perhaps would rather chuſe to repent than be deſtroyed; and earneſtly recommended to his known clemency his ſon and daughter, intreating him to forgive the former the error he had been guilty of in his youth, more out of imprudence than malice, and to conſider the latter rather as the daughter of *Segeſtes* than the wife of *Arminius*. *Germanicus* anſwered with his uſual good-nature and humanity, promiſing to take his ſon, daughter, and all his relations under his protection, aſſigned to him a ſafe retreat in one of the neighbouring provinces long ſince ſubject to *Rome*, and then returned with the army to his former camp, where the wife of *Arminius* was delivered of a male child (A) [k].

Segeſtes's *ſpeech to* Germanicus.

In the mean time, *Arminius*, more inraged than ever for the loſs of his wife, whom he tenderly loved, and the fate of his child doomed to be born in captivity, flew about the country of the *Cheruſci*, inflaming that warlike nation againſt *Segeſtes* and *Germanicus*, and encouraging them to let *Arminius* rather lead them to liberty and glory, than the wicked and treacherous *Segeſtes* to infamy and bondage. His credit, and the bitter invectives he was conſtantly uttering againſt the *Romans*, rouſed not only the *Cheruſci*, but all the neighbouring nations; nay, *Inquiomerus*, one of the chief lords of the country, and hitherto a friend to the *Romans* and in high credit with them, though uncle to *Arminius* by the father's ſide, was drawn into the confederacy, and prevailed upon to declare for his nephew, and join him with all his friends and dependents. *Germanicus*, upon intelligence of ſo powerful a confederacy, that he might not be obliged to engage ſuch numerous forces united, reſolved to make a diverſion; and with this view detached *Cæcina* at the head of forty *Roman* cohorts to the river *Amiſia*, now the *Ems*, through the territories of the *Bructeri*. The cavalry took another rout, under the conduct of *Pedo* (B), who led them by the confines of the *Friſians* (C). As for *Germanicus* himſelf, he imbarqued the four remaining legions on a neighbouring lake, and tranſported them on rivers and canals to the place appointed for the general rendezvous on the banks of the *Amiſia*, where the three ſeparate bodies met. The *Chauci*, as the legions paſſed through their country, joined them: the *Bructeri*, upon the approach of *Germanicus*, attempted to ſet fire to their houſes and retire; but were reſtrained by *Stertinius*, who was detached againſt them. That commander had the good luck to find in the country of the *Bructeri* the eagle of the nineteenth legion loſt in the overthrow of *Varus*. The army, now united, purſued their march to the fartheſt borders of the *Bructeri*, and laid waſte the whole country between the rivers *Luppias* and *Amiſia*, that is, the *Lyppe* and the *Ems*. As the foreſt of *Teutoburgium* (D) was not far off, where the bones of *Varus* and the three legions

Arminius *ſtirs up the neighbouring nations againſt the* Romans

Germanicus *marches againſt him.*

[k] Idem, c. 57, 58.

(A) *Tacitus* tells us, that this child was brought up at *Ravenna*, and promiſes to relate in a more proper place the misfortune which befel him. The fathers *Catrou* and *Rouillé*, in their *Roman* hiſtory, make the ſame promiſe. If *Tacitus* performed his, it was in his books which have not reached our times. We ſhall therefore be the more obliged to thoſe learned writers for the performance of theirs; for we know nothing of this unhappy captive or his misfortunes.

(B) It is uncertain whether *Pedo*, mentioned here by *Tacitus*, was *Pedo Albinovanus*, or *Pedo Pompeius*. *Seneca* ſpeaks of the latter as a perſon of great merit (32), and *Ovid* commends the former as an excellent poet. Some fragments of his book intituled *De navigatione Germanici*, have reached our times (33). The elegy he wrote on the death of *Druſus* and inſcribed to *Livia* is a maſter-piece of the kind, and worthy of a heavenly poet, as *Ovid* ſtyles him (34). *Joſeph Scaliger* aſcribes to him the elegy on the death of *Mecænas*, wherein he diſagrees with moſt other critics. *Voſſius* ſuppoſes him to have written alſo epigrams, which he gathers from one of *Martial*'s (35).

(C) The country of the *Friſii* was divided into two, called the *Greater* and the *Leſſer*. The former lay between the mouths of the *Rhine* and the *Weſer*. The latter extended along the coaſt of the ocean on the oppoſite ſide of the *Rhine*; but how far, we cannot determine.

(D) The foreſt of *Teutoburgium*, now *Teuteberg*, lay in *Weſtphalia*, between the *Ems* and the *Lyppe*. The preſent inhabitants pretend to ſhew the very ſpot where *Varus* with his legions were cut off. It is a plain in the neighbourhood of a ſmall town called *Horn*, and is known by the name of *Winſeldt*, which it took, they ſuppoſe, from the *Germans* winning the field.

(32) *Senec. in lud. de morte Claud.* (33) *Senec. ſuaſor.* 1. (34) *Ovid. in Pont. eleg.* ult.
(35) *Mart. l.* ii. *epig.* 77.

a legions ſlaughtered with him were ſaid to lie ſtill unburied, *Germanicus*, touched with a tender compaſſion on their unhappy fate, reſolved to march thither and pay them the laſt offices. Accordingly *Cæcina* was ſent before to clear the way, to examine the avenues leading to the foreſt, and lay bridges over marſhy places. The reſt of the army followed, and, marching in good order and with great caution, entered the gloomy foreſt, where they ſoon diſcovered the ruins of two *Roman* camps, the one very ſpacious and capable of containing three legions, the other much leſs in circumference, which, they concluded, had ſerved for a place of retreat for the ſmall number of legionaries, who had eſcaped the firſt day's ſlaughter. The ramparts of both were half ruined, and the ditches near filled up. The open fields b were covered with bleached bones, ſome ſeparate, ſome in heaps, as thoſe unhappy men had happened to fall flying ſingly, or reſiſting in bodies. In the adjacent groves were ſeen ſtill ſtanding the altars, where the barbarians had ſacrificed to their gods the tribunes and chief centurions, whom they had made priſoners. On the trees ſurrounding the altars were ſtuck the ſkulls of thoſe unhappy victims. In *Germanicus*'s army there were ſome who had ſerved under *Varus*, and had the good luck to eſcape the general ſlaughter; and theſe related the particulars of that tragical event to the reſt. Here, ſaid they, the commanders of our legions were ſlain; there our eagles were taken: here *Varus* received his firſt wound; there he fell by his own hand: in that place ſtood the tribunal, whence *Arminius* harangued his men; in this he c cauſed gibbets to be erected for the execution of his captives, *&c.* So many doleful objects awakened in the hearts of the *Romans* and their commander a tender compaſſion for the fate of their countrymen, friends, and comrades, and at the ſame time an eager deſire of appeaſing their manes, with the ſlaughter of an enemy ſo cruel and inhuman. With theſe ſentiments they firſt carefully gathered the bones ſcattered up and down the fields; and, having dug a deep trench, buried them there ſix years after the ſlaughter, *Germanicus* laying the firſt turf on the common tomb (E). Having thus paid the laſt offices to their friends, they abandoned that ſolitude diſmal to their ſight and memory, and, full of reſentment, advanced againſt the author of ſo many evils, who, underſtanding that he was purſued by *Germanicus*, retired, and incamped d in an advantagious poſt cloſe to the woods. The *Roman* general followed him, and coming up with him, ordered his cavalry to advance and diſlodge him. *Arminius*, at the approach of the *Roman* horſe, pretended to fly; but wheeling ſuddenly about, and at the ſame time giving the ſignal to a body of troops, which he had concealed in the foreſt, to ruſh out, he fell upon the enemy with ſuch vigor, that the *Roman* cavalry, not able to ſtand the ſhock, began to give way. *Germanicus* immediately detached ſome cohorts to their relief; but they too were ſoon put in diſorder and broken, more by their own men who fled, than by the enemy. *Arminius*, taking advantage of the confuſion the *Romans* were in, doubled his efforts, and would have puſhed them into a moraſs, had not *Germanicus* advanced at the head of his legions e in order of battle. *Arminius*, finding his men already tired, did not think it adviſeable to engage the freſh legions, and therefore retired in good order, leaving the *Romans* maſters of the field. *Germanicus*, not judging it ſafe to purſue the enemy through pathleſs woods and foreſts, contented himſelf with this ſmall advantage, and returned with the army to the river *Amiſia*. There he imbarqued with four legions, ordered *Cæcina* to reconduct the other four by land, and ſent the cavalry to the ſea-ſide,

Germanicus *and his army bury the remains of* Varus *and his legions.*

They advance againſt Arminius.

Who at firſt gains ſome advantage; but in the end is defeated.

(E) *Tiberius* did not approve of this pious office performed by *Germanicus* and his army. Whether it was, ſays *Tacitus*, that he put a bad conſtruction upon every action of *Germanicus*, or believed, that the ſight of ſo many *Romans* ſlain by the enemy, and left thus unburied, might ſink the courage of his men, and heighten their terror of ſo dreadful a foe. Beſides, *Germanicus* was a member of the college of the augurs, and of the prieſts ſacred to the deity of *Auguſtus*, and, as ſuch, ought not, according to the ancient rites, to have been any ways concerned in the ceremonies and ſolemnities of the dead, ſince by them pontiffs, augurs, and prieſts of all denominations, were thought to be defiled. Hence *Auguſtus*, who was pontifex maximus, pronounced the funeral oration of *Marcellus* with a veil between him and the corps, as *Suetonius* informs us, that he might not be polluted with the ſight of it. *Plutarch* tells us, that *Sylla* divorced his wife *Metella* a little before ſhe died, and cauſed her to be conveyed into another houſe, that his own, as he was then pontifex and augur, might not be defiled with funeral ceremonies (36). But we are apt to believe, that *Tiberius* did not, out of any principle of religion, find fault with *Germanicus*'s conduct; for he little mattered the gods or their rites, being himſelf a fataliſt, and poſſeſſed with notions of aſtrology. What diſpleaſed him was, that *Germanicus*, by ſo popular an action, had gained the hearts of the ſoldiery and *Roman* people.

(36) *Plut. in Sylla.*

ſide, with orders to march along the ſhore to the *Rhine*. Tho' *Cæcina* was to return through roads well known, yet *Germanicus* warned him to paſs with all poſſible ſpeed the cauſway called *the long bridges* (F). *Cæcina* made what haſte he could; but nevertheleſs *Arminius* arrived there before him. This cauſway led croſs vaſt marſhes, ſurrounded on all ſides with woods and hills, which gently roſe from the plain. The woods *Arminius* had already filled with his men, who, as ſoon as *Cæcina* approached, ruſhing out, fell upon him with ſuch fury, that the legions, not able to manage their arms in the deep waters and ſlippery ground, were already yielding, and would in all likelihood have been intirely defeated, had not night coming on ſoon put an end to the combat. The *Germans*, encouraged with their ſucceſs, inſtead of refreſhing themſelves with ſleep, employed the whole night in diverting the courſes of the ſprings riſing in the neighbouring mountains, and turning them into the plains; ſo that the camp, which the *Romans* had begun, was all on a ſudden laid under water, and their works overturned. We may well imagine what a melancholy night they paſſed under theſe circumſtances. We are told, that *Cæcina* himſelf was terrified with a frightful dream: he thought he ſaw *Quintilius Varus* riſing out of the marſh beſmeared with blood, ſtretching forth his hand, and calling upon him; but that he rejected the invitation, and puſhed him away. *Cæcina* had ſerved either as a common ſoldier, or as an officer, forty years, was well experienced in all the viciſſitudes of war, and thence undaunted even in the greateſt dangers. Having therefore calmly weighed with himſelf all proper expedients for the preſent conjuncture, he at length reſolved to attack the barbarians the next day, to drive them to their woods, and there keep them in a manner beſieged, till the baggage and the wounded men had paſſed the cauſway, and were out of the enemy's reach. With this view at break of day he drew up his legions, placing the fifth in the right wing, the one-and-twentieth in the left, the firſt in the van, and the twentieth in the rear. But the legions poſted on the wings, ſeized with a ſudden fear, as ſoon as day began to appear, deſerted their ſtations, and took poſſeſſion of a field beyond the marſhes. *Cæcina* thought it adviſeable to follow them; but the baggage ſticking in the mire, as he croſſed the marſhes, and the ſoldiers about it being embaraſſed and in great diſorder, *Arminius* laid hold of this opportunity to begin the attack; and crying out, *This is a ſecond* Varus; *the ſame fate attends him and his legions*, he ruſhed upon them at the head of a choſen body with a fury hardly to be expreſſed. As he had ordered his men to aim chiefly at the enemy's horſes, great numbers of them were killed, and the ground becoming ſlippery with their blood and the ſlime of the marſh, the reſt either fell, or caſting their riders and galloping among the ranks, put them into diſorder. *Cæcina* on this occaſion diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a very eminent manner; but his horſe being killed under him, he would have been taken priſoner, had not the firſt legion reſcued him. The greedineſs of the enemy was what ſaved *Cæcina* and his legions from utter deſtruction; for while they were already yielding and quite ſpent, the barbarians all on a ſudden abandoned them to ſeize the baggage. The *Romans*, during this reſpite, ſtruggled out of the marſh, and gaining the dry fields, tired as they were, formed with all poſſible ſpeed a camp there, and fortified it in the beſt manner they could.

Cæcina is attacked by Arminius.

And reduced to great ſtreights.

The Romans *ſaved by the greedineſs of the enemy.*

And now the legionaries, quite ſpent and exhauſted, retired to repoſe themſelves a while after ſo fatiguing a combat. But their repoſe was ſoon interrupted by an accident, which, as it cauſed a general alarm in the camp, ſhews what fear and terror had ſeized them. A horſe having broken looſe and being frightened with the noiſe, as he ſtrayed about, ran over ſome who were in his way. As this happened when it was dark, it raiſed ſuch a conſternation among the legionaries, imagining that the *Germans* had broke into the camp, that they all ran to the gate *Decumana*, which was fartheſt from the enemy, in order to make their eſcape. *Cæcina*, having learned the true cauſe of this general uproar, endeavoured to ſtop the fugitives, aſſuring them, that

The Romans *ſeized with a panic.*

(F) *Tacitus* tells us, that this cauſway was made by *Lucius Domitius*, who, according to that writer, led an army over the *Elbe*, and advanced farther into *Germany* than any *Roman* before him, which procured him the enſigns of triumph. Whence we conclude him to have been the grandfather of *Nero*; for *Suetonius*, in his life of that emperor, tells us, that *Lucius Domitius* his grandfather was no leſs famous for his dexterity in driving chariots, than for the triumphal ornaments which he acquired by his conduct in the *German* war (37). This cauſway, according to *Lipſius*, led croſs the marſhes between *Lingen*, *Wedden*, and *Coeverden*, where ſome remains of it are ſtill lying under water. Theſe marches are now known to the *Dutch* by the name of *Bretanſcheheyde*, that is, *the marſhes of* Bretan (38).

(37) *Suet. in Ner. c.* 4.

(38) *Vide Lipſ. in hunc loc. Tacit.*

a that their fear was quite groundleſs; but none of them hearkening to him, he flung himſelf at length croſs the gate. The awe and reſpect they had for their general reſtrained them from running over his body, and put a ſtop to their flight; and, in the mean time, the tribunes and centurions ſatisfied them, that it was a falſe alarm. Then *Cæcina*, calling them together, told them, that they muſt be indebted for their lives to their valour; but that their valour ought to be tempered with art; that they muſt keep cloſe within their camp till the *Germans* attempted to ſtorm it, and then make a ſudden ſally, break through the enemy, and purſue their march to the *Rhine*. This, he told them, was the only means of retrieving their glory, of ſaving their lives. In the mean time, it was reſolved in the *German* camp, purſuant to the advice b of *Inguiomerus*, to attack the *Roman* entrenchments the next morning, no-body doubting, except *Arminius*, but they might be eaſily forced. That commander, no leſs prudent than brave, was for ſuffering the *Romans* quietly to depart, and falling upon them on their march, when embaraſſed again amongſt foreſts and marſhes. But the advice of *Inguiomerus* prevailing, as ſoon as it was light, the *Germans* beſet the camp, and having filled the ditches, were already climbing up the ramparts, when *Cæcina* ordered the ſignal to be given to the cohorts, who, ſallying out with loud ſhouts, fell upon the aggreſſors, and made a dreadful ſlaughter of them, while they were buſy in ſcaling the entrenchments. The *Germans*, who imagined that few *Romans* were remaining, and had therefore promiſed themſelves an eaſy victory, were ſo ſurpriſed c and frightened at this ſudden and altogether unexpected attack, that they immediately betook themſelves to a ſhameful flight. The *Romans* purſued them, and made a dreadful ſlaughter of the fugitives. *Arminius* had the good luck to eſcape unhurt; but *Inguiomerus* was dangerouſly wounded. After this the *Germans*, as deſtitute of conduct in diſtreſs, as void of moderation in proſperity, appeared no more; ſo that *Cæcina* purſued his march unmoleſted to the *Rhine*[1].

The Germans *put to flight.*

In the mean time, a report being ſpread, that the *Roman* forces were cut in pieces, and a *German* army in full march to invade *Gaul*, ſome timorous partizans of *Rome* were for breaking down the bridge which the *Romans* had built over the *Rhine* near *Treves*; but *Agrippina*, who ſtill continued in that city, not giving credit to the d public report, oppoſed with a manly courage the execution of this deſign, and preſerved the bridge. She had ſoon after the ſatisfaction to ſee the legions under *Cæcina*, which were ſuppoſed to have met with the ſame fate as thoſe of *Varus*, arrive, ill-treated indeed and extremely fatigued, but victorious. As they drew near, this undaunted heroine went out with her ſon *Caligula* to receive them; and, ſtanding at the head of the bridge, commended, as they paſſed, their gallant behaviour, and returned them thanks for it in a moſt obliging manner; nay, in the abſence of her huſband, ſhe diſcharged all the duties of a general, relieved the neceſſities of the ſoldiers, beſtowed medicines on the wounded, ſupplied ſome with cloaths, and to all extended the effects of her unbounded generoſity. This behaviour, however commendable, rouſed the jealouſy of *Tiberius*: It is not, ſaid he, againſt foreigners only that ſhe e thus ſtudies to win the affections of the ſoldiery; ſhe has already given manifeſt proofs of her aſpiring views, in carrying her child, the general's ſon, about the camp in the habit of a common ſoldier, with the title of *Cæſar Caligula*. *Sejanus*, who was well acquainted with the diſtruſtful temper of *Tiberius*, and already entertained ambitious deſigns, which he could not compaſs without the deſtruction of *Germanicus*'s family, with his groundleſs and ill-natured ſuggeſtions, heightened the emperor's jealouſies, and ſowed in his mind the ſeeds of an irreconcileable hatred againſt *Agrippina*.

The couragious behaviour of Agrippina.

The jealouſy of Tiberius.

In the mean time, *Germanicus*, having conveyed the four legions he had with him down the *Amiſia* into the ocean, in order to return by ſea to the *Rhine*, and finding f that his veſſels were overloaded, delivered the ſecond and fourteenth legions to *Publius Vitellius*, one of his lieutenants, with orders to reconduct them by land. But this march proved fatal to great numbers of them, either buried in the quick-ſands, or ſwallowed up by the billows and overflowing tide, to which they were utter ſtrangers. Thoſe who eſcaped loſt their arms, utenſils, and proviſions, and paſſed a melancholy night on an eminence, which they had gained wading up to the chin. The next morning the land returning with the tide of ebb, *Vitellius* with a haſty march reached the river *Uſingis*, which ſome judicious critics take for the *Hoerenſter*, on which ſtands the preſent city of *Groeningen*. There *Germanicus*, who had reached that

The misfortune of the legions that returned by the ſea-ſide.

1 Tacit. annal. l. i, c. 60---69. Dio, l. lvii. p. 615, & ſeq.

that river with his fleet, took the two legions again on board, and conveyed them to the mouth of the *Rhine*, whence they all returned to the city of the *Ubii*, or *Cologne*, when fame had given them for loſt. *Germanicus* on his arrival found in that city *Sigimerus*, the brother of *Segeſtes*, with his ſon *Seſithacus*, who, having renounced the confederacy of their countrymen, were come to implore the clemency of the *Romans*, and enter into an alliance with them. The father, though one of the chief authors of the revolt, was kindly received by *Germanicus*; but it was with much ado that he prevailed upon himſelf to pardon the ſon, who was ſaid to have inſulted the dead body of the unfortunate *Varus*. In this expedition *Germanicus* gained no great advantages, and loſt a vaſt number of men. The greater part of thoſe, who had eſcaped ſo many dangers, returned without arms, horſes, utenſils, *&c.* half-naked, lamed, and unfit for the ſervice; but the fame of his name and amiable qualities having already filled both the *Gauls*, *Spain*, and *Italy*, the inhabitants of theſe countries ſtrove who ſhould be moſt forward in ſupplying him with arms, horſes, money, and whatever elſe was neceſſary for the proſecution of the war. *Germanicus* thanked them for their zeal; but accepted only the horſes and arms, defraying the other charges of the war with his own money. We ſhall ſoon ſee what ſucceſs attended him in this war: but let us return, in the mean time, to *Tiberius*.

Sigimerus *a* German *prince ſubmits to the* Romans.

THOUGH the jealous emperor repined at the glory of the brave *Germanicus*, yet, glad of his ſucceſs, he confirmed to him the title of *imperator*, which the legions had beſtowed on him, and decreed the triumphal ornaments to *Aulus Cæcina*, *Lucius Apronius*, and *Caius Silius*, three of his lieutenants, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves above the reſt. To gain to himſelf the affections of the people, which ſeemed to centre wholly in *Germanicus*, he affected popularity, rejecting the pompous titles offered him by the ſenate, relieving the diſtreſſed with great generoſity, and eaſing the inhabitants both of *Rome* and the provinces of ſeveral taxes, with which *Auguſtus* had burdened them. A ſenator, by name *Pius Aurelius*, his houſe falling, had recourſe to the ſenate for relief. The prætors of the treaſury oppoſed his ſuit; but nevertheleſs *Tiberius*, who, as *Tacitus* obſerves, was generous upon honeſt occaſions, even after he had renounced all other virtues, ordered him the price of his houſe. *Propertius Celer*, once prætor, deſiring to reſign the ſenatorial dignity, as too burdenſome to his ſmall eſtate, *Tiberius*, upon information that his misfortunes were owing to his father, and not to himſelf, preſented him with a thouſand great ſeſterces. The *Tiber* having overflowed the lower parts of the city, he cauſed the bed of that river to be cleanſed, and appointed according to *Dion* five, according to *Tacitus* only two, magiſtrates of the ſenatorial order, whoſe whole buſineſs was to watch the overflowing of the *Tiber*, and reſtrain it within its banks. Theſe magiſtrates were for diverting the chanels of the ſeveral rivers and lakes by which it was ſwelled; but this project met with great oppoſition in the ſenate, where it was reſolved, that nothing ſhould be altered, the direction of nature, which appointed to rivers their courſes and diſcharges, being, as it was ſuggeſted, beſt in all natural things. The provinces of *Achaia* and *Macedon*, begging to be eaſed of their public burdens, were this year taken from the ſenate and given to the emperor (G). Hence it is manifeſt, that the government of the proprætors, who commanded in the provinces immediately ſubject to the emperor, was leſs burdenſome than that of the proconſuls, who were ſent into the ſenatorial provinces; but in what the one was more chargeable than the other, we are no-where told. Thus *Tiberius* affected popularity; but nevertheleſs did not acquire the reputation of being truly popular, having this very year revived the law of *treaſon* or *majeſty* with relation to libels or words; a law above all others execrable to the people, ſince by it thoſe, who wrote or ſpoke any thing reflecting on the emperor, were deemed guilty of high treaſon. In the times of the republic, ſays *Tacitus*, actions were puniſhed, but words were free. *Auguſtus* was the firſt, as we have related above, who brought words under the penalties of this law; and *Tiberius*, exaſperated by ſatyrical verſes diſperſed about the city, expoſing his cruelty, his pride, and the miſunderſtanding which already began between him and his mother (H), thought it neceſſary to revive this

Tiberius *affects popularity by various methods.*

He revives the law of majeſty.

(G) *Achaia* and *Macedon* were afterwards reſtored by the emperor *Caius* to the ſenate (39). Hence we read in the *Acts*, that *Gallio* was proconſul of *Achaia* at the end of that prince's reign (40).

(H) The verſes were as follows:

Aſper & immitis, brevitor vis omnia dicam?
Diſpereatn ſi te mater amare poteſt.

Non

(39) *Dio, ibid. p.* 258.

(40) *Act.* viii. *ver.* 12.

a this dreadful law; a law which occaſioned under him and his ſucceſſors ſo much blood-ſhed in *Rome* and all the parts of the empire. He did it, however, with great addreſs, and freely forgave the firſt criminals; for, being aſked by *Pompeius Macer* the prætor, whether, in the execution of his office, he ſhould proceed againſt the authors of libels as guilty of treaſon, he anſwered, *The laws muſt be executed.* *Tiberius*'s anſwer was no ſooner known, than ſeveral perſons were proſecuted upon this law, the emperor having as he was naturally ſuſpicious and diſtruſtful, his ſpies and emiſſaries diſperſed all over the city. Some of theſe accuſed *Falanius*, a *Roman* knight, of having admitted into his houſe, where he had erected an altar in honour of *Auguſtus*, among the other adorers of the deified emperor, one *Caſſius* a pantomime, infamous for his debaucheries. To this charge they added another, *viz.* that having ſold his gardens, he had ſold with them the ſtatue of *Auguſtus*. *Rubrius*, another *Roman* knight, was charged with ſwearing falſly by the divinity of *Auguſtus*. *Tiberius*, well ſatisfied with having reſtored this law to its former vigor, and by that means checked the freedom of ſpeech and the licentiouſneſs of libellers, would not allow any puniſhment to be inflicted on the pretended criminals; but wrote to the conſuls, that the ſenate, in beſtowing divine honours on his father, did not intend thereby to lay a ſnare for the people; that his mother *Livia* had never excluded *Caſſius*, nor others of his profeſſion, from the ſcenic ſports, which ſhe conſecrated to the memory of *Auguſtus*; that it did not affect religion to comprehend his ſtatue, as well as the images of other gods, in b the ſale of houſes and gardens; that as to the ſwearing falſly by his name, it was a c crime of the ſame nature, as if *Rubrius* had profaned the name of *Jupiter*: but that it belonged to the gods to puniſh affronts offered to the gods. By theſe anſwers, judicious in themſelves and in appearance full of clemency and moderation, *Tiberius* hoped to decline the odium, which the revival of ſuch a dangerous and enſnaring law carried along with it. But, notwithſtanding all his art, it was not long ere he betrayed his real intention, and plainly ſhewed, that he deſigned to make more account of ſuch informations than he would then have believed; for ſoon after *Granius Marcellus*, prætor, or rather proprætor, of *Bithynia*, being charged with high treaſon of this nature by his own quæſtor *Cæpio Criſpinus*, *Tiberius*, in a manner forgetting himd ſelf, flew into a violent paſſion, and in that ſudden tranſport was for condemning without further inquiry the pretended criminal. *Marcellus* was accuſed of having ſpoke with diſreſpect of the emperor; and the accuſer, to render his accuſation more credible, collecting whatever was moſt deteſtable in the prince's character, alledged it as the expreſſions of the accuſed. To this he added, that *Marcellus* had placed his own ſtatue higher than thoſe of the *Cæſars*; and that having taken the head from off the ſtatue of *Auguſtus*, he had placed the head of *Tiberius* in its room. This inraged him to ſuch a degree, that, no longer able to diſſemble his reſentment, he cried out, That he would himſelf in this cauſe give his vote openly and upon his oath. Hereupon *Cneius Piſo* aſked him, *In what place*, Cæſar, *will you chuſe to give your opinion? If firſt, I ſhall have your example to follow; if laſt, I am afraid I may diſagree with you.* e Theſe words touched *Tiberius* to the quick; nevertheleſs he bore them patiently, being aſhamed of his tranſport, and ſuffered *Marcellus* to be acquitted of high treaſon (H)[m]. It was not out of any principle of religion, nor from any regard to *Auguſtus*, that *Tiberius* was for puniſhing the ſuppoſed crimes againſt his godhead, but becauſe he apprehended the ſame affronts might be one day offered to himſelf. We ſhall ſee in the

Several perſons accuſed and acquitted.

An unwary tranſport of Tiberius.

m TACIT, ibid. c. 73, 74.

Non es eques. Quare? non ſunt tibi millia centum:
Omnia ſi quæras, & Rhodus exilium eſt.
Aurea mutaſti Saturni ſæcula, Cæſar:
Incolumi nam te ferrea ſemper erunt.
Faſtidit vinum, quia jam ſitit ipſe cruorem.
Tam bibit hunc avide, quam bibit ante merum.
Adſpice felicem ſibi, non tibi, Romule, Syllam:
Et Marium, ſi vis, adſpice, ſed reducem.
Nec non Antoni civilia bella moventis,
Nec ſemel infectas adſpice cæde manus.
Et dic, Roma perit: regnabit ſanguine multo
Ad regnum quisquis venit ab exilio (40).

(H *Suetonius* tells us, that he was condemned. His words are: "About the ſame time the prætor "having aſked him, Whether he would have the "judges to hear and determine matters of high "treaſon, he replied, *The laws muſt take their courſe*; "and he was as good as his word, for from that "time they were executed with the utmoſt ſeverity. "A certain perſon having taken the head from off "the ſtatue of *Auguſtus*, with a deſign to put upon it the head of another, the matter was brought "before the ſenate; and becauſe the fact was not "clear, recourſe was had to the rack. The guilty "perſon being condemned, this kind of calumny "became by degrees ſo dangerous, *&c.*" The perſon arraigned, and, according to *Suetonius*, condemned, could be no other than *Granius Marcellus*.

(40) *Suet. in Tiber. c.* 59.

the courſe of this hiſtory with what an extravagant and inviolable ſanctity the ſtatues and images of *Auguſtus* and the other emperors were inveſted, and what a ſource for informations, puniſhments, confiſcations, *&c.* was opened by the worſhip paid to them. a

Diſſenſions of the theatre.

THE diſſenſions of the theatre, which had begun the year before, broke out now with great violence, and rent almoſt the whole city into factions and parties, ſome protecting one player, and ſome another; nay, the oppoſite parties often came to blows, and turned the play-houſe into a field of battle. In one of theſe frays, ſeveral, not of the people only, were killed, but of the ſoldiers who attended in the play-houſe and at the gate to prevent diſturbances, and among them a centurion; even the tribune of a prætorian cohort was wounded, while he was endeavouring to ſecure the magiſtrates from inſults, and to quell the licentious rabble. b The ſenate took this affair into conſideration, and ſeveral expedients were propoſed for the preventing of ſuch riots. The majority were for impowering the prætors to whip the players, who, as was ſuppoſed, were the chief authors of theſe tumults. But *Haterius Agrippa*, tribune of the people, oppoſed this motion, alledging, that *Auguſtus*, upon a certain occaſion had declared, that players ſhould not be whipt; and indeed that emperor, who took great delight in ſuch diverſions, had, as *Suetonius* informs us [n] and we have hinted above, reſtrained the power of puniſhing the players, which, by an ancient law, the magiſtrates had till that time exerciſed over them in all places and ages. *Aſinius Gallus* with great ſharpneſs reprimanded the tribune for his oppoſition; c which, however, prevailed, out of reſpect to *Auguſtus*, whoſe laws were to be inviolably obſerved. In order therefore to curb the inſolence of the players, their wages were, by a decree of the ſenate, curtailed; and it was moreover enacted, that no ſenator ſhould viſit a player, that no *Roman* knight ſhould attend them abroad, and that they ſhould act no-where but in the theatre or public play-houſe. What gave occaſion to this decree was, the great court which the nobility paid them; for not only the people, but knights and ſenators, as *Pliny* informs us [o], attended their levees, and waited upon them when they went abroad. Hence *Seneca* called the nobility of his time *the ſlaves of the pantomimes* [p]. They acted not only in the public theatre, but in private houſes, gardens, *&c.* drawing after them vaſt crowds, and by that means heaping up immenſe wealth. The above-mentioned decrees of the ſenate were there- d fore well calculated to humble their pride, and check that inſolence which naturally ariſes, eſpecially in perſons of a mean condition, from wealth and honours. As to the ſpectators, the prætors were impowered to puniſh with baniſhment ſuch of them as ſhould raiſe the leaſt diſturbance in the theatre [q]. Thus was an end put for a while to theſe riots and tumults. This year *Tiberius* diſcharged the legacies which *Auguſtus* had left to the people; but ſullied the glory naturally accruing from ſo plauſible and popular an action, by another equally baſe and cruel; for as he ſeemed not to be in haſte to ſatisfy the people, a merry jeſter ſeeing a dead body carried by to the grave, accoſting the bier, and pretending to whiſper in the ear of the deceaſed, ſaid aloud, *Remember to let* Auguſtus *know, that the legacies which he left to the people, are not yet* e *paid.* This pleaſantry being related to *Tiberius*, he commanded the jeſter to be brought to him; and, having paid him his full due, cauſed him to be put to death immediately, telling him, That he ſhould go himſelf to *Auguſtus*, ſince he could give him freſher accounts than the deceaſed. However, a few days after, he paid the legacy [r]. This ſame year, the people intreating him to eaſe them of the tax of one *per cent.* eſtabliſhed at the end of the civil wars upon all vendible commodities, he declared by an edict, that the fund for maintaining the army (I) depended intirely upon this tax;

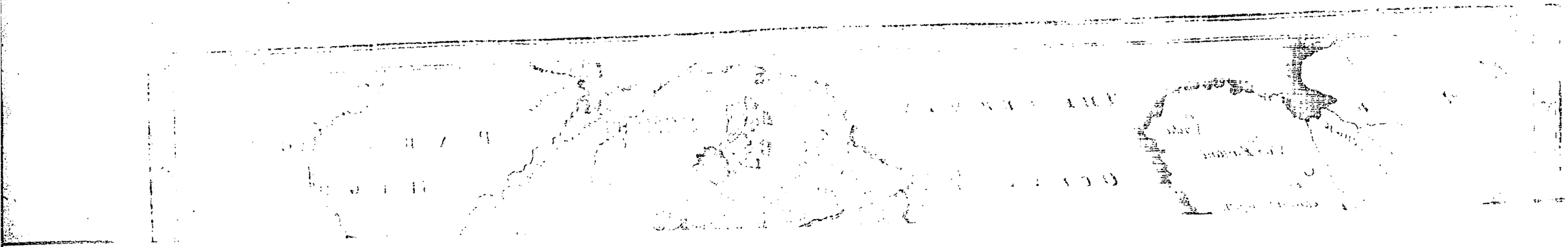
Laws for the curbing of the inſolence of players.

Tiberius *puniſhes a joke with death.*

[n] Suet. in Aug. c. 45. [o] Plin. l. xxix. [p] Senec. epiſt. 47. [q] Tacit. ibid. c. 77.
[r] Suet. in Tiber. c. 57.

(I) This fund is called by *Suetonius ærarium militare*, the *military* treaſury: "That the ſoldiers, "ſays that writer, ſpeaking of *Auguſtus*, when diſ-"charged, might not be tempted to raiſe diſtur-"bances by their age and poverty, he aſſigned to "each of them an allowance according to the time "and quality of their ſervice; and that the pro-"vince allotted them might be eaſy and perpetual, "he eſtabliſhed a military treaſury, and impoſed "new tributes for their maintenance (41)". The ſuperintendency of this fund was committed to three perſons, as *Dio* informs us (42), who had been prætors, choſen by lot, and continued in the office three years. They were ſtyled *prefects*, or *ſuperintendants of the military treaſury*, as we gather from the following inſcription on an ancient marble found in *Samnium*: *L. Neratio C. F. Vol. Proculo, Præ. Ærari. Militaris.*

(41) *Suet. in Aug. c.* 49. (42) *Dio, l.* lv. *p.* 565.



Septentrio

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BELGIC OR LOWER GERMANY

BRITANNIA PART OF

THE GERMAN OCEAN

THE BRITISH OCEAN

THE BRITISH STRAITS

GERMANIA PART OF HIGH GERMANY

GERMANIA SUPERIOR

GERMANIA INFERIOR

GALLIA LUGDUNENSIS OR CELTIC GAULS

GALLIÆ AQUITANICÆ PARS

Venta
Villa Faustini
Antona fl.
Camulodunum
Londinium
Tamesis Flu.
Ganesa Flu.
Dubris
Novus Portus
Magnus Portus
Portus Itius
Gesforiacum
Morini
Tornacum
Scaldis Fl.
Sueconi
Betasii
Nervii
Geminiacum
Pons Scaldis
Atrebates
Nemetacum seu Nemetocenna
Ambiani
Samarobriva
Caletes
Juliobona
Velocasses
Bratuspantium
Caesaromagus
Rotomagus
Sequana Flu.
Bellovaci
Lexobii
Eburones
Caeroesi
Parisii
Lutetia
Meldi
Metiosedum
Melodunum
Senones
Agendicum seu Senones
Antissiodorum
Tricasses
Augustomana sive Tricassium
Lingones
Andomadunum seu Lingones
Mandubii
Alesia sive Alexia
Divio
Bibracte
Augusto-donum
Arar Flu
Cabilonum
Matisco
Sequani
Dola
Dubis seu Alduadubis Flu.
Vesontio
Arar Flu
Vibrunum
Augusta Suessonum
Axona Flu.
Silvanectes
Augustomagus sive Silvanectum
Rhemi
Durocortorum
Vidula Flu.
Matrona Fl.
Catalaunum
Tricasses
Augustomana sive Tricassium
Toxandri alionum
Toxandri
Toxandria
Menapii
Menapiorum
Aduatici
Aduatuca
Peruisiacum
Traiectus Mosae
Carvo
Castellum
Theruanna
Ibliomarus
Julliacum
Gesoriacum
Teruana
Pons Scaldis
Nemetacum
Valentiana
Samarobriva
Veromandui
Augusta Veromanduorum
Situs
Noviomagus sive Oesia
Augusta Suessonum
Axona Flu.
Rhemi
Durocortorum
Vidula Flu.
Matrona Fl.
Catalaunum
Mosa Flu.
Mediomatrici
Divodurum
Virodunum
Tullum
Leuci
Mosella Flu.
Treuiri
Vangiones
Nemetes
Tri. Taberna
Alta Ripa
Noviomagus
Borbetomagus
Nicer Flu
Decem Pagi
Salia Flu.
Tribocci
Concordia
Brocomagus
Argentoratum
Lucus Augusti
Argentuaria
Rauraci
Augusta Rauracorum
Vindonissa
Tugium
Tugeni
Aventicum
Viba
Vibigena
Colonia Equestris
Geneva
Lacus Lemannus
Rhenus Flu.
Mons Brisiacus
Rusiana
Vogesus Mons
Arula Flu
Aqua Helvetiae
Fines Helvetiorum
Abnoba Mons
Nicer Flu
Adula Mons
Rhenus Flu.
Mosa Flu.
Mosella Flu.
Sequana Flu.
Axona Flu.
Matrona Fl.
Sabis Flu
Samara Flu.
Isara Flu.
Liger Flu.
Vidula Flu.
Rhenus Flu.
Flavum Ostium
Flavum Castellum
Corbulonis munimentum
Amisinorum Flu.
Amisia Flu.
Visurgis Flu.
Luppia
Fons Luppiae
Luppia Fl.
Aliso Castellum
Aliso fl.
Castellum Cattorum
Visurgis flu.
Fulda flu.
Adrana Flu.
Segedunum
Segus flu
Ara Vbiorum
Bonna
Rigomagus
Antunnacum
Lonus Flu.
Marsium
Ambatarinus Vicus
Taunus Fl.
Castellum Germanici
Monumentum Traiani
Moenus Fl.
Mogontiacum
Flu. Bingium
Flu. Acoxus
Borbetomagus
Nicer Flu
Alta Ripa
Nemetes
Novio magus
Concordia
Brocomagus
Argentoratum
Lucus Augusti
Argentuaria
Rauraci
Augusta Rauracorum
Vindonissa
Tugium
Tugeni
Aventicum
Viba
Vibigena
Colonia Equestris
Geneva
Lacus Lemannus
Rhenus Flu.
Mons Brisiacus
Rusiana
Vogesus Mons
Arula Flu
Aqua Helvetiae
Fines Helvetiorum
Abnoba Mons
Nicer Flu
Adula Mons
Rhenus Flu.
Mosa Flu.
Mosella Flu.
Sequana Flu.
Axona Flu.
Matrona Fl.
Sabis Flu
Samara Flu.
Isara Flu.
Liger Flu.
Vidula Flu.
Rhenus Flu.
Flavum Ostium
Flavum Castellum
Corbulonis munimentum
Amisinorum Flu.
Amisia Flu.
Visurgis Flu.
Luppia
Fons Luppiae
Luppia Fl.
Aliso Castellum
Aliso fl.
Castellum Cattorum
Visurgis flu.
Fulda flu.
Adrana Flu.
Segedunum
Segus flu
Ara Vbiorum
Bonna
Rigomagus
Antunnacum
Lonus Flu.
Marsium
Ambatarinus Vicus
Taunus Fl.
Castellum Germanici
Monumentum Traiani
Moenus Fl.
Mogontiacum
Flu. Bingium
Flu. Acoxus
Borbetomagus
Nicer Flu
Alta Ripa
Nemetes
Novio magus
Concordia
Brocomagus
Argentoratum
Lucus Augusti
Argentuaria
Rauraci
Augusta Rauracorum
Vindonissa
Tugium
Tugeni
Aventicum
Viba
Vibigena
Colonia Equestris
Geneva
Lacus Lemannus
Rhenus Flu.
Mons Brisiacus
Rusiana
Vogesus Mons
Arula Flu
Aqua Helvetiae
Fines Helvetiorum
Abnoba Mons
Nicer Flu
Adula Mons
Rhenus Flu.

Occidens
Orientis
Meridies

53 52 51 50 49 48 47

J. Davisson Sculpt

a tax; and that even thus the republic would not be able to defray the vaſt charges attending the final diſmiſſion of veterans before the twentieth year of their ſervice. By this decree, the conceſſions made to the ſoldiery, during the late ſedition, were implicitly revoked, and they obliged to ſerve twenty years as before, inſtead of ſixteen [a]. Thus *Tiberius*, even while he was ſtudying to win the hearts of the people and ſoldiery, gave them juſt motives to complain of his preſent, and to dread his future behaviour. Let us now leave *Tiberius* for a while, and return to *Germanicus*.

Revokes the conceſſions granted to the ſoldiery.

THAT brave prince ſpent the winter, when *Siſenna Statilius* and *Lucius Scribonius Libo* were conſuls, in vaſt preparations for another expedition into *Germany*, having his heart and mind wholly bent on the intire reduction of that vaſt continent. He

b weighed with himſelf the methods he had hitherto purſued in that war, the misfortunes and ſucceſſes which had attended him ſince he firſt undertook it; and finding that the *Germans* were chiefly indebted for their ſafety to their woods and marſhes, to their ſhort ſummers and early winters, and that his own men ſuffered more from their long and tedious marches than from the enemy, he reſolved to enter the country by ſea, hoping by that means to begin the campaign earlier and ſurpriſe the enemy. Having therefore built, with great diſpatch during the winter, a thouſand veſſels of different ſorts (K), early in the ſpring *Germanicus* ordered them to fall down the *Rhine*, appointing the iſland of the *Batavians* (L) for the place of the general rendezvous, as the moſt convenient for receiving the forces, and conveying them from thence to

c thoſe parts of *Germany* which he deſigned to invade. While the fleet ſailed, *Germanicus* detached *Silius*, one of his lieutenants, with orders to make a ſudden irruption into the country of the *Catti*, and in the mean time he himſelf, upon intelligence that a *Roman* fort upon the *Luppia* was beſieged by the enemy, haſtened with ſix legions to its relief. *Silius* was prevented by ſudden rains from doing more than taking ſome ſmall booty, with the wife and daughter of *Arpus* prince of the *Catti*; neither did thoſe who had inveſted the fort ſtay till *Germanicus* arrived, but, upon the news of his approach, breaking up the ſiege, fled and diſperſed. However, in their retreat, they threw down the monument lately raiſed in honour of *Varus* and his legions, and alſo an altar formerly erected to *Druſus* (M). The altar *Germanicus* reſtored, and

d performed with the legions the funeral ceremony of running round it to the honour of his father, according to the ancient cuſtom (O); but not thinking fit to ſet up the monument again, he fortified with new works the whole ſpace between the fort, which the enemy had beſieged, the *Aliſo*, now the *Yſſel*, and the *Rhine* (P). In the mean time,

Germanicus *undertakes another expedition into* Germany.

[a] TACIT. ibid. c. 78.

(K) Some of theſe veſſels, ſays *Tacitus*, were ſhort, ſharp at both ends, and wide in the middle. Veſſels of this kind are ſtill in uſe among the *Dutch*. Some had flat bottoms, that they might run aground without danger. Several had rudders at each end, that the rowers might, only by turning their oars, work them either way. This kind of veſſels, now no longer in uſe, *Tacitus* deſcribes in his book of the *manners of the* Germans, and likewiſe in his hiſtory, where he ſtyles them *cameræ* (42).

(L) *Tacitus* deſcribes the iſland of the *Batavians* thus: The *Rhine*, ſays he, flowing in one chanel, or only broken by ſmall iſlands, is divided at its entering *Batavia*, as it were, into two rivers. One continues its courſe through *Germany*, retaining the ſame name and violent current, till it falls into the ocean. The other, waſhing the coaſt of *Gaul* with a broader and more gentle ſtream, is called by the inhabitants *Vahales*; which name it ſoon changes for that of the *Moſa*, by the immenſe mouth of which river it diſcharges itſelf into the ſame ocean; ſo that, according to *Tacitus*, the iſland of the *Batavians* was bounded by the ocean, the *Rhine*, and the *Vahales*, now the *Wale*. *Cæſar* extends it to the *Moſa* or *Meuſe*; but *Pliny* agrees with *Tacitus* (44). However, the iſland of the *Batavians* was of greater extent in *Tacitus*'s time than in *Cæſar*'s, *Druſus*, the father of *Germanicus*, having, by a new canal, conveyed the waters of the *Rhine* into the ocean a conſiderable way north of the former mouth of that river. By this means the ancient chanel being dried and filled up, the iſland of the *Batavians* extended to the new canal (45).

(M) *Dio* and *Suetonius* tell us, that a monument was erected in honour of *Druſus* upon the banks of the *Rhine*. Some writers place the altar mentioned here cloſe to this monument, and both at *Mentz*; but it is manifeſt from this paſſage in *Tacitus*, that the altar ſtood not on the *Rhine*, but between that river and the *Lyppe*.

(O) The ceremony of celebrating the funerals of great men with races, was practiſed in *Homer*'s time, and is deſcribed by moſt of the ancient poets, among the reſt very minutely by *Statius* (46). *Livy* tells us, that this ceremony obtained even amongſt the *Carthaginians* (47).

(P) Some commentators take *Aliſo* to be the name of the fort, and read *Tacitus* thus, *cuncta inter caſtellum Aliſonem, & Rhenum, &c.* but *Vertranius*, *Frienſhemius*, and *Lipſius*, *cuncta inter caſtellum, Aliſonem, & Rhenum*, more agreeable perhaps to what we read in *Dion Caſſius*, who tells us, that *Druſus* built a fort at the conflux of the *Lupias* and the *Aliſo* (48). The latter river, now known by the name of *Alme*, runs at a ſmall diſtance from the city of *Paderborne*.

(42) *Tacit. hiſt. l.* iii. (43) *Cæſ. comment. l.* iv. *c.* 10. (44) *Plin. l.* iv. *c.* 15. (45) *Vide Cellar. geograph. antiq. l.* ii. (46) *Stat. l.* vi. (47) *Liv. l.* xxv. (48) *Dio, l.* liv.

He imbarques his army.

time, the fleet arriving at the iſland of the *Batavians*, the proviſions and warlike engines were put on board and ſent forward; ſhips were aſſigned to the legions and allies, and the whole army being imbarqued, the fleet entered the canal formerly cut by *Druſus*, and from his name called *Foſſa Druſiana*, or *the canal of* Druſus (Q). Here the pious general did not forget to invoke the manes of his father, beſeeching him to encourage with his example, and inſpire with wholſome counſels, his ſon, who was following his footſteps. Hence he ſailed proſperouſly through lakes (R) and the ocean to the *Amiſia* or *Ems*, and having landed his troops at the mouth of that river (S), marched ſtrait to the *Viſurgis* or *Weſer*. While he was incamping on the banks of that river, news was brought him, that the *Angrivarii* (T) had revolted behind him. Hereupon he immediately diſpatched a body of horſe and light-armed foot againſt them, under the command of *Stertinius*, who with fire and ſword ſpread deſolation throughout their country. In the mean time, the famous *Arminius*, being informed of *Germanicus*'s deſign, appeared on the oppoſite bank of the *Viſurgis* (U) at the head of his *Cheruſci*, determined to diſpute with the *Romans* the paſſage of the river. However, before hoſtilities began on either ſide, he aſked, whether *Germanicus* was come; and being anſwered that he was, he begged leave to ſpeak with his brother, who, under the name of *Flavius*, had long ſerved in the *Roman* army, and had loſt an eye in fighting under *Tiberius*. His requeſt being granted, *Flavius* advanced; and *Arminius*, having firſt ſaluted him and ordered his own attendants to withdraw, deſired, that the *Roman* archers, who were drawn up cloſe to the bank of the river, might likewiſe retire. When they were removed, *How came you, brother, by this deformity in your countenance?* ſaid *Arminius*. *Flavius* having told him in what place and battle he had loſt his eye; *And what reward*, aſked *Arminius* in the next place, *have you received for ſo dangerous a warfare? Increaſe of pay*, anſwered *Flavius*, *a crown, a chain, and other military gifts*; which *Arminius* treating with deriſion and ſtyling the vile wages of ſlavery, a warm conteſt aroſe between the two brothers, the one extolling the greatneſs of the *Romans*, the power of the emperor, the unhappy condition of the conquered, the *Roman* clemency to ſuch as ſubmitted, the kind treatment of the wife and ſon of *Arminius*, not uſed like captives, *&c.* *Arminius*, on the

Arrives at the Amiſia.

Finds Arminius *at the* Viſurgis.

An interview between Arminius *and his brother.*

(Q) The *Foſſa Druſiana* was a canal cut by *Druſus* to convey the waters of the *Rhine* into the *Sala*, now the *Sale*, and from thence through the lake *Flevus* into the ocean. It extended eight miles, from the preſent village of *Iſeloort* to the town of *Doeſburg*, and was very convenient for the conveying of the *Roman* troops by water, to the countries of the *Friſii* and the *Chauci*. It was this convenience that put *Druſus* upon ſuch an undertaking. By means of this new canal the *Rhine* came to have three branches, and to diſcharge itſelf into the ocean by three ſeparate and diſtant mouths, of which the northern was called *Oſtium Flevum*, the weſtern *Oſtium Helium*, and the middle *Oſtium Medium* or *Oſtium Rheni*. *Cæſar*, in deſcribing the courſe of the *Rhine*, ſays, that it diſcharges itſelf into the ocean by many mouths; but he was therein miſtaken, depending probably on the accounts of others, or taking the canals, which were cut for the draining of the neighbouring lands, for mouths of the *Rhine*. It was well known to the geographers of his time, that the *Rhine* emptied itſelf into the ocean by two mouths only; for *Strabo*, who maintains this opinion, confirms it with the authority of *Aſinius Pollio*, who was contemporary with *Cæſar* (47). Hence *Virgil* gives the *Rhine* the epithet of *bicornis*, or *two-horned*. By means of the canal cut by *Druſus* between the north branch of the *Rhine* and the *Sala*, theſe two rivers ran in one chanel to the lake *Flevus*, and from thence emptied themſelves into the ocean. This mouth was called *Oſtium Flevum*. *Tacitus* and *Mela*, who wrote after *Druſus*'s time, mention only two mouths, *viz.* the *Flevum* and *Helium*, the middle one being very inconſiderable and almoſt quite choaked up, after the ſtream was by the *Foſſa Druſiana* conveyed into the *Sala*.

(R) From this and ſeveral other paſſages in *Tacitus*, it is manifeſt, that, in former times, there were ſeveral lakes in this country, though, at preſent, there is but one, called in the language of the country *the South Sea*.

(S) In this place *Tacitus* charges *Germanicus* with two overſights. The firſt is, that he landed his troops too near the mouth of the river, by which means they ſuffered much upon the return of the tide, which reached and overflowed the plain where they landed. The other is, that he landed them on the wrong ſide of the river, ſo that many days were ſpent in making bridges. That *Germanicus*, not yet well acquainted with the flux and reflux of the ocean, was guilty of the firſt miſtake, is not unlikely; but that he ſhould land his men on the ſide of the river moſt remote from the enemy, and then conſume many days in making bridges to convey them over, is a blunder ſo palpable and notorious, that we could hardly charge with it the moſt unthinking man of his army, much leſs a perſon of his penetration and forecaſt. We ſhall therefore conclude, without entering into the long and tedious diſputes of the critics, that this paſſage is not genuine, but has been ſome way or other maimed and corrupted.

(T) The *Angrivarii* had often changed their habitation, as *Tacitus* informs us (48); but at this time dwelt, as is manifeſt from the paſſage before us, between the *Amiſia* and *Viſurgis*. Some modern geographers think, they poſſeſſed part of the preſent province of *Overyſſel*, of the country of *Benthem*, and of the dioceſe of *Paderborne*.

(U) The *Viſurgis*, as *Lipſius* obſerves in this place, is chiefly indebted to *Tacitus* for its fame, and *Tacitus* for his to the *Viſurgis*; for in a monaſtery on this river were found the five firſt books of his annals, after they had been long looked upon as loſt.

(47) *Strabo, l.* iv. *p.* 133.

(48) *Tacit. de mor. German. c.* 33.

a the other hand, alledged the rights of their common country, their ancient liberty, the gods of their anceſtors, beſeeching him by their common mother not to prefer the name of a traitor, of a betrayer of his friends, relations, and country, to that of their general and commander. By degrees they came to reproaches, and, though parted by the river, would have comes to blows, had not *Stertinius* laid hold of *Flavius*, and, calling for his horſe and armour, reſtrained him. On the oppoſite bank, *Arminius*, ſwelled with rage, was heard to utter dreadful threats, and menace the *Romans* as he departed with an approaching battle; for with his native language he mingled many *Latin* words, which he had learnt while he ſerved as general of his countrymen in the *Roman* armies[t].

THE next day, the *German* army appeared on the oppoſite bank of the *Viſurgis* in
b order of battle. But *Germanicus*, not thinking it adviſeable to attack them, ordered the horſe to ford over under the conduct of *Stertinius* and *Æmilius*, who, to divide the enemy's forces, croſſed the river in diſtant places. At the ſame time *Cariovalda*, leader of the *Batavians*, paſſed it where it was moſt rapid; but being drawn into an ambuſcade by the enemy and ſurrounded on all ſides, he fell under a ſhower of darts, while he was with incredible bravery attempting to break through the enemy's numerous battalions. Many of the *Batavian* nobility fell round him; the reſt were ſaved either by their own bravery, or by the cavalry of *Stertinius* and *Æmilius*, who, upon the firſt notice of their danger, flew to the relief of their diſtreſſed allies. *Germanicus*
c having, during this ſkirmiſh, paſſed the *Viſurgis* without moleſtation, was informed by a deſerter, that *Arminius*, being joined by ſeveral *German* nations, had reſolved to attack his camp by night. Hereupon the *Roman* general ſent out ſcouts to reconnoitre, who, upon their return, reported, that they had heard a great noiſe of men and horſes, and diſcerned the enemy's fires in a neighbouring wood. Then *Germanicus*, no longer doubting, but they deſigned to venture a deciſive battle, in order to be informed in this critical conjuncture of the real inclinations of his ſoldiers, and not to depend on the reports of the tribunes and centurions, who were often apt to conceal the truth and relate only what was pleaſing, in the beginning of the night, went out of the prætorium in diſguiſe, only with one attendant; and liſtening from
d tent to tent to the diſcourſes of the ſoldiery, while over their meals they frankly diſcloſed their hopes and fears, he had the ſatisfaction to hear his own praiſes in every one's mouth, and the ſoldiers encouraging each other to exert themſelves in the approaching battle, out of gratitude to ſo deſerving a general. While *Germanicus* was thus agreeably employed, one of the *Germans*, who ſpoke *Latin*, riding up to the *Roman* intrenchments, offered in the name of *Arminius* to every deſerter a wife, land, and a hundred ſeſterces a day, as long as the war laſted. This offer the legions looked upon as an affront; and, full of rage and reſentment, *Let day come*, ſaid they, *we will ſeize their lands*; *we will take, not receive*, German *wives*. About the third watch the enemy approached; but finding the *Romans* ready to receive them, they
e retired without diſcharging a ſingle dart. Early next morning, *Germanicus*, having aſſembled his troops, acquainted them with his deſign, which was to put an end to ſo tedious and fatiguing a war with a deciſive battle; made them ſenſible of their advantage over the enemy both as to their arms and manner of fighting; repreſented the *Germans* as men of a frightful aſpect and violent in the beginning of a battle; but diſheartened with wounds, unaffected with their own diſgrace, unconcerned for their general, cowards in diſtreſs, in proſperity deſpiſers of all divine and human laws. In the end of his ſpeech he exhorted his men to put an end of ſo great fatigues by ſea, to their tedious marches by land, by making him conquer in thoſe very countries, where his father and uncle had conquered. His harangue inſpired the whole army
f with great ardour, which was expreſſed with a general ſhout and loud acclamations. Neither did *Arminius* and the other *German* chiefs neglect to animate their reſpective corps, and encourage them, either to maintain by their bravery the liberty they had received from their anceſtors, or to prevent ſlavery by a glorious death. Having thus animated their men, they led them calling for battle into a plain called *Indiſtaviſus* (W), which was bounded on one ſide by the *Viſurgis*, and on the other by a ridge of

The Batevians *drawn into an ambuſcade by the* Germans.

Germanicus *paſſes the* Viſurgis.

How he diſcovered the ſentiments of the ſoldiery.

Germanicus *encourages his men.*

t TACIT. ibid. c. 5—10.

(W) *Lipſius*, who ſurveyed with great care, and no leſs pleaſure, the places here deſcribed by *Tacitus*, takes the plain called by him *Indiſtaviſus* to be that plain, which begins at a village called *Vegeſack*, about two *German* miles from the city of *Breme*, and extends a great way towards the ſea, between a ridge of hills and the *Weſer*.

of hills. Behind this plain was a foreſt of tall trees, thick of branches above, but clear of buſhes below. The *Germans* were all drawn up on the plain and at the entrance of the foreſt, except the *Cheruſci*, who were poſted on the hills, and ordered to fall upon the *Romans* from thence in the heat of the fight. *Germanicus* had ſcarce entered the plain with his troops in battle array, when he obſerved the *Cheruſci*, impatient of delays, pouring down the hills. Hereupon he commanded a choſen body of horſe to charge them in flank, and at the ſame time detached *Stertinius* with the reſt of the cavalry, ordering him to wheel about and fall upon their rear (X). In the mean while, the *Roman* infantry advancing attacked the enemy in front with ſuch vigor, that the *Germans*, not able to ſtand the ſhock, immediately gave ground. Thoſe who were poſted at the entrance of the foreſt fled to the plain, and thoſe in the plain to the foreſt. The *Cheruſci* alone maintained the fight, being encouraged by the example of the valiant *Arminius*, who, though wounded, would have broke through the *Roman* archers, had not the auxiliary cohorts of the *Rhætians*, *Vindelicians*, and *Gauls* haſtened to their relief. However, by his own valour and the ſwiftneſs of his horſe, he eſcaped the preſent danger, having firſt dyed his face with his own blood, to avoid being known. Some writers have related, that the *Chauci*, who ſerved in the *Roman* army, having known him, ſuffered him to retire unmoleſted. The ſame bravery or connivance procured *Inguiomerus*'s eſcape; the reſt were either cut in pieces, or drowned in attempting to ſwim croſs the *Viſurgis*. The ſlaughter laſted from morning till night, and the country was covered ten miles round with arms and dead bodies. Among the ſpoils chains were found, which they had brought, not doubting of ſucceſs, to bind the *Roman* captives. The *Romans* were no ſooner returned from the purſuit, than *Germanicus*, aſcribing the whole glory of ſo remarkable a victory to *Tiberius*, under whoſe auſpices he had fought, cauſed him to be proclaimed *emperor* on the field of battle, and raiſing a mount, placed upon it as trophies the arms of the enemy, and inſcribed underneath the names of the conquered nations.

He engages the enemy.

The Germans *defeated with great ſlaughter.*

The *Germans*, though vanquiſhed, and already determined to abandon their country and ſeek for ſhelter beyond the *Albis* or *Elbe*, were ſo enraged at the raiſing of this mount, which they looked upon as an affront not to be borne, that, forgetting their wounds and misfortunes, they ran to arms again, people, nobility, young and old, all in a confuſed body, ruſhed ſuddenly upon the *Romans*, like men in deſpair, and put them, as they were on their march and under no apprehenſion of an enemy, into ſome diſorder. Being repulſed, they incamped in a plain ſhut in between a river and a foreſt; the foreſt was ſurrounded by a deep marſh, except on one ſide, which was incloſed by a broad rampart raiſed formerly by the *Angrivarii*, as a barrier between them and their neighbours the *Cheruſci*. In this plain the enemy poſted their infantry, concealing their cavalry among the neighbouring groves, that they might fall upon the rear of the *Roman* army, as ſoon as they had entered the foreſt.

A ſecond battle *Germanicus*, being informed of their deſign and of every ſtep they took, ordered *Seius Tubero*, one of his lieutenants, to enter the plain at the head of the cavalry; his infantry he divided into two bodies, commanding the one to attack the enemy in the wood, and leading the other himſelf to force the rampart. The foot, that fought on even ground, broke eaſily in; but the attack of the rampart coſt *Germanicus* dear, the *Germans* defending it with great boldneſs and intrepidity. However, having at length, by ſhowers of darts poured upon the enemy from his engines, beat them off and taken the rampart, he entered the wood at the head of the prætorian cohorts, and there made a moſt dreadful havock of the enemy, who fought indeed with as much courage as the *Romans*, but could not, for want of room, manage their long ſpears. However, they made a moſt vigorous reſiſtance, and diſputed the ground inch by inch. *Arminius* did not on this occaſion exert his uſual activity, being diſabled and weakened by a wound he received; but *Inguiomerus*, with great intrepidity, flew about the ranks, animating his countrymen more by his example than by words. *Germanicus*, that he might be known, pulled off his helmet, and animated his men to purſue the ſlaughter: *No quarter*, he cried; *we want no captives, nothing*

[u] Idem ibib. c. 11—13.

(X) *Tacitus* tells us, that as the troops were marching towards the enemy, eight eagles were ſeen to fly towards the wood and enter it; which *Germanicus* looking upon as a preſage of victory, *Advance*, he cried, *follow the* Roman *birds; follow the tutelar gods of the legions.*

a *nothing but an utter deſtruction of theſe perfidious nations will put an end to the war.* However, as the day was already far ſpent, he detached a legion to form a camp for his weary troops; but the reſt continued the ſlaughter till night, when they retired glutted with the blood of the enemy. This ſecond victory was intirely owing to the foot, for the horſe fought with double ſucceſs. *Germanicus*, having from his tribunal commended his victorious troops, of the arms taken from the enemy formed a monument with this inſcription: TO MARS, TO JUPITER, AND TO AUGUSTUS, THE ARMY OF TIBERIUS CÆSAR, HAVING INTIRELY VANQUISHED THE NATIONS BETWEEN THE RHINE AND THE ALBIS, CONSECRATES THIS MONUMENT. He made no mention of himſelf, either to avoid giving umbrage to *Tiberius*, or becauſe he thought the recording of the fact a ſufficient teſtimony of his valour and conduct.

The Germans *defeated anew.*

b After this he detached *Stertinius* againſt the *Angrivarii*, who by a ready ſubmiſſion prevented the calamities that threatened them. *Germanicus*, no leſs compaſſionate than brave, pardoned them without reſerve, and ſuffered them to live quietly, according to their own laws, under the protection of *Rome*[w].

The Angrivarii *ſubmit.*

As the ſummer was already far ſpent, *Germanicus* with the reduction of the *Angrivarii* put an end to the campaign, ſending ſome of the legions back into winter-quarters by land, and imbarquing himſelf with the others on the *Amiſia* in order to return by ſea. The ocean proved at firſt very calm and the wind favourable; but all on a ſudden a ſtorm ariſing, the fleet, conſiſting of a thouſand veſſels, was diſperſed; ſome of

Germanicus *returning by ſea ſuffers a violent ſtorm.*

c them were ſwallowed by the waves, others daſhed in pieces againſt the rocks, or driven upon remote and inhoſpitable iſlands, where the men either periſhed with famine, or lived upon the fleſh of the dead horſes, with which the ſhores appeared ſoon ſtrewed; for in order to lighten their veſſels and diſengage them from the ſhoals, they had been obliged to throw over-board their horſes and beaſts of burden, nay, even their arms and baggage. The galley of *Germanicus* alone landed on the coaſt of the *Chauci*, where the good-natured general, deeply affected with the misfortunes of his fellow-ſoldiers, wandered day and night about the rocks and promontories, keeping his eyes ſtedfaſt on the ſea, in hopes of deſcrying ſome of the diſperſed veſſels. As none of them appeared, he was heard accuſing himſelf as the author of this

His great concern.

d dreadful havock; nay, diſtracted with grief, he would have thrown himſelf headlong into the deep, had not his friends with much ado reſtrained him. At length to his infinite ſatisfaction he diſcovered part of the fleet returning, though in a very bad condition, ſome of the veſſels being without oars, others without ſails, uſing in their ſtead the ſoldiers cloaks; many were quite diſabled, and towed by ſuch as had ſuffered leſs. The latter he cauſed to be immediately repaired, and diſpatched them to the neighbouring iſlands in queſt of his diſperſed legionaries. By this means the greater part of them were at length brought back. The *Angrivarii*, who had lately ſubmitted, to give *Germanicus* on this occaſion an undoubted proof of their fidelity, redeemed many, who had been made captives by their neighbours, and reſtored

Recovers many of his men.

e them. Some, who had been driven into our iſland, were generouſly ſent back by the petty kings, who at that time reigned here[x] (Y).

UPON the news of this wreck, the *Catti*, taking new courage, ran to arms; but *Caius Silius*, detached againſt them with thirty thouſand foot and three thouſand horſe, kept them in awe. As for *Germanicus* himſelf, at the head of a more numerous body, he made a ſudden irruption into the country of the *Marſi* (Z), where he was informed by one *Malovendus*, who had once commanded their troops but had lately taken party with the *Romans*, that the eagle of one of *Varus*'s legions was concealed underground in a neighbouring grove, and guarded only by a ſmall body of troops. This intelligence filled *Germanicus* with joy: he immediately diſpatched two parties, the

Invades the country of the Marſi, *and recovers one of* Varus's *eagles.*

f one to face the enemy and draw them from their poſt, the other to fall upon their rear and dig up the eagle. Succeſs attended both, and the *Roman* general, having ravaged

[w] Idem ibid. c. 21, 22.

[x] Idem, c. 23, 24.

(Y) *Tacitus* tells us, that thoſe who came from diſtant countries related wonders at their return, and entertained their comrades with ſtrange accounts of violent whirlwinds, of birds never before heard of, of ſea-monſters, which from their ambiguous forms appeared to be a new ſpecies between men and beaſts. Travellers we find have ever been apt to magnify what they have ſeen, and relate what they have never ſeen.

(Z) Before the canal, of which we have ſpoken above, was cut by *Druſus*, the *Marſi* inhabited part of the territories of *Velawe* and *Zutphen*, where the preſent cities of *Arnheim*, *Grolle*, and *Bredefort* ſtand: but afterwards they ſettled between the *Rhine* and *Iſala*, and in proceſs of time changed the name of *Marſi* for that of *Marſaci* or *Marſatti*.

ravaged and laid waſte the enemy's country, brought back the eagle in triumph; he a
then returned to the frontiers of *Gaul*, and there put his troops into winter-quarters,
having by this glorious and ſucceſsful expedition, retrieved, in ſome degree, the glory
of the *Roman* name, and balanced his late misfortune at ſea[y]. He hoped in one
campaign more to complete the reduction of *Germany*, and, in order to keep up the
ſpirit of the ſoldiery, and encourage them to purſue with alacrity that great work,
he made good at his own expence all the loſſes they had ſuſtained in the late ſtorm,
cauſing as much to be paid to each legionary as each declared he had loſt.

He is recalled by Tiberius.

But, in the mean time, *Tiberius*, jealous of the great fame and reputation which his
nephew acquired, by his repeated victories over the *Germans* and his popularity,
reſolved to ſeparate him from his old and faithful legions. In order to this, he preſſed b
him by frequent letters to return to *Rome*, and there enjoy the triumph decreed him:
he urged, that he had already undergone dangers enow; that though ſucceſs had
attended him, yet he had ſuſtained great loſſes, which indeed were owing to no fault
of his, but to the winds and waves; that he himſelf, having been ſent nine times
into *Germany* by *Auguſtus*, had more by policy than force of arms brought the *Sicambri*
into ſubjection, and drawn the *Suevi* and *Maroboduus* king of the *Marcomanni* to con-
clude a peace with *Rome*: he added, that the *Cheruſci* and other barbarous nations,
now the *Romans* had been fully revenged on them, might be left to purſue their
domeſtic feuds and deſtroy one another. *Germanicus*, in anſwer to the emperor's
letters, earneſtly intreated him to indulge him but one year more to complete his c
conqueſt, ſince the enemy were already concerting meaſures for obtaining peace.
Tiberius was inflexible; in order therefore to intice him home, he offered him a
ſecond conſulſhip, adding in his letter, that if the war was ſtill to be purſued, he
ought to have ſome regard for his brother *Druſus*, and not ingroſs all the glory to
himſelf; that *Rome* had at preſent no other enemies to wage war with but the *Ger-*
mans, and *Druſus* no other field of glory but *Germany*. Though *Germanicus* was well
appriſed, that theſe were but ſpecious pretences, ſuggeſted by envy, to rob him of
the glory he was likely to acquire by another campaign; however, finding it was

Sets out for Rome.

in vain to perſiſt any longer, he complied at length, and, leaving *Germany*, ſet out
for *Rome* with his wife and children. But, before we ſpeak of the reception he met d
with from *Tiberius* and the *Roman* people, we ſhall give a ſuccinct account of what
paſſed in the metropolis, while he was ſignalizing himſelf in *Germany*.

Tiberius had the foregoing year revived, as we have related above, the law of

Libo Druſus *accuſed of high treaſon.*

majeſty, and upon this law was now arraigned *Libo Druſus*, tried, and condemned,
and his eſtate divided amongſt his accuſers, which was encouraging that baneful ſet
of men, and ſounding the trumpet, to uſe the expreſſion of *Ammianus Marcellinus*,
to informations and arraignments. *Lucius Scribonius Libo Druſus* was deſcended of
the *Scribonian* family, one of the moſt illuſtrious in *Rome*, was the great grandſon of
Pompey the Great, nephew of *Scribonia*, once the wife of *Auguſtus*, nearly related to
the *Cæſars*, and no ways inferior in nobility to the reigning houſe. His high quality e
rendered him obnoxious to *Tiberius*, which a ſenator, by name *Firmius Catus*, being
well appriſed of, reſolved to gain the emperor's favour, by giving him a plauſible
pretence to deliver himſelf from his fears. With this view, having inſinuated himſelf
into the favour of the unwary youth, by flattering his hopes and ambition and con-
ſtantly magnifying the nobility of his family, he prevailed upon him to conſult the
Chaldeans and magicians, whether he ſhould not be one day veſted with the ſovereign
power, to which he had as good a claim, ſaid the treacherous *Firmius*, as the family
of *Tiberius* who enjoyed it. This was ſufficient matter for a charge of high treaſon;

Miſled and betrayed by Firmius Catus.

and accordingly *Firmius* immediately acquainted the emperor by means of *Flaccus*
Veſcularius, a *Roman* knight, who had free acceſs to him, with the pretended crimes f
of the unhappy youth, whom he had baſely inſnared with ſpecious deluſions. *Tibe-*
rius, though overjoyed at this information, refuſed the accuſer a private audience,
ſending him word, that the communication might be ſtill carried on by the ſame
Flaccus, and accordingly *Firmius* by his means informed the emperor of all *Libo*'s
ſteps and words; for the unwary youth, deluded by the predictions of the *Chaldeans*
and aſtrologers, began now to entertain thoughts of ſoaring above the rank of a pri-
vate citizen. In the mean time, *Tiberius* with the deepeſt diſſimulation preferred *Libo*
to the prætorſhip, entertained him at his table, and familiarly converſed with him,
without

y Idem, c. 25.

a without ever betraying the leaſt reſentment, either in his words or countenance. At length *Libo*, having recourſe to one *Junius*, who pretended, by charms and the ſuperſtitious rites of the magicians, to call up the infernal ſhades, and learn of them future events, the magician diſcovered this to one *Fulcinius Trio*, a famous informer, who immediately haſtening to the conſuls, imparted the whole to them, and demanded that the ſenate might meet forthwith to deliberate upon an affair of ſo much moment, and of ſuch dangerous conſequence to the ſtate. The fathers, not doubting but *Tiberius* was at the bottom of this proſecution, did not fail to aſſemble at the time appointed, when *Libo* appeared in the habit of a ſuppliant, and preſenting himſelf before *Tiberius* who was preſent, endeavoured by his tears and intreaties to ſoften him. The emperor b heard him with a countenance quite unmoved, and, inſtead of returning him any anſwer, recited to the conſcript fathers the charge againſt him and the names of the accuſers, without betraying the leaſt emotion of anger or reſentment, or ſeeming either to leſſen or magnify the crimes laid to his charge. When the emperor had done, four accuſers appeared againſt the criminal, viz. *Firmius Catus*, *Fulcinius Trio*, *Fonteius Agrippa*, and *Caius Vibius*, and produced ſuch extravagant, fooliſh, and chimerical articles, as rather deſerved pity than puniſhment. One of theſe, from which we may judge of the others, was, that he had aſked the fortune-tellers, whether he ſhould not one day be poſſeſſed of riches ſufficient to cover with money the great *Appian* road from *Rome* to *Brunduſium*? *Vibius* produced a paper containing the names of the *Cæſars*, that c is, of *Tiberius*, *Druſus*, and *Germanicus*, and thoſe of ſome ſenators, with myſterious characters and magical notes joined to them. Theſe the accuſer pretended were written with *Libo*'s own hand, which he denying, it was moved, that his ſlaves ſhould be examined upon the rack, but becauſe by an old *Roman* law ſlaves could not be put to the torture in a trial touching the life of their maſters, the crafty *Tiberius* found a trick to evade that law without ſeeming to violate it: he ordered the ſlaves to be ſold to the public, that they might then be evidence againſt their late maſter: this poor evaſion was firſt contrived and practiſed by *Auguſtus*, as we have ſhewn above. The unhappy *Libo*, concluding from this ſtep, that *Tiberius* was reſolved upon his deſtruction, begged the conſcript fathers that they would put off till the next day the d final deciſion of his cauſe. His requeſt being granted, he returned to his own houſe; whence ſoon after he ſent *Publius Quirinius* to ſpeak to the emperor in his behalf. *Quirinius* was nearly related to *Libo* and in great favour with *Tiberius*, having been formerly, as we have related above, inſtrumental in reconciling *Caius Cæſar* to him while he lived in the iſland of *Rhodes*, and by that means the chief cauſe of his returning into favour with *Auguſtus*. But, unmindful of ancient obligations, he received *Quirinius* with great coldneſs, and returned him no other anſwer, but that he muſt apply to the ſenate. This anſwer threw *Libo* into a deep melancholy, which, however, he diſſembled, and ordered a great entertainment to be got ready, in order to paſs the laſt night of his life in the company of his friends and relations. But the banquet e was ſcarce begun, when a band of ſoldiers, ſurrounding the houſe, with a ſtudied noiſe and dreadful cries, ſo terrified the gueſts, that many of them, riſing from table, endeavoured to make their eſcape. *Libo*, not doubting but they were ſent to diſpatch him, drawing his ſword, offered it to his ſlaves, begging them to put an end with it to his unhappy life: but they, trembling and ſhunning the ſad taſk, fled with ſuch hurry and confuſion, that they overturned all the lights, and then *Libo* in the dark gave himſelf two mortal wounds. As he fell and groaned, his freedmen ran in; and the ſoldiers ſeeing him dead retired; for they had been ſent on purpoſe to frighten him, ſo as to make him lay violent hands on himſelf, *Tiberius* hoping by that means to avoid the odium, which, he was well appriſed, the execution of one of the moſt illuſtri- f ous citizens of *Rome* would reflect upon his perſon and government. The charge, however, was carried on in the ſenate, as if he had been ſtill alive; but the deceitful *Tiberius* at the ſame time declared upon oath, that he would have interceded for his life, had he not prevented his clemency by laying violent hands on himſelf. The deceaſed was by the ſenate declared guilty of high treaſon, and his eſtate divided amongſt his accuſers: ſuch of the informers as were of the ſenatorial order (for the firſt lords of the ſenate were not aſhamed to debaſe themſelves to this vile office) were, without the regular method of election, named prætors for the enſuing year. This was the moſt effectual means imaginable of multiplying theſe peſts of the empire: they were raiſed to the higheſt offices in the ſtate, and the metropolis of the world often ſaw her public dignities beſtowed, as ſpoils, upon parricides, for ſpilling her beſt blood. We

Is tried by the ſenate.

Articles produced againſt him.

He lays violent hands on himſelf.

Is found guilty of high treaſon after his death by the ſenate.

may

may well imagine, that the ſervile ſenate did not let ſlip ſo favourable an opportunity of gaining the emperor's favour, by branding the memory of the pretended criminal. *Cotta Meſſalinus* moved, that the image of *Libo* might not be carried at the funerals of his poſterity; *Cneius Lentulus*, that none of the *Scribonian* family ſhould thenceforth take the name of *Druſus:* at the motion of *Pomponius Flaccus* days of thankſgiving were appointed. *Lucius Publius*, *Aſinius Gallus*, *Papius Mutilius*, and *Lucius Apronius* were of opinion, that gifts ſhould be preſented to *Jupiter*, to *Mars*, and to the goddeſs *Concord*; and that the ides of *September*, the day on which *Libo* killed himſelf, ſhould be for ever obſerved as a feſtival[z]. So great was the debaſement of the once venerable *Roman* ſenate, even in the beginning of *Tiberius*'s reign. It was not enough for the conſcript fathers to have condemned *Libo*; they iſſued a decree for driving aſtrologers, magicians, and the whole herd of fortune-tellers out of *Italy*; nay, *Lucius Pituanius*, one of them whom *Libo* had probably conſulted, was thrown headlong from the *Tarpeian* rock; and *Publius Marcius*, another of the ſame profeſſion, was by the conſuls ſentenced to death, and executed accordingly, without the *Eſquiline* gate.

The debaſement of the ſenate.

Fortune-tellers driven out of Rome.

At the next meeting of the ſenate, *Quintus Haterius*, once conſul, and *Octavius Fronto*, formerly prætor, moved, that a ſtop might be put to the exceſſive luxury which prevailed in the city; and at their motion a law paſſed, forbidding all to uſe plate of maſſy gold, and men to debaſe themſelves with wearing ſilks, which were then thought peculiar to women. *Fronto* went farther, and propoſed, that the quantity of ſilver-plate, the expence of furniture, and the number of ſlaves might be regulated. But he was oppoſed therein by *Aſinius Gallus*, who with plauſible arguments defended the prevailing luxury. Beſides, *Tiberius* himſelf did not approve of *Fronto*'s motion; for after *Gallus* had done ſpeaking, he added, that it was not a ſeaſon for reformation, and that if there was any corruption of manners, there would not be wanting one to redreſs that evil, alluding thereby, no doubt, to himſelf and his office of perpetual cenſor. As it was common for the ſenators to depart from the preſent debate, and offer as their advice whatever they judged conducing to the public welfare, *Lucius Piſo*, who ſtill retained the ancient *Roman* ſpirit and declared his ſentiments with great freedom, after having bitterly inveighed againſt the corruptions of the ſtate, particularly againſt the peſtilent purſuits of the informers, who were daily arraigning and circumventing all men, proteſted, that he was reſolved to leave *Rome*, and live in ſome quiet and diſtant corner of the country. With theſe words he went out of the ſenate; but *Tiberius*, though highly provoked, ſmothered his reſentment, and following *Piſo*, endeavoured to ſooth him with kind intreaties; nay, he even condeſcended to ſolicit his relations to divert him with their prayers and authority from the reſolution he had taken; which they did accordingly. *Piſo* not long after gave another inſtance of a ſpirit truly *Roman*, in ſuing for a debt one *Urgulania*, a woman of diſtinction, and placed by the favour of *Livia* above the laws. *Piſo* ſummoned her to appear before the prætor; but ſhe, deſpiſing the ſummons, fled for refuge to the palace; whence *Piſo* would have carried her by force before the prætor, notwithſtanding the complaints of *Livia*, had not *Tiberius*, to prevent diſturbances, obliged her to comply with the ſummons, and at the ſame time propoſed, in civility to his mother, to attend the trial and aſſiſt her favourite. On the day appointed for the deciſion of the cauſe, the emperor left the palace, ordering his guards to follow him at a diſtance; but walked ſo ſlow, that before he reached the forum the trial was over, and *Urgulania* adjudged to pay the ſum claimed by *Piſo*. The money was immediately advanced by *Livia*, who, finding *Piſo* inflexible and the emperor no-ways inclined to oppoſe him, was glad to redeem her favourite from the trouble, which ſo bold and reſolute a creditor would not have failed to create her (A). The proceeding of *Tiberius* on this occaſion was highly applauded by the *Roman* people, as was alſo his generoſity at this time towards ſome neceſſitous ſenators, whom with his gratuities he inabled to live ſuitable to their rank. However, he rejected with haughtineſs the petition of *Marcus Hortalus*, the grandſon of *Hortenſius* the famous orator, who, as we have related above, had been encouraged by *Auguſtus*

The uſe of plate and maſſy gold, &c. forbidden

The free ſpirit of L. Piſo.

Tiberius's generoſity to ſome ſenators.

[z] Idem ibid. c. 27—32.

(A) *Tacitus* tells us, that the power of *Urgulania* was ſo great, that ſhe diſdained to appear as a witneſs in a certain cauſe before the ſenate; ſo that a prætor was ſent to examine her at her own houſe, though it had been always uſual even for the veſtal virgins to attend the forum and courts of juſtice, whenever their evidence was required.

[a] *Auguſtus*, with a bounty of a thouſand great ſeſterces, to marry, in order to prevent the extinction of his illuſtrious family. As he had now four children, he placed them before the door of the ſenate houſe, and ſhewing them to the conſcript fathers, in a moving ſpeech beſought both them and the emperor to defend from want the offſpring of ſo many conſuls, the deſcendants of ſo many dictators, whom he had not brought into the world by his own choice, but in compliance with the deſire of the deified *Auguſtus*. The conſcript fathers, touched with compaſſion, were inclined to relieve him; but *Tiberius* oppoſed it, ſaying, that if they relieved all who were poor, and took upon them to maintain their children, the public would ſoon fail; that if the public treaſury came to be exhauſted by popular bounties, it muſt be ſupplied with rapine and oppreſſion; that by ſuch bounties induſtry would languiſh, [b] and ſloth prevail, *&c.* The greater part of the fathers ſufficiently declared with their ſilence, that they did not like this ſpeech; which *Tiberius* perceiving, after having paſed a little, to qualify what he had ſaid, added, that his anſwer was addreſſed in particular to *Hortalus*, but that if the ſenate thought fit, he was ready to give his ſons two hundred great ſeſterces each. The ſenators returned him thanks for his generous diſpoſition; but *Hortalus* himſelf was ſilent, affronted at the emperor's ſpeech, and even in poverty full of the ancient grandeur of his family; which ſo eſtranged *Tiberius* from him, that he never after took any notice of him or his family, though reduced to extreme poverty [a].

He refuſes to relieve the ſenator M. Hortalus.

[c] THIS ſame year, a ſlave of *Poſthumus Agrippa*, by name *Clemens*, would have raiſed great diſturbances in the ſtate, and kindled a civil war in the bowels of *Italy*, had he not been prevented in good time. As he was much about the ſame age with his late maſter, and not unlike him in his perſon, he took upon him his name, and cauſed it to be reported in all parts by his emiſſaries and aſſociates, that *Agrippa* was ſtill alive. This raiſed great tumults in many cities of *Italy*, and brought over to the pretended *Agrippa* vaſt numbers of people, ſuch as are ever fond of public diſturbances and changes. The report was even credited at *Rome*, and his ſuppoſed arrival at *Oſtia* privately celebrated in the city by multitudes of people. *Tiberius*, informed by his emiſſaries of all that paſſed, was long in ſuſpenſe whether he ſhould order his troops [d] to march againſt the audacious ſlave; or ſuffer the impoſture to vaniſh of itſelf, which he was well appriſed muſt ſoon happen. On one hand, he was aſhamed to betray any fear of a vile ſlave; and on the other he apprehended the danger which might ariſe from the credulity of the people, if they were not ſoon undeceived. In this perplexity he committed the whole affair to *Salluſtius Criſpus*, the ſame whom he had employed to diſpatch *Agrippa*. *Criſpus* choſe two of his clients, or, as ſome write, two ſoldiers, in whom he could confide, and ſent them to the ſuppoſed *Agrippa* with a conſiderable ſum, directing them to feign that they believed him to be the true grandſon of *Auguſtus*, to preſent him with the money, and to pretend a great zeal for his cauſe. They executed his orders with great addreſs, and finding that [e] *Clemens* repoſed in them an intire confidence, they underhand got ready a proper band of men, ſeized and gagged him while his guards were aſleep, and carried him without noiſe to the palace. When he was brought before *Tiberius*, the emperor aſked him, *How he was become* Agrippa? *Juſt as you became* Cæſar, anſwered *Clemens*. Though *Tiberius* had him wholly in his power, yet ſo great was his fear or policy, [f] that he did not execute him publicly, but ordered him to be diſpatched in a ſecret part of the palace, and his body to be privately conveyed away; and though many of the emperor's houſhold, many knights and ſenators were ſaid to have aſſiſted and ſupported him with their counſels and fortunes, yet no farther enquiry was made after his accomplices [b]. Towards the end of this year a triumphal arch was raiſed near the temple of *Saturn* as a monument for the recovery of the eagles of the *Varian* legions: a temple was dedicated to *Valiant Fortune* in the gardens which *Julius Cæſar* had bequeathed to the *Roman* people, and a chapel to the *Julian* family; ſtatues were alſo conſecrated to *Auguſtus* at *Bovillæ* in the neighbourhood of *Rome*.

The bold deſign of Clemens, *bondman to* Agrippa Poſthumus.

He is ſeized by a device of Salluſtius Criſpus, *and diſpatched privately.*

IN the mean time, *Germanicus* arriving with his wife and children in the capital, was there received by *Tiberius* with all poſſible marks of a ſeeming friendſhip and affection; he congratulated him on his paſt dangers, ſeemed highly pleaſed with his conduct, extolled his mighty feats, and with the deepeſt diſſimulation commended him to the ſenate, as well deſerving the greateſt honours it was in their power to confer upon him.

Germanicus how received by Tiberius.

[a] Idem ibid. c. 37, 38. [b] Idem, c. 39---40. DIO, l. lvii. p. 613. SUET. in Tib. c. 25.

him. The triumph, which had been decreed him, was put off till the following year, when *Caius Cælius*, or, as ſome ſtyle him, *Cæcilius Rufus*, and *Lucius Pomponius Flaccus* were conſuls. During their adminiſtration, *Germanicus* triumphed on the twenty-ſixth day of *May* over the *Catti*, the *Angrivarii*, the *Cheruſci*, and all the *German* nations between the *Rhine* and the *Albis*, or the *Elbe*. *Germanicus* had not indeed extended his conqueſts to the latter of theſe rivers; but the emperor, to make him amends for ſtopping him in the full career of his victories, counted thoſe conqueſts as complete, which he had prevented him from completing. The triumph, an honour now very uncommon, was performed with extraordinary magnificence. Before the triumphal chariot were carried repreſentations of mountains, rivers, and battles, and an incredible number of captives loaded with chains, among whom were many of the *German* chiefs, and the wife of *Arminius*, carrying in her arms her infant ſon. But what above all heightened the ſhew and the ſatisfaction of the beholders, was the extraordinary gracefulneſs of *Germanicus*'s perſon, and his chariot filled with his five children, viz. *Nero*, *Druſus*, and *Caius*; and his two daughters, *Agrippina* and *Druſilla*. *Tiberius*, to render the ſolemnity more complete and the joy of the people more univerſal, diſtributed among them in the name of *Germanicus* a large ſum, three hundred ſeſterces a man, and named himſelf his collegue in the conſulſhip for the enſuing year. But, notwithſtanding all theſe demonſtrations of kindneſs and affection, the people ſtill ſuſpected his ſincerity; and their joy was greatly allayed by the melancholy reflections, that popular favour had proved fatal to his father *Druſus*; that his uncle *Marcellus* was ſnatched from the people, who adored him, in the flower of his youth, and that the favourites of the *Roman* people had ever been unfortunate and ſhort-lived. And truly, their fears were not ill grounded; for *Tiberius*, jealous of the glory of the young prince and the high favour he was in both with the people and ſoldiery, was already reſolved on his deſtruction, and meditating with himſelf how to compaſs his wicked deſign, and at the ſame time avoid the irreconcileable hatred, which, he well knew, would thence ariſe to him from all orders of men. While he was wholly taken up with theſe thoughts, a favourable opportunity offered, or rather, was craftily framed by *Tiberius* for removing from *Rome* the darling of the people. *Archelaus* (B) king of *Cappadocia* had many years before incurred his diſpleaſure, by neglecting to pay his court to him, during his retirement at *Rhodes* (C). This the revengeful emperor remembered, and therefore having inticed the king to *Rome* by means of letters from his mother *Livia*, promiſing him his pardon, provided he came in perſon to implore it, he not only received him with great haughtineſs, but cauſed him to be accuſed as a criminal in the ſenate. As the crimes laid to his charge evidently appeared to be mere fictions, he was by the conſcript fathers declared innocent; but the unhappy prince, not able to brook ſuch treatment, ſoon after either died of grief, or laid violent hands on himſelf, after having reigned fifty years[c]. Some time after *Cappadocia* was reduced to a *Roman* province, which inabled *Tiberius* to abate the tax of one in the hundred upon all vendible goods, and reduce it to one in the two hundred; which relief, however, the people did not long enjoy.

His triumph.

Tiberius reſolved on his deſtruction.

Archelaus *king of* Cappadocia *called to* Rome, *where he dies.*

[c] Tacit. ibid. c. 41. Dio, l. lvii. p. 613. Noris epoch. p. 142. Strab. l. vii. p. 291, 292.

(B) *Torrentius*, *Riccioli*, and *Salian* confound *Archelaus* king of *Cappadocia* with *Archelaus*, the ſon of *Herod*, king of *Judæa*. They were led into this miſtake by a paſſage in *Suetonius*, who in the life of *Tiberius* tells us, that he pleaded the cauſe of *Archelaus*, which was his firſt eſſay in eloquence. This cauſe the abovementioned writers take to be that which *Archelaus* the ſon of *Herod* maintained at *Rome* againſt his brothers about his father's laſt will, as we have related in our hiſtory of the *Jews* (49). But it is evident both from *Joſephus* and *Dion Caſſius*, that *Tiberius* at the time of this trial was not at *Rome*, but lived in retirement at *Rhodes*; nay, the latter writer tells us in expreſs terms, that *Tiberius* undertook the defence of *Archelaus* king of *Cappadocia*, againſt his own ſubjects; and that the *Cappadocian* prince incurred his diſpleaſure by ſeeming to neglect him in his diſgrace, notwithſtanding the kindneſs he had ſhewn him on that occaſion (50). He was the great grandſon of the famous *Archelaus*, who commanded the troops of *Mithridates the Great*, king of *Pontus*, againſt *Sylla*, and afterwards, abandoning his own prince, ſided with *Lucullus*. His daughter *Glaphyra* was firſt married to *Alexander*, and afterwards to his brother *Archelaus*, both ſons to *Herod*, as we have related elſewhere (51). It is ſurprizing the abovementioned writers ſhould be guilty of ſo groſs a miſtake.

(C) It was not out of ingratitude or contempt, as *Tacitus* informs us, that *Archelaus* declined attending upon *Tiberius*, while he reſided at *Rhodes*, but becauſe he had been warned by his friends at the court of *Auguſtus* to take no notice of him, leſt he ſhould incur the diſpleaſure of the emperor.

(49) *Hiſt. Univerſ. Vol. IV. p.* 186. (50) *Dio, l.* lvii. (51) *Hiſt. Univerſ. Vol. IV. p.* 147. & 192.

enjoy . At the ſame time, died *Antiochus* king of *Comagene* and *Philopator*, king of
a *Cilicia*, which occaſioned great diſturbances in thoſe countries, ſome being for the
Roman government, and others for a king of their own. The provinces too of *Syria*
and *Judæa* being overloaded with taxes, applied to the emperor and ſenate for relief [e].
Neither was *Parthia* without troubles; that warlike nation having driven out *Vonones*,
whom they had demanded of *Auguſtus* for their king, placed in his room on the throne
Artabanes, a prince of the family of the *Arſacidæ*, but at that time, according to
Joſephus, king of the *Medes* [f]. Theſe diſturbances and commotions in the eaſt proved *Diſturbances*
very favourable to the wicked deſigns of *Tiberius*, who repreſented to the ſenate, that *in the eaſt.*
they could not be well compoſed but by the wiſdom and abilities of *Germanicus*;
b as for himſelf, he was, he ſaid, in the decline of his age, and that of his ſon *Druſus*
was not yet ripe. Hereupon all the provinces of the eaſt were readily decreed to *Ger-* *The provinces*
manicus, and a greater power conferred on him, than had been given to any governor *of the eaſt de-*
ſince the time of *Pompey the Great*. But to balance and reſtrain the extraordinary *creed to* Ger-
authority with which he was veſted, *Tiberius* had already removed from the government manicus.
of *Syria Creticus Silanus*, whoſe daughter was betrothed to *Nero*, the eldeſt ſon of
Germanicus, and placed in his room *Cneius Piſo* (D), a man of a moſt violent and Cn. Piſo *pre-*
untractable temper, and to ſuch a degree elated with the nobility and wealth of his *ferred to the*
wife *Plancina* (E), that he ſcarce yielded to *Tiberius*, and deſpiſed his ſons, viz. *government of*
Druſus and *Germanicus*, as perſons beneath his rank: in ſhort, he was in every reſpect Syria, *in de-*
the moſt proper perſon in *Rome* to execute thoſe fatal purpoſes for which he was chiefly *ſpight to* Ger-
c choſen. His wife *Plancina*, who was ſtill of a more haughty temper than her huſband, manicus.
had ſecret inſtructions from *Livia* to exert her ſpirit, and by all manner of indigni-
ties proſecute and inſult *Agrippina* (F). Before *Germanicus* left *Rome*, *Druſus* was ſent
into *Illyricum* on occaſion of a bloody war, which broke out, ſoon after the departure
of the *Romans*, between *Maroboduus* king of the *Suevians*, *Marcomanians*, and *Lango-*
bards on one ſide, and the *Cheruſcans* on the other, headed by the brave *Arminius*.
Maroboduus was overcome in a great battle, and obliged, moſt of his men aban-
doning him, to retire into the country of the *Marcomanians*, whence he ſent embaſ-
ſadors to *Tiberius* imploring his aſſiſtance, The emperor anſwered, that it was very
d ſurprizing he ſhould recur to the *Romans*, and beg their aſſiſtance againſt the *Cheruſ-*
cans, ſince he had ſent none to them, while they were waging war with the ſame
enemy. However, he laid hold of this opportunity to remove from *Rome* his ſon
Druſus, who ſeemed over fond of the gaieties of the city, to inure him to the toils Druſus *ſent*
of the camp, and procure him the affections of the ſoldiery. What ſucceſs attended *into* Illyricum.
him in this expedition, we ſhall relate anon.

THIS

[d] Dio, l. lix. [e] Tacit. c. 42, 43. Joseph. antiq. l. xvii. c. 3. [f] Tacit. annal. l. ii. c. 1.
Joseph. ibid.

(D) *Cneius Piſo* was the ſon of *Cneius Calpurnius Piſo*, who, as we have related above, maintained with great intrepidity the republican party againſt *Julius Cæſar* in *Africa*. Afterwards he joined *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, but after the battle of *Philippi* was allowed to return to *Rome*, where he ſcorned to ſue for any public offices, chuſing to live in retirement, till *Auguſtus* prevailed upon him to accept the conſulſhip. *Feſtus* tells us, that the *Calpurnian* family pretended to derive their origin from one *Calpus* or *Calphus*, the ſon of *Numa Pompilius* (52). However that be, it is certain, that the *Calpurnian* family was one of the moſt ancient and illuſtrious in *Rome*, and no ways inferior to the *Claudian*, of which *Tiberius* was deſcended.

(E) *Plancina* was either the daughter or the niece of the famous *Munatius Plancus*, of whom we have ſpoken in ſeveral parts of rhis work. *Dion Caſſius* calls her *Munatia Plancina*, and ſo ſhe is ſtyled in an inſcription, which is ſtill to be ſeen at *Rome*, in the palace which at preſent belongs to the family of the *Chigi*.

(F) *Tacitus* tells us, that the whole court was rent into parties, ſome favouring *Druſus*, and others *Germanicus*. *Tiberius* was partial to *Druſus*, as his ſon by nature, whereas *Germanicus* was his ſon only by adoption; but the greater part favoured *Germanicus* for two reaſons, ſays *Tacitus*; firſt, becauſe they knew he was hated by the emperor; and ſecondly, becauſe he was by his mother of a more illuſtrious deſcent *Germanicus* and *Druſus* were the ſons of two brothers, and conſequently by their fathers of the ſame family. But on the mother's ſide *Germanicus* had the advantage, he being the ſon of *Antonia Minor*, the daughter of *Marc Antony* the triumvir by *Octavia* the ſiſter of *Auguſtus*; ſo that *Marc Antony* was his grandfather, and *Auguſtus* his great uncle. On the other ſide, a private *Roman* knight was the great grandfather of *Druſus*; for his mother *Viſpania* was the grand-daughter of the famous *Pomponius Atticus*. Beſides, *Agrippina*, the wife of *Germanicus*, far excelled *Livia* the wife of *Druſus* in virtue, and all the accompliſhments peculiar to her ſex. However, the two brothers lived in perfect concord and friendſhip, no ways diſturbed or interrupted by the contention and emulation that reigned among their relations and adherents (35).

(52) *Feſt. in voce Calphurnius.* (53) *Tacit. ibid.*

A dreadful earthquake in Aſia.

This year was remarkable for one of the moſt dreadful earthquakes recorded in hiſtory: twelve famous cities of *Aſia* were overturned by it, viz. *Sardis*, *Magneſia*, at the foot of mount *Sipylus*, *Moſthene*, *Ægæ*, *Hierocæſarea*, *Philadelphia*, *Temolus*, *Temnus*, *Cyme* or *Cumæ*, *Myrina*, *Apollonia*, *Hyrcania*. To theſe mentioned by *Tacitus*, *Euſebius* adds *Epheſus* [g]. *Pliny* and *Strabo* [i] make particular mention of this event, calling it the moſt dreadful concuſſion that had ever been felt (G). It happened in the night, and proved the more dreadful, as it was leſs expected. Moſt of the inhabitants were cruſhed under the ruins of their houſes, and thoſe who fled to the fields, ſwallowed up by the opening of the earth. It is reported, ſays *Tacitus*, that huge mountains ſunk into the earth, that plains were raiſed up into high hills, and that dreadful flaſhes and eruptions of fire were ſeen among the ruins. *Phlegon* of *Tralles*, who has wrote a very particular account of this terrible event and the evils which it occaſioned, ſays, that many cities of *Pontus*, of *Sicily*, and of *Calabria* in *Italy* were greatly damaged by it; and adds, that the earth opening in many places, bodies were diſcovered of a monſtrous ſize, from one of which a tooth was taken above a foot in length, and preſented to *Tiberius*, who would not ſuffer the whole body to be brought to him, ſaying, that he deemed it a great crime to diſturb the dead. However, to ſatisfy his curioſity, he cauſed a head to be engraved proportionable to the tooth which had been brought him, and which he immediately after ordered to be reſtored to the place, whence it had been taken [k]. *Tiberius*, to do him juſtice, ſhewed, on occaſion of this great calamity, a ſpirit truly generous and worthy of a perſon in his ſtation: for he not only remitted the inhabitants of the ruined cities their taxes for five years, but preſented them with large ſums to rebuild their habitations. To the *Sardians*, who had ſuffered moſt, he ſent a hundred thouſand great ſeſterces, and the reſt relief proportionable to their loſſes; nay, he immediately diſpatched into *Aſia Marcius Aletus*, a ſenator, who had been prætor, to view the deſolations on the ſpot, and make good the loſſes of every particular; for he was fond of being liberal, as *Tacitus* obſerves, on honeſt occaſions, a virtue which he long retained, after he had utterly abandoned all other virtues. The inhabitants of the cities thus rebuilt, and by the liberalities of *Tiberius* reſtored to their former ſplendor, erected to their common benefactor a coloſſus in the *Roman* forum, ſurrounded with the ſtatues of their twelve cities, as a laſting monument of the prince's generoſity, and their gratitude [l].

a b c d

Tiberius's *generoſity on this occaſion.*

His private liberalities.

The reputation which *Tiberius* gained by this noble bounty to the public, was greatly heightened by his private liberalities. For the eſtate of a wealthy freedwoman, by name *Æmilia Muſa*, who died this year inteſtate, being claimed by the treaſury, the emperor generouſly yielded it to one *Æmilius Lepidus*, to whoſe family ſhe ſeemed to belong (H). With the ſame diſintereſtedneſs he ſurrendered to *Marcus Servilius* the whole inheritance of *Patuleius*, a rich *Roman* knight, though part of it had been bequeathed

[g] Euseb. chron. p. 201. [h] Plin. l. ii. c. 84. [i] Strab. l. xii. p. 579. [k] Phlegon. Tralliani, de reb. mirabilibus, c. 13, 14. [l] Tacit. c. 47. Dio, l. lvii. p. 614. Phleg. mir. c. 13.

(G) *Oroſius* takes this to be the earthquake mentioned by the evangeliſts as happening at the death of our Saviour; a notorious miſtake! which, if admitted, would overſet every ſyſtem of chronology, it being paſt all doubt, that the earthquake, which overturned the twelve cities of *Aſia*, happened in the fourth year of *Tiberius*'s reign, and conſequently was at leaſt fourteen years prior to the other. According to *Euſebius* our Saviour was crucified the fourth year of the hundred and ſecond olympiad; and the earthquake, which proved ſo fatal to *Aſia*, happened, according to the ſame writer, the ſecond year of the hundred and ninety-ninth olympiad. *Oroſius* would fain corroborate the accounts of the ſacred penmen with the teſtimonies of the *Greek* and *Roman* hiſtorians, and this is what led him into the abovementioned miſtake.

(H) *Tacitus* does not tell us, that *Æmilia Muſa* was a freedwoman; but from her *Greek cognomen* it is manifeſt, that ſuch was her condition; for we have not one inſtance in hiſtory of a *Roman* aſſuming a *Greek* name. The prænomen of *Æmilia* ſhe probably borrowed from ſome of the *Æmilian* family, to whom ſhe had formerly belonged. Perhaps ſhe was related to the famous *Antonius Muſa*, the freedman and phyſician of *Auguſtus*. As ſhe died inteſtate, her eſtate, ſuppoſing her to have been a *liberta*, or freedwoman, and to have no relations of her own then living, fell, according to the *Roman* law, to her former maſter and his heirs of blood. *Si libertus inteſtato deceſſerit, patronum, aut filium, nepotemve ejus ad ſucceſſionem vocari indubitatum eſt*, ſays *Julian* (54); and *Ulpian*, *Liberto inteſtato mortuo, primum ſuis deferri hereditatem verum eſt: ſi hi non fuerint, tunc patrono* (55). But what title had the exchequer to her eſtate? It appears from this paſſage of *Tacitus* and the laws we have quoted, that if a freedman or woman had no ſurviving relations, and their former maſter's family was extinct, their eſtate fell to the prince. In the preſent caſe one *Æmilius Lepidus*, as heir of blood to *Muſa*'s former maſter, claimed her eſtate, and *Tiberius* generouſly ſurrendered it to him, though he could not plainly make good his claim.

(54) *Leg.* 13. *de bonis libert.* (55) *Leg.* 2. *de ſuis heredib.*

a bequeathed to himſelf. Neither could he ever be prevailed upon to accept legacies; but from his intimate friends, utterly rejecting the inheritances of ſuch as were ſtrangers to him, or out of hatred to their relations appointed him their heir. His bounties were, generally ſpeaking, well placed; for as he readily relieved ſuch ſenators as were by misfortunes reduced to poverty, ſo he excluded without pity from the ſenate thoſe who had wantonly ſquandered away their eſtates in luxury and debauchery. Of this number were *Vibidius Varro*, *Marius Nepos*, *Appius Appianus*, *Cornelius Sylla*, *Quintus Vitellius*, and *Attilius Buta*. The latter was a man of pleaſure, and uſed conſtantly to paſs the night in revels and debaucheries, and ſleep the greateſt part of the day; by which courſe of life, being ſoon reduced to great indigence, he had recourſe to the b emperor for relief; but *Tiberius* rejected his petition, without returning him any other anſwer, than that *he had awaked too late* [k]. But the applauſe *Tiberius* gained by his public and private bounties were counterbalanced, by the countenance he gave to informations and arraignments upon the law of violated majeſty. Informers multiplied daily, the ſpirit of accuſing grew common, and the dread of it univerſal, *Apuleia Varilia*, grand neice to *Auguſtus* by his ſiſter (I), was accuſed by one of that infamous profeſſion of having reviled the deified *Auguſtus*, *Tiberius*, and his mother *Livia*, and of having diſhonoured with adultery the blood of the *Cæſars*, which, according to the conſtruction *Auguſtus* had put upon the law of majeſty, was high treaſon (K). *Tiberius* admitted the accuſation, but ſhewed great moderation in the proſecution of c the accuſed: for as to the adultery he ſaid, that ſufficient puniſhments had been already appointed for that crime by the *Julian* law, which was implicitly declaring, that it did not fall under the law of treaſon. As to the other crimes, he deſired they might be diſtinguiſhed: *If* Apuleia, ſaid he, *has uttered impious ſpeeches againſt the deified* Auguſtus, *ſhe muſt be condemned; but for her invectives againſt me I will not ſuffer her to be called to any account. But ſhe has had the impudence to attack the reputation of your mother*, replied one of the conſuls. To this *Tiberius* returned no anſwer then, but the next time the ſenate met, he begged in his mother's name, that the words ſpoken againſt her might not be conſtrued into treaſon. Hereupon ſhe was tried only upon the words ſpoken againſt *Auguſtus*, and found guilty, but pardoned by *Tiberius*, who likeد wiſe begged a mitigation of her puniſhment for adultery; ſo that, inſtead of undergoing the ſevere puniſhments inflicted on that crime by the *Julian* law, of which hereafter, ſhe was only removed two hundred miles from *Rome*; but *Manlius*, who had debauched her, was baniſhed *Italy* and *Africa* [l]. This ſame year, *Tacfarinas*, a native of *Numidia*, who had ſerved among the *Roman* auxiliaries, having drawn his countrymen and the neighbouring nations into a revolt, was overthrown in a pitched battle by *Furius Camillus*, proconſul of *Africa*, who till that time had paſſed for a man quite unacquainted with the art of war. For this victory, which *Camillus* gained with one legion and a ſmall body of auxiliaries, a handful of men, when compared with the numberleſs troops of the enemy, the enſigns of triumph were by the ſenate decreed to ه the conqueror; which honour, ſays the hiſtorian, did not prove fatal to him, becauſe he was a man of extraordinary modeſty, and choſe to live in retirement [m]. This year died, according to *Euſebius* [n], *Ovid* at *Tomos* in *Pontus*, and, according to S. *Jerom*,

Apuleia Varilia *accuſed of treaſon.*

Tiberius's *conduct on this occaſion.*

Tacfarinas *defeated in* Africa *by* Furius Camillus.

[k] Tacit. c. 48. Dio, ibid. [l] Idem, c. 49, 50. [m] Idem, c. 52, 53. [n] Euseb. in chron.

(I) *Auguſtus* had two ſiſters; viz. *Octavia Major* and *Octavia Minor*; but by which of theſe *Apuleia Varilia* was grand niece to *Auguſtus*, hiſtory does not inform us. Neither do we know of any writer who mentions the marriage or offspring of *Octavia Minor*. The other ſiſter married *Marcellus*, and had by him two daughter, *Marcella Major* and *Marcella Minor*; one of theſe was, we conjecture, from what we read in *Dion Caſſius*, married into the *Apuleian* family; for that writer calls *Sextus Apuleius*, who was conſul the year *Auguſtus* died, συγγενῆ Αὐγούστου, that is, *Auguſtus*'s kinſman (56). If we admit this conjecture, which is not ill grounded, *Apuleia Varilia* was daughter to an *Apuleius* by one of the *Marcellæ*, and conſequently grand-neice to *Auguſtus* by his ſiſter *Octavia Major*.

(K) *Auguſtus*, as *Tacitus* informs us (57), to a fault common between men and women gave the grievous name of ſacrilege and treaſon; and as his daughter and grand-daughter were proſtitutes, he puniſhed, according to the law of treaſon, which he had thus wreſted, all their adulterers and gallants either with death or exile. This ſort of treaſon was, as *Tacitus* ſeems to inſinuate, limited to the reigning houſe and the blood of the *Cæſars*; for that writer tells us, that *Varilia*, being nearly related to the emperor and guilty of adultery, was arraigned of high treaſon. *Auguſtus* found his account in declaring the gallants of the two *Julias* traitors; for as thoſe traitors were very numerous, and conſiderable for their quality and credit, he had here a good pretence to get rid of many eminent citizens, who gave him uneaſineſs and jealouſy.

(56) *Dio*, *l.* lxv, lxvi. (57) *Tacit. annal. l.* v.

The death of Ovid, *and* Livy *the historian.*

Jerom [o], the famous historian *Livy* at *Padua*, his native city. We are told, that *Livia* had designed the latter for præceptor to *Claudius*, the younger brother of *Germanicus*; but he was prevented by death from enjoying that honour. He was the last of those illustrious writers who once adorned the court of *Augustus*, and will render his age ever memorable. He has been our chief guide in the compiling of this history; for which we can make him no better return, than to repeat here what *Seneca* said of him many centuries since, that *the genius of* Livy *was equal to the grandeur and majesty of the* Roman *empire* [p].

Germanicus *sets out for the* Levant.

Towards the end of the year, *Germanicus*, leaving *Rome*, set out for the *Levant* with his wife *Agrippina* and his son *Caius*, surnamed *Caligula*. After a long and dangerous passage both in the *Adriatic* and *Ionian* seas, he arrived in *Dalmatia*, whither he had first steered his course to visit his brother *Drusus*, who, as we have related above, had been sent into that country. From *Dalmatia* by the coast of *Illyricum* he reached *Nicopolis*, which city *Augustus* had built on the *Ambracian* bay, in memory of his victory at *Actium*. There he entered upon his second consulship, having *Tiberius*, now the third time consul, for his collegue. The emperor held this dignity to the ides of *May*, and then resigned it to *L. Seius Tubero*, who had served under *Germanicus* in quality of lieutenant [q]. *Germanicus* spent a few days at *Nicopolis* to refit his fleet, and in the mean time viewed the bay of *Actium*, the spoils which *Augustus* his grandfather had consecrated after his famous victory, and the camp of *Antony* his great uncle. From thence he proceeded to *Athens*, where he was received with all possible demonstrations of honour (L). Next he sailed to *Eubœa*, and thence to *Lesbos*, where his wife *Agrippina* was delivered of *Julia* her last child: then he steered his course to the cities of *Perinthus* and *Byzantium* in *Thrace*, entered the streights of *Propontis*, and the mouth of the *Pontic* or *Euxine* sea, being desirous of seeing those places so much celebrated by fame. In his return he endeavoured to touch at the island of *Samothrace*, being fond of beholding the religious ceremonies practised there, of which we have spoken in our description of that island [r]; but he was prevented from satisfying his laudable curiosity by contrary winds. Having therefore visited ancient *Ilium*, which gave birth to *Rome*, he regained the coast of *Asia*, and put in at *Colophon*, to consult there the oracle of the *Clarian Apollo*, of which we have given an account elsewhere [s]. The priest, by whose mouth the god was believed to utter his oracles, is said to have foretold, but in dark and doubtful terms, the approaching death of *Germanicus* [t].

His voyage, reception, &c.

Piso *and his wife set out for* Syria.

In the mean time, *Piso* and his wife *Plancina*, hastening to the execution of their wicked designs, left *Rome*, and arriving at *Athens*, gave there the first proof of their hatred to *Germanicus*. For *Piso*, in a speech to the inhabitants, abused them in a most outrageous manner, not without an indirect censure upon *Germanicus*, for having debased the dignity of the *Roman* name in paying an excessive regard not to the *Athenians*, whose race was long since extinct, but to the mixt scum of different nations (M). *Piso* did not stay long at *Athens*, but being in haste to reach *Syria* before *Germanicus*, left the metropolis of *Attica*, and taking the shortest course, though the least safe, sailed through the *Cyclades*, and appeared off of *Rhodes*, soon after *Germanicus* had put

[o] Hier. in chron. in fast. p. 189. [p] Senec. rhetor. [q] Tacit. c. 53. Suet. in Tib. c. 26. Onuph. [r] Hist. Univers. Vol. III. p. 573. [s] Hist. Univers. Vol. III. p. 632. [t] Tacit. c. 53, 54.

(L) The *Athenians* received *Germanicus* with extraordinary marks of esteem, which lest he should undervalue, as that nation made then but a very indifferent figure, they put him in mind of the glory of their ancestors, by carrying before him on tablets succinct accounts of their most famous exploits. By this means they inhanced the honours they had conferred on him, and, to use *Tacitus*'s expression, dignified their flattery. On the other hand, *Germanicus*, out of respect to them, divesting himself in a manner of his power, appeared among them almost like a private citizen, being attended only by one lictor. By thus removing the ensigns of power, the *Romans* declared, that they treated those with whom they conversed, not as subjects, but as friends. *Antony*, as we have observed above, used the same condescension towards the *Athenians*, during his residence in their city, as did also *Tiberius* towards the *Rhodians*, walking up and down without a lictor or viator, and conversing familiarly with the *Greeks*, as if they had been his equals (58).

(M) *Piso* seems to us to have been not a little inconsistent with himself in his reproaches; for on one hand, he would not allow the present inhabitants of *Athens* to be descended from the ancient *Athenians*; and on the other, he charged them with all the crimes, of which the ancient *Athenians* had ever been guilty. He was also an enemy to their city, as *Tacitus* informs us, upon a private account, because they would not pardon at his request one *Theophilus*, condemned by the *Areopagus* for forgery.

(58) *Suet. in Tib. c.* 11.

a put in there; but being overtaken by a violent ſtorm before he could enter the port, he was driven upon certain rocks, and muſt have inevitably periſhed, had not the good-natured *Germanicus*, though already informed of the invectives *Piſo* had uttered againſt him at *Athens*, diſpatched galleys to reſcue him from the wreck. This generous kindneſs and humanity made no impreſſion upon the hard-hearted *Piſo*, who, having ſtaid but one day with his benefactor, put to ſea again in order to arrive in *Syria* before him. He no ſooner reached his province, than he began to court the common ſoldiers by bounties and careſſes, to form factions among the troops, to remove the ancient centurions and tribunes, and place in their room his own creatures, or men recommended only by their crimes: he permitted the ſoldiery either to live quite idle

b in the camp, or to ramble about, and commit with impunity all manner of diſorders in the villages and cities. By this criminal indulgence *Piſo* won the hearts of the idle and diſorderly multitude to ſuch a degree, that he was by them honoured with the title of *Father of the legions*. On the other hand, *Plancina*, forgetting the modeſty peculiar to her ſex, appeared often on horſeback, aſſiſted at the reviews, and was not aſhamed, which in thoſe days was thought very unbecoming in a woman, to be ſeen at the public exerciſes and military evolutions. She laid hold of theſe occaſions to drop reproachful and injurious reflections on the conduct of *Germanicus* and *Agrippina*, in order to prejudice the minds of the ſoldiery againſt them. As to the officers, they were privately told, that their paying court to *Germanicus* and his wife would not

c recommend them to the favour of *Tiberius*. Though theſe proceedings were well known to the young prince, yet overlooking the unaccountable behaviour of *Piſo* and *Plancina*, in purſuit of the glorious ends of his expedition, he haſtened into *Armenia*, where with the approbation of the nobility in a great aſſembly he placed the diadem upon the head of *Zeno*, the ſon of *Polemon* king of *Pontus*, a friend and ally of the *Romans*. From *Armenia* he proceeded firſt to *Cappadocia*, and thence to *Comagene*, both which kingdoms, then vacant by the death of their ſovereigns, he reduced to *Roman* provinces, appointing *Quintus Veranius* governor of the former, and *Quintus Servæus* of the latter. The pleaſure which *Germanicus* reaped from thus ſucceſsfully ſettling the affairs of the allies was greatly allayed, by the proud and haughty behaviour of

d *Piſo*, who being commanded either to lead in perſon, or to ſend under the conduct of his ſon, part of the legions into *Armenia*, contemptuouſly neglected to do either. At laſt they met at *Cyrrum*, a city of *Syria*, and there had an interview, to which *Germanicus* admitted only a few of his intimate friends. He reproached the preſident of *Syria* with his ſtrange conduct and haughty behaviour, and charged him, his wife, and their ſons, with many imputations. On the other hand, *Piſo* pretended ſurpriſe, but at the ſame time betrayed, even in ſubmitting to *Germanicus* as his ſuperior, great ſcorn and contempt; ſo that they parted declared enemies. Thenceforth *Piſo* ſeldom appeared at the public aſſemblies, where *Germanicus* preſided, or, if he did, it was only to contradict him. Not long after he gave a public proof of his malice, ſpite,

e and ill-will to *Germanicus*. For at a grand entertainment made by the king of the *Nabatheans* (N), golden crowns of great weight being preſented to *Germanicus* and *Agrippina*, and ſuch as were much lighter, to *Piſo* and the reſt of the gueſts, the haughty preſident, offended at this diſtinction, with an air of contempt threw his away; and, uttering many invectives againſt luxury, withdrew with theſe words; Rome *abhors ſuch ſcandalous luxury*; *I thought I had been invited to a banquet made for the ſon of a* Roman *prince, not of a* Parthian *king*. *Germanicus* was highly incenſed at this inſult; but, the natural ſweetneſs of his temper getting the better of his reſentment, he took no notice of ſuch a provoking behaviour. Soon after embaſſadors arrived from *Artabanus* king of the *Parthians* to renew the ancient alliance between the two empires,

f and intreat *Germanicus* in their maſter's name to remove *Vonones*, who had been lately driven from the throne, out of *Syria*, leſt he ſhould find means, being ſo near to *Parthia*, to raiſe diſturbances in that kingdom. *Germanicus* renewed the ancient alliance, and removed *Vonones* to *Pompeiopolis*, a maritime city of *Cilicia*, not ſo much in compliance with the requeſt of *Artabanus*, as to ſeparate him from *Piſo*, with whom he

Is ſhipwrecked, but ſaved by Germanicus.

He courts the favour of the ſoldiers.

Germanicus *crowns* Zeno *king of* Armenia, *and reduces* Cappadocia *and* Comagene *to* Roman *provinces.*

Piſo's *inſolent behaviour.*

Germanicus *renews the ancient alliance with the* Parthians.

(N) The country of the *Nabatheans* extended, according to *St. Jerom*, from the *Euphrates* to the *Red-ſea* (59); ſo that it comprehended *Arabia deſerta*, and great part of *Arabia Petræa*. The metropolis of the *Nabatheans* was the city of *Petra*, which gave its name to *Arabia Petræa* (60). *S. Jerom* thinks they were called *Nabatheans* from *Nabaioth Iſmael*'s ſon.

(59) *Hier. quæſt. in Geneſ.* 25.

(60) *Strab. l.* xvi. *p.* 534

he was in high favour in regard of the many preſents he had made to his wife *Plancina*, and the exceſſive court he paid her [u]. Of this year, which was *Germanicus*'s firſt in the *Levant*, not the leaſt mention is made by *Dion Caſſius*. a

He viſits the curioſities of Egypt.

The following year, *Marcus Silanus* and *Lucius Norbanus* being conſuls, *Germanicus* travelled into *Egypt* to view the rarities and antiquities of that famous country. His journey proved very beneficial to the inhabitants, whom he relieved from a great famine, cauſing the granaries to be every-where opened, and the price of corn abated. He did not imagine, that the prohibition made by *Auguſtus*, extended to him; and nevertheleſs the jealous emperor in a letter to him cenſured him with great ſeverity for preſuming to enter that province, when *Auguſtus* among other ſecrets of ſtate had ſtrictly forbidden all ſenators and *Roman* knights of any figure to travel thither, b without ſpecial licence [w]. While *Germanicus* was thus paſſing the ſummer very agreeably in *Egypt*, *Druſus* was buſy in ſowing feuds among the *Germans*, and was therein attended with great ſucceſs. For *Maroboduus*, king of the *Suevians*, whoſe power *Rome* dreaded, was this year driven out of his dominions, and obliged to paſs the laſt eighteen years of his life at *Ravenna* in *Italy*. *Catualda*, whom *Druſus* had underhand ſtirred up againſt him, had the ſame fate; and recurring to the *Romans* for protection, was conveyed by them to *Forum Julium*, now *Frejus*, a colony in *Narbonne Gaul*. As both theſe chiefs were followed by great numbers of their countrymen, *Tiberius*, fearing they might diſturb the quiet of the provinces, gave them ſettlements beyond the *Danube*, between the rivers *Cuſus* and *Marus*, now the *Wag* and the *March*, c on the frontiers of *Moravia*, appointing them for their king one *Vannius*, by nation a *Quadian* (O), who reigned over them for the ſpace of thirty years, but was driven out in the reign of *Claudius*. With the ſame policy *Tiberius* circumvented and inticed to *Rome Rheſcuporis*, a petty king of *Thrace*, who having murdered *Cotys* (P), his nephew, had ſeized on that part of the kingdom which *Auguſtus* had beſtowed upon him. To deceive *Rheſcuporis*, *Tiberius* employed *Pomponius Flaccus* (Q), whom he preferred to the government of *Mœſia*, as being one of the king's moſt intimate friends, and therefore better qualified to betray him; which he did accordingly, having inticed him into the *Roman* dominions, and then ſent him under a ſtrong guard to *Rome*, where he was accuſed before the ſenate by the widow of *Cotys*, and d baniſhed to *Alexandria*, where he was ſlain attempting to make his eſcape, or falſely charged with it. This part of *Thrace* was divided between *Rhemetalces*, the ſon of *Rheſcuporis*, and the ſons of the *Cotys*; but the latter being minors, *Trebellienus Rufus*, once prætor, was appointed governor of their ſhare. About this time *Vonones*, who had been removed to *Pompeiopolis* in *Cilicia*, attempting to make his eſcape, was overtaken and killed by one *Remmius*, a veteran, to whoſe cuſtody he had been committed (R).

Maroboduus *driven out of his dominions, and likewiſe* Catualda.

Rheſcuporis *circumvented by* Tiberius.

In

[u] Tacit. c. 55—59. [w] Tacit. c. 59. Suet. in Tiber. c. 5.

(O) The country of the *Quadi* was at firſt bounded by *Bohemia*, the *Danube*, and the river *March*; but afterwards they extended their confines to the *Sarmatian* mountains in the neighbourhood of *Evlaw* in *Hungary*. We ſhall have frequent occaſion to ſpeak of them in the reigns of *Marcus Antoninus* and *Gallienus*.

(P) *Cotys* was the ſon of *Rhemetalces*, upon whoſe death his kingdom was divided by *Auguſtus* between his ſon *Cotys* and his brother *Rheſcuporis*, as we have related at length in our hiſtory of *Thrace* (61), to which we refer our readers for a full account of the tranſactions, we have only hinted at in this place. *Cotys*, though a *Thracian*, was not unacquainted with the muſes; for to him *Ovid* inſcribed the ninth elegy of his third book *de Ponto*, the unhappy poet being confined by *Auguſtus* to his kingdom.

(Q) *Ovid* mentions *Pomponius Flaccus* in one of his epiſtles inſcribed to *Græcinus*:

Præfuit his, Græcine, locis modo Flaccus, & illo
Ripa ferox Iſtri ſub duce tuta fuit.
Hic tenuit Myſas gentes in pace fideli;
Hic arcu fiſos terruit enſe Getas (62).

He was indeed a good ſoldier, but a man of a vile character. We have related above his flattering motion againſt the memory of *Libo Druſus*. He was preferred to the government of *Mœſia* on purpoſe to betray *Rheſcuporis*, with whom he lived in cloſe friendſhip, which he did not in the leaſt ſcruple to do: and indeed *Rheſcuporis*, who treacherouſly betrayed and murdered his own nephew, deſerved to have no other friends but men of his own ſtamp, traytors and aſſaſſins. *Pomponius* was rewarded by *Tiberius* for his treachery with the government of *Syria*, in which employment he died (63).

(R) The circumſtances of this unhappy prince's death are differently related by the ancients. *Tacitus* tells us, that having corrupted his keepers, he obtained leave of them to hunt in the neighbouring foreſts, and under that pretence attempted his eſcape to *Armenia*, with a deſign to paſs from thence thro' the countries of the *Albanians* and *Heniochians* into *Scythia*, and there take ſanctuary with one of the kings of that country, who was his kinſman. But the country people, being ſoon appriſed of his flight, broke down the bridges of the *Pyramus*, a river of *Cilicia*; ſo that the prince, as the ſtream was not fordable,

(61) *Vide Hiſt. Univerſ. Vol. IV. p.* 346. (62) *Ovid. de Ponto. l.* iv. *Eleg.* 9. (63) *Tacit. l.* iv.

a In the mean time, *Germanicus*, having ſatisfied his curioſity with viewing all the rarities and antiquities of *Egypt*, left that kingdom, and returned to *Syria*, where to his great ſurpriſe he found all the regulations he had made utterly aboliſhed, and the orders he had left with the legions wholly neglected. Hereupon, no longer able to bear with ſuch inſults, he reproached *Piſo* in very ſharp and ſevere terms, which, notwithſtanding his natural boldneſs, heightened by the confidence he placed in the protection of *Tiberius*, ſo frightened him, that he reſolved to leave *Syria* and abandon his government. But while he was making the neceſſary preparations for his departure, *Germanicus* being taken ill, he thought it adviſeable to wait the iſſue of the diſtemper. The young prince ſoon recovered, and, as he was univerſally adored, his b recovery was celebrated at *Antioch*, where he then was, with public vows, ſacrifices, and all poſſible demonſtrations of the moſt ſincere and unaffected joy. This proved new matter of rage to *Piſo*, who, no longer maſter of himſelf, ordered his lictors to drive away the victims, to overturn the altars, and diſperſe the people aſſembled to celebrate the feſtival: a bold attempt this! and therefore *Piſo* immediately after it leaving *Antioch*, withdrew to *Seleucia*. Soon after his departure *Germanicus* relapſed, and his perſuaſion that *Piſo* had cauſed him to be poiſoned heightened the violence of the diſtemper. Some of his domeſtics too had the imprudence to tell him, that on the floors and walls of his houſe had been found bones of human bodies taken out of the grave, aſhes mixed with blood, charms, incantations, and the name of *Germanicus* engraved on ſheets of lead. Theſe reports and the frequent viſits of perſons, who c were ſuppoſed to be *Piſo*'s creatures and to have been ſent by him to watch the progreſs of the malady, doubled the young prince's anxiety and apprehenſions. *If my houſe*, ſaid he, *is thus beſet by treacherous friends in my life-time, what will become after my death of my unhappy wife, of my little children?* Piſo, *impatient to command alone the legions, to govern alone the province, thought poiſon too ſlow in its operation, and therefore had recourſe to charms and incantations.* In the height of the reſentment, which theſe reflections raiſed in his mind, he wrote a letter to *Piſo*, utterly renouncing his friendſhip, according to the cuſtom which obtained among the *Romans*, and was a ſolemn declaration that they intended to have no farther intercourſe or communication d with the perſon, whoſe friendſhip they thus renounced. Some authors add, that he commanded him to depart the province. Be that as it will, *Piſo* ſoon after put to ſea; but kept hovering upon the coaſt of his province, that he might return the ſooner, ſhould the government of *Syria* become vacant by the death of *Germanicus*. In the mean time, the violence of the malady ſomewhat abating, the young prince's friends began to entertain ſome hopes of his recovery. But ſhort-lived was their joy; a ſudden relapſe threw them into deſpair; and the unfortunate *Germanicus*, finding his end approached, ſent for his friends, and ſpoke to them in this manner: *Were I to die a natural death, yet ſhould I have juſt cauſe to complain of the gods for thus ſnatching me from my relations, my children, and my country, in the flower of my age. But being thus brought to an untimely end by the malignity of* Piſo *and his wife, the laſt* e *favour I beg of you, my faithful friends, is, that you acquaint my father and brother, with what perſecutions afflicted, I end a moſt miſerable life by a moſt inglorious death. My relations, dependents, and even thoſe whom envy provoked againſt me while living, will bewail my misfortune and hard fate, in thus falling by the perfidious arts and treachery of a woman, after having eſcaped ſo many dangers in war, and ſurvived ſo many battles. But it is a duty incumbent upon you, my faithful friends, to do ſomething more, than to commemorate my death with uſeleſs tears. It is the principal office of a true friend to remember the wiſhes of thoſe with whom they lived in friendſhip, and fulfil*

Germanicus *returns from* Egypt.

Falls ſick and recovers.

He relapſes.

Suſpects Piſo.

His ſpeech to his friends.

f

fordable, was overtaken and ſeized on the banks of that river by *Vibius Fronto*, who had purſued him cloſe with a body of horſe. Soon after *Remmius*, his late keeper, came up, and, pretending to be tranſported with rage, ran him through with his ſword. It was commonly believed, that *Remmius*, gained by the prince's preſents, had connived at his eſcape, and therefore in an affected rage ſlew him through fear of being diſcovered (64). According to this account, *Tiberius* had no hand in his death. But *Suetonius* throws the whole blame of this cruel action upon the emperor. *Vonones*, ſays that writer, being driven out of his kingdom, retired to *Antioch* with great wealth, and there continued ſome time, thinking himſelf ſafe under the protection of the *Roman* people; but was in the end, contrary to all juſtice and faith, not only pillaged by the emperor's order, but moſt treacherouſly ſlain (65). We take the account of *Tacitus* to be the moſt genuine, that writer being no ways inclined to leſſen or ſuppreſs the faults of any of the *Cæſar*'s, but where truth, to which he ever pays the utmoſt regard, obliges him.

(64) *Tacit. c.* 68.

(65) *Suet. in Tib. c.* 49.

fulfil their laſt deſires. If therefore you loved me rather than my fortune, you a
will revenge my death, you will complain to the ſenate, and proſecute the authors of my misfortunes as our laws direct. Shew to the Roman *people my wife, the grand-daughter of* Auguſtus, *ſhew them our ſix children* (S). *This ſight will move the conſcript fathers to compaſſion, which will prove favourable to you, who accuſe; and the accuſed, if they pretend wicked commands, either will not be believed, or not pardoned.* At theſe words his friends, drowned in tears, taking the dying prince by the hand, all ſwore, that they would ſooner loſe their lives, than their revenge. Then turning to his wife, he conjured her by his memory, by their com-

His advice to Agrippina.

mon children, and all the bonds of nuptial love, that ſhe would lay aſide her haughty ſpirit, and yield to the cruel ſhocks of fortune, leſt on her return to the city ſhe b
ſhould by an unſeaſonable competition provoke thoſe who were more powerful than herſelf. Thus much he ſpoke openly, other things he ſaid in ſecret, whence it was conjectured, that they related to *Tiberius*, warning her perhaps to be upon her guard againſt his ſnares. However that be, the words he ſpoke to her in ſecret were his

His death.

laſt; for he had ſcarce done, when he fainted away, and ſoon after expired, to the unexpreſſible grief of the province and all the neighbouring countries. His funeral was performed without any pomp, and his body, before it was burnt, expoſed naked in the forum of *Antioch*, where the funeral pile was erected. *Tacitus* tells us, that

Whether poiſoned.

it remained uncertain whether any marks of poiſon appeared on the body, the people, who ſaw it, giving oppoſite accounts, as they pitied *Germanicus*, or favoured *Piſo*. c
But *Suetonius* ſays, that the body appeared covered with black and blue ſpots, that foam flowed from his mouth, and that his heart, the body being burnt, was found among the aſhes, untouched by the flames; for the naturaliſts of thoſe days believed, that the heart, if in the leaſt touched or infected with poiſon, could not be conſumed with fire. *Vitellius*, who afterwards charged *Piſo* before the ſenate with the death of *Germanicus*, made uſe of this argument to prove, that the prince had been poiſoned, and openly declared, that his heart was found intire among the aſhes[x]. But after all, this argument, even allowing the truth of the fact, was no ways convincing, ſince in the opinion of the ancients the hearts of ſuch as died of the malady called by the phyſicians *Cardiaca paſſio*, were equally proof againſt fire[y]. The aſhes of the d
deceaſed prince were carefully gathered by his wife *Agrippina*, and incloſed in an urn in order to be conveyed to *Rome*.

Such was the end of the renowned *Germanicus Cæſar*, in the thirty-fourth year of his age, a prince no leſs famous for his military proweſs, than his extraordinary

His character.

accompliſhments and inimitable virtues. The *Roman* people had ſo great an opinion of his rare talents and eminent qualities, that they were not afraid openly to declare on ſeveral occaſions, that ſince the time of *Scipio Africanus* the gods had not bleſſed *Rome* with ſuch a citizen. He was, ſays *Tacitus*, alike venerable, whether you ſaw him or heard him; and, without ever betraying the leaſt arrogance or pride, yet ſup- e
ported the dignity of his high ſtation. His complaiſance to all, his humanity even to his enemies, his clemency, moderation, and engaging behaviour, won him the hearts not only of the *Roman* people, but of the barbarians themſelves, who, though

He is univerſally lamented.

enemies to *Rome*, yet could not refrain their tears upon the firſt news they received of the death of *Germanicus*. Some of them at war with one another, and even with *Rome*, forbore hoſtilities for ſome time to bewail ſo great, ſo general a loſs. Some of their princes cut off their beards, and ſhaved their wives heads, a token among them of the deepeſt ſorrow. The proud monarch of the *Parthians* denied himſelf for ſome time the pleaſure of the chaſe, without appearing at the ordinary entertainments given by the princes and lords of his court; which was a token of grief, like the f
ſhutting of the courts of juſtice among the *Romans*, and never uſed but upon ſome very extraordinary diſaſter. As for the people of *Antioch*, they carried their grief to impiety; for hearing that *Germanicus* was dead, in the tranſport of their ſorrow they

x Tacit. c. 73. Suet. in Calig. c. 1. Plin. l. xi. c. 37. y Vide Plin. ibid.

(S) *Germanicus* had by *Agrippina* nine children; *Nero*, *Druſus*, *Caius*, ſurnamed *Caligula*, three other ſons, who died infants, and three daughters, born ſucceſſively in the ſpace of three years, *Agrippina*, the mother of *Nero*, *Druſilla*, and *Livilla*, commonly called *Julia*. One of the ſons that died was ſo beautiful a child, that *Livia* had cauſed him to be painted in the habit of *Cupid*, and conſecrated the picture in the temple of *Venus Capitolina*, whence it was removed to *Auguſtus*'s chamber, who uſed conſtantly to kiſs it when he came in (66).

(66) *Suet. in Calig. c. 7.*

a they threw ſtones at their temples, overturned their altars, flung contemptuouſly their houſhold gods out of doors, *&c.* nay, ſome of them, in the height of their grief and indignation, expoſed and forſook their new-born children. Strange tokens of ſorrow theſe! It is more eaſy to conceive than expreſs the conſternation which the news of his death occaſioned in *Rome*, where he was adored by all ranks of men (T). The firſt account of his illneſs alarmed the whole city; but while they were impatiently waiting between hope and fear for farther intelligence, in the evening a report was ſpread, no body ever knew how, that he was recovered and in good health. Hereupon the people, not able to refrain their joy, flew immediately with victims and ſacrifices to the capitol, impatient to diſcharge the vows they had made for his b recovery. *Tiberius*, awaked out of his ſleep with the noiſe of their mutual congratulations and loud ſhouts of joy, had the mortification to hear the following words echoed in every ſtreet, *Salva Roma, ſalva patria, ſalvus Germanicus*; Rome *is ſafe, our country is ſafe, ſince* Germanicus *is ſafe*. But their joy was ſoon changed into the deepeſt ſorrow; certain news of his death arriving the next day, nothing was heard in the ſtreets, nothing in the houſes, but ſighs, outcries, lamentations, and complaints. Without any orders from the prince or ſenate, all the courts of juſtice, the houſes of the citizens, and ſhops, were ſhut, and the moſt frequented ſtreets, no one appearing abroad, turned into a deſert. The emperor by ſeveral edicts endeavoured to reſtrain theſe public expreſſions of grief; but even the moſt cautious, not able to moderate their ſorrow, in ſpite of all his edicts, continued to mourn, though invited c by the feſtivals of *December* to mirth and jollity [z]. His death was the more regretted, as he was commonly ſuppoſed to have been poiſoned by *Piſo*, at the inſtigation of *Tiberius* and *Livia*, the only two perſons in the whole *Roman* empire, ſays *Dion* [a], who were not affected with ſo great, ſo general a loſs (U).

The grief of the Roman *people.*

And now the government of *Syria* being vacant by the death of *Germanicus* and flight of *Piſo*, the lieutenants of the legions and ſenators, who were at *Antioch*, committed the adminiſtration of the province to *Cneius Sentius*, who, at the ſuit of *Vitellius* and *Veranius*, two illuſtrious ſenators and friends to *Germanicus*, immediately ſeized

z Suet. in Calig. c. 6.

a Dio, l. lvii. p. 615.

d

(T) He was to ſuch a degree beloved by the people, ſays *Suetonius* (67), not only of *Rome*, but in the provinces, that when he departed or arrived at any place, ſuch crowds attended him, that he was often in danger of being ſtifled in the throng. On his return from *Germany*, after having appeaſed the mutinous legions, all the prætorian cohorts went out to meet him, though two only had orders to pay him that compliment. As for the people, the road was thronged with perſons of all ages and ranks for twenty miles diſtance (68). The people, ſays *Tae* *citus* (69), adored him, not only on account of his own good qualities, but likewiſe for the ſake of his father *Druſus*, whoſe memory was dear to every true *Roman*, no one doubting, but he would have reſtored *Rome* to her ancient liberty, had he ever ſucceeded to the empire. Of *Germanicus* they entertained the ſame hopes; and hence their partiality for him, before he was of an age to gain their affections by his perſonal qualities.

(U) *Germanicus* was not only an excellent commander, but an eloquent orator, and, if *Ovid* did not flatter him, one of the beſt poets of his age (70). f He expreſſed his thoughts with great eaſe and elegance both in *Greek* and *Latin*, and pleaded ſeveral cauſes with extraordinary applauſe (71). He gave a ſpecimen of his taſte for poetry in ſome *Greek* comedies, which, as he was thorough maſter of that language, he wrote and publiſhed. *S. Jerom* and *Lactantius* tell us, that he tranſlated into *Latin* a treatiſe of aſtronomy written originally in *Greek* by *Aratus*, under the title of *Phænomena*: but *Voſſius* and *Rutgerſius* aſcribe this tranſlation to the emperor *Domitian*, who aſſumed the title of *Germanicus*, as we ſhall obſerve hereafter. But what above all gained the affections both of the *Romans* and foreigners was, the extraordinary ſweetneſs of his temper, his affability, complaiſance, and obliging behaviour, even towards the meaneſt of the populace, a behaviour no ways affected, but to him quite natural, as ariſing from a ſincere deſire of doing every one the beſt offices he could. *Auguſtus* was ſo taken with theſe good qualities, that he was long in ſuſpenſe if *Suetonius* is to be credited (72), whether he ſhould declare him his ſucceſſor himſelf, or leave him to be adopted by *Tiberius*. Soon after his death *Tiberius* abandoned himſelf to all manner of cruelties, which added new luſtre to the memory of the deceaſed prince, and made him the more regretted, every one concluding from thence, that, had he lived, the emperor would never have dared to commit ſuch exceſſes (73) His military exploits we have related above; and therefore ſhall only obſerve here, that after his death the inhabitants of *Antioch* compared him to *Alexander the Great*, as to the gracefulneſs of his perſon, the nobility of his deſcent, his age, the circumſtances of his death, *&c.* and concluded, that if his authority had been uncontrolled he would have equalled that great warrior in the glory of his conqueſts, as he far ſurpaſſed him in prudence, clemency, moderation, and other virtues (74). And indeed, if he had not been ſtopt in the midſt of his carreer and ſnatched away from his victorious legions, he would, in all likelihood, have completed the final reduction of *Germany*, already broken by ſo many overthrows.

(67) *Idem ibid. c.* 4. (68) *Idem ibid. c.* 3, (69) *Tacit. annal, l.* i. *c.* 33. (70) *Ovid. Faſt. l.* i. *v.* 23. (71) *Suet. ibid. c.* 3. (72) *Suet. ibid. c.* 4. (73) *Idem, c.* 5. (74) *Tacit. annal. l.* ii. *c.* 73.

seized and sent to *Rome* one *Martina*, a woman infamous in that province for poisoning, and greatly cherished by *Plancina*. In the mean time, *Piso* being overtaken at the island of *Cous* by a messenger, acquainting him with the death of *Germanicus*, did not so much as pretend to disguise his joy, but caused victims to be publicly slain, and repaired with thanksgiving to the temples for so signal a favour. His wife *Plancina* declared her joy in a manner still more arrogant and insulting; for she no sooner heard that *Germanicus* was dead, than, throwing off her mourning, which she wore for the death of her sister, she appeared in a dress adapted to gaiety and mirth. The centurions of the army, which *Piso* had commanded in *Syria*, flocked to him, assuring him, that the legions were ready to receive him, and reinstate him in the government, which had been injuriously taken from him. Hereupon *Piso* summoned a council of his friends to consult what measures he had best pursue; whether he should go with all speed to *Rome*, or return to *Syria*. His son *Marcus Piso* was for the former, but *Domitius Celer*, an intimate friend of *Piso*, declared for the latter and prevailed. But as *Piso* was well apprised, that *Sentius* would oppose him, which would give rise to a civil war in *Syria*, in order to bias *Tiberius* in his favour, he transmitted a letter to him, filled with invectives against the conduct, luxury, and pride of *Germanicus*; he inlarged on the injustice the young prince had done him in driving him out of his government, and concluded with acquainting the emperor, that he was preparing to return to his province, and resume with his former loyalty the care of the army. In the mean time, putting *Domitius Celer* on board a galley, he sent him before him into *Syria*, while he himself, having formed into companies the deserters, who flocked to him from all parts, and the servants who attended the camp, sailed over to the continent, where he had the good luck to intercept a body of new-raised soldiers on their march into *Syria*. He also wrote to the petty kings of *Cilicia*, ordering them to join him with all their forces. By this means, having got together a considerable body of men, he put to sea again, and steering along the coasts of *Lycia* and *Pamphylia*, met the fleet, which carried *Agrippina* with the ashes of her husband to *Rome*. Both fleets prepared for battle; but, as they were afraid of each other, they proceeded no farther than to hard words. *Vibius Marsus*, who commanded *Agrippina*'s galleys, summoned *Piso* as a criminal to his trial at *Rome*, which summons he answered with derision and contempt. After this both fleets continued their course, the one for *Italy*, the other for *Cilicia*, where *Piso* made a descent, and seized a strong castle on the frontiers of *Syria*; which *Sentius* no sooner understood, than he flew thither at the head of his legions, overthrew *Piso*'s men at the first onset, obliged him to take shelter behind the walls of the castle, and soon reduced him to such streights, that he offered to surrender the place, upon condition that *Sentius* would suffer him to remain there till the emperor's pleasure was known. But this being rejected, and the place reduced to the utmost extremity, he was forced to submit upon what terms *Sentius* thought fit to impose upon him, which were, that he should forthwith embarque and return to *Rome* [b].

Piso's joy for the death of Germanicus.

He resolves to return to his government.

He is forced to abandon Syria.

During these troubles in the east, the senate was wholly taken up at *Rome* with inventing and decreeing new honours to *Germanicus*, in order to eternalize the memory of a prince so much beloved, and so well deserving of the empire. It was decreed, that his name should be inserted in the *Salian* hymns (W); that curule chairs should be placed for him among the priests of *Augustus* (X), and oaken crowns hung over them, as an acknowledgment of his having saved many citizens; that his statue in ivory

Honours decreed at Rome *to* Germanicus.

[b] Tacit. c. 74—82.

(W) This honour was peculiar to the gods; for till this time, only their names were sung in the *Salian* hymns. Afterwards *M. Antonnius*, the philosopher, ordered the same honour to be conferred on his son *Verus*, as *Spartianus* informs us (74).

(X) It was deemed a particular mark of distinction at *Rome* for any one to have a fixed place allotted him at the public shews. This honour was in process of time improved by flattery, and extended not only to such as were absent, but even to the dead. *P. Valerius Poplicola*, who was made dictator in the year of *Rome* 409, first enjoyed the honour of being distinguished, though absent, with a fixed place in the circus, which was allotted to him and his posterity (75). The same honour was afterwards bestowed upon *Julius Cæsar*, *M. Marcellus*, and others, with this improvement; that curule chairs with golden crowns should be placed for them in the circus and theatre, even after their death to preserve their memory (76). The emperor *Severus* caused three curule chairs to be placed in the theatre to honour thereby the memory of *Pertinax* (77). To *Germanicus* was probably decreed but one chair in each of the three theatres.

(74) *Spart. in M. Anton. philosoph.* (75) *Liv. l.* ii. (76) *Dio, l.* xliv. (77) *Xiphil, l.* iii.

a ivory ſhould be carried before the proceſſion at the *Circenſian* games; an honour peculiar to the gods and ſuch men as were deified; that none but one of the *Julian* family ſhould be appointed flamen or augur in his room, *&c.* To theſe honours triumphal arches were added, one at *Rome*, another on the banks of the *Rhine*, and a third upon mount *Amanus* in *Syria*, with inſcriptions of his exploits, and a declaration that he died for the republic; a ſepulchre at *Antioch*, where his body was burnt; and a tribunal at *Epidaphne*, where he ended his life (Y). Many ſtatues were raiſed to him, and many places appointed for paying him divine honours. Some were for decreeing to him, as a great maſter of eloquence, a golden ſhield, remarkable for its bulk (Z); but this *Tiberius* would not allow, ſaying, that in eloquence no regard b was to be had to the dignity of the perſon, and that therefore he himſelf would dedicate a ſhield equal in ſize to thoſe of other orators, it being ſufficient glory for him to be ranked amongſt the ancient writers. The *Roman* knights in their turn, to honour the memory of the deceaſed prince, agreed to change the name of that body of horſe, which, being compoſed of the young nobility, was ſtyled *The ſquadron of the juniors*, and call it thenceforth *The ſquadron of* Germanicus, appointing at the ſame time, that the effigies of *Germanicus* ſhould be carried before the ſaid ſquadron, as their ſtandard, at their public reviews, which were annually made on the ides of *July* c. In the height of the public grief *Livia*, called alſo *Livilla*, ſiſter to *Germanicus* and wife to *Druſus*, was delivered of male twins, which proved ſuch matter of joy to *Tiberius*, that he could not help boaſting to the ſenate, that to no *Roman* of the ſame c rank had ever before been born two ſons at a birth. But the increaſe of *Druſus*'s family doubled the grief of the people, who ſaw with regret that of their beloved *Germanicus* removed farther and farther from the throne d. This ſame year, ſevere laws were enacted by the ſenate to reſtrain the lewdneſs of women, and it was provided, that no woman ſhould proſtitute herſelf, whoſe father, grandfather, or huſband were *Roman* knights. The fathers were prompted to make this prohibition by the monſtrous impudence of one *Viſtilla*, who, though a lady of great quality and born of a prætorian family, was not aſhamed to appear before the ædiles, and publicly declare herſelf a proſtitute, purſuant to an ancient law, which obliged all women, d who became venal, to acknowledge their infamy before the above-mentioned magiſtrates. By this public declaration the ancient *Romans* had thought proſtitutes ſufficiently puniſhed; but *Veſtilla* making no account of ſuch a chaſtiſement, and the fathers fearing other women of diſtinction might follow her example, they publiſhed the above-mentioned prohibition, and at the ſame time baniſhed the infamous *Viſtilla* to the

Livilla *delivered of male twins.*

Laws againſt the lewdneſs of women.

c Idem, c. 83. d Idem, c. 84.

(Y) *Tacitus* tells us, that he died at *Epidaphne*, a celebrated place in the neighbourhood of *Antioch*, of which we have ſpoken in our hiſtory of *Syria*; but all other writers agree, that he ended his days in the city of *Antioch* (78),

(Z) It was an ancient cuſtom among the *Romans* to ſet up the images of illuſtrious men in the curia and in their temples. Thus the image of *Scipio Africanus* was ſet up in the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, and that of *Cato* the cenſor in the curia or ſenate-houſe, as we read in *Valerius Maximus* (79). *Auguſtus* cauſed the images of all thoſe *Romans*, who before his time had eminently diſtinguiſhed themſelves, in the arts either of peace or war, to be ſet up in the curia, allotting to each profeſſion its proper place. Thus *Tacitus* tells us, that the image of *Hortenſius* was placed amongſt the orators. The like honour the fathers were now for decreeing to *Germanicus*, as to one of the maſters of eloquence. Theſe images are called by the ancients *ſhields* (80), becauſe engraved in gold, ſilver, or braſs, in the form of a ſhield. This is the common opinion; though ſome writers think, that in *Latin* they ought not to be called *clypei*, which word ſignifies *a ſhield*; but *clupea*, that is, *engraved work*, from the ancient word *cluere* to engrave. This derivation *Pliny* deſpiſes as a fond conceit of the grammarians: *Scutis qualibus ad Trojam pugnatum eſt*, ſays he, *continebantur imagines, unde & nomen habuere clypeorum, non, ut perverſa Grammaticorum ſubtilitas voluit, a cluendo.* However, *Livy* calls them *clupea*; *clupea*, ſays he, *de columnis dempſit* (81). Frequent mention is made of theſe ſhields in ancient inſcriptions: *Lipſius* quotes the following: *Huic. Decuriones. Funus. Publicum. Statuam. Equeſtrem. Clypeum. Argenteum. Locum. Sepulturae. Decreverunt.* Theſe ſhields were ſometimes hung up to preſerve the memory of the deceaſed without any effigies, and only with the names of the perſons, by whom and to whoſe honour they were offered (82). Such ſhields were ſometimes ſet up by private perſons to honour the memory of their anceſtors without any order or decree of the ſenate; for *Pliny* in ſpeaking of *Appius Claudius*, who was conſul in the year of *Rome* 259, ſays, that he was the firſt, who, though a private perſon, ſet up in public and conſecrated the ſhields of his anceſtors (83).

(78) *Dio, l.* lvii. *p.* 615. *Suet. in Tib. c.* 1, *&c.* (79) *Val. Max. l.* viii. *c.* 15. (80) *Vide Plin. l.* iii. *c.* 7. *Suet. in Domit. Capitol. in Antonino. Trebel. in Claud. Liv. l.* lx. *Phil. legat. ad Caium.* (81) *Liv. l.* lx. (82) *Vide Phil. Jud. ubi ſupra.* (83) *Vide Lip. in excurſ. in lib.* ii. *annal. Taciti, litera N.*

the iſland of *Seriphos*. Meaſures were alſo taken by the fathers for utterly extirpating
The Jewiſh *and* Egyptian *ceremonies aboliſhed at* Rome.
the *Jewiſh* and *Ægyptian* ceremonies; and by a decree of the ſenate four thouſand young men, all deſcended from manumitted ſlaves, and infected, ſays *Tacitus*, with that ſuperſtition, were inrolled and tranſported to *Sardinia* to ſuppreſs the robbers who infeſted that iſland: if they periſhed through the badneſs of the air, the ſenate thought it would be no great loſs (A). The reſt were ordered to depart *Rome*, and all *Italy*, if within a ſtated time they did not renounce their national ceremonies[c]. The ſame year, *Tiberius* gave ſeveral inſtances of generoſity, which ought not to be omitted. *Occia*, who had preſided over the veſtals fifty-ſeven years with great reputation of ſanctimony, being dead, he repreſented to the ſenate, that another virgin was to be choſen in her room; and *Fonteius Agrippa* and *Aſinius Pollio* offering their daughters, he thanked them both for their regard to the commonwealth, but preferred *Pollio*'s daughter, for no other reaſon, but becauſe her mother had had but one huſband: to comfort the other who was poſtponed, he gave her for her fortune a thouſand great
Inſtances of Tiberius's *generoſity.*
ſeſterces. Corn being very dear, he ſettled the price which the buyer was to pay; and that the ſeller might not loſe the advantage naturally ariſing from the ſcarcity of grain, he took upon himſelf to pay two *nummi*, that is, fourteen pence of our money, a buſhel over and above the fixed price. For theſe bounties the people offered him again the title of *Father of his country*, which he rejected, and at the ſame time ſharply rebuked ſuch as ſtyled him *lord*, ſhewing thereby, ſays *Tacitus*, that though he dreaded liberty, yet he could not abide flattery. The ſame author tells us, upon the authority of the writers of thoſe times, ſome of them ſenators, that letters were read in the ſenate from *Adgandeſtrius*, prince of the *Catti*, offering to diſpatch *Arminius*, provided poiſon were

[c] Idem, c. 85.

(A) *Joſephus* complains of this ſeverity; for, according to him, the four thouſand men ſent into *Sardinia* were all *Jews*. *Suetonius* agrees with *Joſephus*. *Tiberius*, ſays that writer, put a ſtop to foreign ceremonies, and likewiſe to the *Egyptian* and *Jewiſh* rites, obliging all thoſe, who were inclined to ſuch ſuperſtitions, to burn the furniture belonging to their religion. He liſted the *Jewiſh* youth, and ſent them into the moſt peſtilent and unwholſome provinces under his command, obliging the remainder of that nation, and ſuch as followed their footſteps, to depart the city upon pain of perpetual ſlavery. Thus far *Suetonius* (84). To the expulſion of the *Jews* an impoſtor of that nation gave occaſion, who being obliged to fly his country for a breach of the laws, retired to *Rome*, where he ſet up for an expounder of the law of *Moſes*, and, with the aſſiſtance of three others, all of the ſame ſtamp with himſelf, gained over to the *Jewiſh* religion one *Fulvia*, the wife of *Saturninus*, a woman of great diſtinction. The zealous proſelyte was eaſily perſuaded to make a rich preſent of purple and gold to the temple of *Jeruſalem*, which ſhe delivered to her directors; but they, inſtead of ſending the offering to *Jeruſalem*, converted it to their own uſe. This *Fulvia* diſcloſed to her huſband, and he to the emperor, who thereupon ordered all the *Jews* to depart *Rome*, after having liſted four thouſand of their youth and ſent them into *Sardinia*. *Joſephus* tells us, that ſuch as ſcrupled ſerving in the *Roman* army were ſeverely puniſhed (85). At the ſame time, the *Egyptians* were driven out of *Rome*, and their rites utterly ſuppreſſed: they had been formerly forbidden by *Auguſtus* (86), but at this time that prohibition was renewed and enforced, on occaſion of a very ſcandalous ſtory related at length by *Joſephus*. *Decius Mundus*, a young *Roman* knight, falling in love with a married lady of the firſt quality in *Rome*, by name *Paulina*, and not being able to prevail upon her, as ſhe was a mirrour of chaſtity, even with the offer of two hundred thouſand drachmas, to comply with his unlawful deſires, had recourſe to the prieſts of the god *Iſis*. Theſe pretending that the god *Anubis*, to whoſe worſhip *Paulina* was greatly addicted, was in love with her, perſuaded her to paſs a night in the temple of that deity; when *Mundus*, by paying down twenty-five thouſand drachmas to the prieſts, and promiſing them the like ſum, obtained what he had in vain applied for to *Paulina* herſelf with the tender of two hundred thouſand drachmas. The next day the deluded lady bragging of the honour done her by the *Egyptian* deity, ſome believed her, while others aſcribed the whole to the ſtrength of her imagination. But three days after *Mundus* meeting her, *I thank you*, Paulina, ſaid he, *for ſaving me two hundred thouſand drachmas, and granting me at the ſame time, not under the name of* Mundus, *but of* Anubis, *the favours which I would willingly have purchaſed at ſo dear a rate*. At theſe words the virtuous *Paulina* was thunder-ſtruck; ſhe burſt into tears, tore her garments, and haſtening to her huſband, ſhe acquainted him how ſhe had been abuſed and betrayed by the prieſts; and, drowned in tears, beſought him to exert himſelf in the proſecution of the prieſts, by whom her ſimplicity and credulity had been thus enormouſly abuſed. Hereupon her huſband complained to the emperor, relating to him every particular of ſo baſe an action; and he, upon a narrow enquiry into the fact, and a ſtrict examination of the prieſts, finding them guilty, ordered them all to be crucified, the temple of *Anubis* to be pulled down, his ſtatue to be thrown into the *Tiber*, the *Egyptian* rites to be utterly ſuppreſſed, and all who profeſſed them to be baniſhed *Rome*. *Ida*, the freedwoman of *Mundus*'s father, who firſt adviſed him to apply to the prieſts, for which advice ſhe received fifty thouſand drachmas, was crucified with the prieſts; but *Mundus* himſelf was only baniſhed, *Tiberius* exempting him, ſays *Joſephus*, from a more ſevere puniſhment in regard of his paſſion, which was ſo violent, that, finding the chaſte *Paulina* proof againſt all temptation, he had reſolved to ſtarve himſelf to death (87).

(84) *Suet. in Tib. c.* 36. (85) *Joſeph. antiq. l.* xviii. *c.* 5. (86) *Dio, l.* liv. *p.* 525.
(87) *Joſeph. antiq. l.* xviii. *c.* 4.

were ſent him for that purpoſe: to which *Tiberius* returned this anſwer; that it was not the cuſtom of the *Roman* people to take vengeance on their enemies by treachery, but openly and in the field; wherein he gained equal glory, ſays our hiſtorian, with the ancient *Roman* commanders, who would not ſuffer king *Pyrrhus* to be poiſoned, but diſcloſed to him the whole plot. *Arminius*, however, after the departure of the *Romans*, and expulſion of his rival in power *Maroboduus*, attempting to inſlave his country, fell by the treachery of his kindred in the thirty-ſeventh year of his age. *Tacitus* calls him, not undeſervedly, the deliverer of *Germany*; for under his conduct the *Germans* ſhook off the *Roman* yoke, and long maintained their liberties, in ſpite of the utmoſt efforts of the generals ſent from *Rome* to bring them again under ſubjection. He commanded the troops of his country twelve years, during which time he was often defeated, but always found means to repair his loſſes, and renew the war with freſh vigor. His name in *Tacitus*'s time was ſtill celebrated by his countrymen in their ſongs [f]. *Pliny* obſerves, that this year on the eighth of *July* a new iſland was formed near that of *Delos* in the *archipelago* [g].

Death of Arminius.

In the beginning of the next year, *M. Valerius Meſſalinus* and *M. Aurelius Cotta* being conſuls, *Agrippina* arrived at *Brunduſium* with the aſhes of her deceaſed huſband, and was received at her landing with tokens of the deepeſt ſorrow, not only by the inhabitants of that, but of all the neighbouring cities, who had flocked to *Brunduſium* to condole with her on ſo melancholy an occaſion. She no ſooner appeared on the ſhore, attended by her two children, *Caius* and *Julia*, with the funeral urn in her arms and her eyes fixed on the ground, than the whole multitude burſt into tears; nothing was heard but groans, outcries, and lamentations, friends, relations, ſtrangers, being equally affected at the ſight of ſo moving an object. *Tiberius* had diſpatched two prætorian cohorts to attend the remains of the deceaſed prince from *Brunduſium* to *Rome*, and ordered the magiſtrates of *Calabria*, *Apulia*, and *Campania* to pay their laſt offices to the memory of his ſon. The urn therefore was carried on the ſhoulders of the tribunes and centurions, and accompanied by the chief magiſtrates of the places through which it paſſed, the lictors of the deceaſed general marching before it with their faſces reverſed (B). When the funeral proceſſion arrived at any *Roman* colony, the nobility in their beſt apparel, and the people in mourning, ſlew victims, erected altars, and burnt perfumes, teſtifying with loud lamentations their common ſorrow. The nearer they drew to *Rome*, the greater was the concourſe. At *Terracina* they were met by *Druſus*, the ſon of *Tiberius*, by *Claudius*, *Germanicus*'s younger brother, and by ſuch of his children as had been left at *Rome*. At ſome diſtance from the city the conſcript fathers, with the conſuls at their head, and immenſe crouds of people, lined the road, through which the proceſſion paſſed, all drowned in tears and teſtifying their grief with ſighs, in which flattery had no ſhare, every one being well appriſed how real was the joy, how inſincere was the grief of *Tiberius*. Neither he nor his mother *Livia* appeared abroad, either becauſe they thought it below their grandeur to lament publicly, or through fear of betraying in their countenances ſome marks of joy amidſt the public lamentations (C). The remains

Agrippina's *arrival in* Italy *with the aſhes of her huſband.*

How received

[f] Idem, c. 88.

[g] Plin. l. ii. c. 87.

(B) This cuſtom of carrying the faſces reverſed in token of grief is likewiſe mentioned by *Pedo* in his elegy to *Livia*;

Quos primum vidi faſces, in funere vidi,
Et vidi verſos, indiciumque mali.

And *Statius*:

——— *ducunt inſignibus ipſi*
Grajugenæ reges (88).

Not only the lictors carried their faſces reverſed, but the ſoldiers their arms, as appears from the funeral proceſſion, which *Virgil* deſcribes on occaſion of the death of *Pallas*:

——— *Tum mœſta phalanx Teucrique ſequuntur,*
Tyrrhenique duces, & merſis Arcades armis (89).

It is well known, that *Virgil* introduces in his poem the cuſtoms that prevailed at *Rome*.

(C) *Tacitus* tells us, that neither in any hiſtorian, nor in the journals of the city, he could find, that *Antonia*, the mother of *Germanicus*, bore any part in the funeral, though *Agrippina*, *Druſus*, *Claudius*, and the other relations of the deceaſed, were there recorded by name. Perhaps ſhe was prevented by ſickneſs; perhaps ſhe was ſenſible, that ſhe would have ſunk under the weight of her ſorrow; or elſe ſhe was detained by *Tiberius*, that he and *Livia* might ſeem to have followed her example, and the people not think it ſtrange, that the grand-mother and uncle had abſented themſelves when the mother had not appeared; but aſcribe their abſence to the ſame cauſe, *viz.* an equal affliction.

(88) *Stat. Thebaid. l.* vi.

(89) *Virgil. Æneid. l.* xi. *v.* 92, 93.

remains of the deceaſed were repoſited in the tomb of *Auguſtus*, the whole city attending them to the field of *Mars*, where that ſtately monument was erected, and crying aloud in the height of their grief, that the republic was utterly ruined, that no farther hope remained, as if they had forgot by whom they were governed. But nothing offended *Tiberius* ſo much as the affection which the people ſhewed for *Agrippina*, calling her, *The ornament of her country, the only blood of* Auguſtus, *a true pattern of ancient virtue*, and at the ſame time imploring the bleſſings of the gods for her iſſue, that they might outlive the perſecutions of the wicked. As the people ſet no bounds to their grief, he thought proper to check it by a public decree, exhorting them to reſume their ſeveral vocations, and, as the *Magneſian* games were at hand, to indulge themſelves in their uſual diverſions, now they had by their lamentations given ſufficient vent to their grief. He urged the examples of the deified *Julius* and the deified *Auguſtus*, who upon the loſs, the former of an only daughter, the latter of his beloved grandſons, had both got the better of their ſorrow; he put them alſo in mind of the conſtancy with which the *Roman* people had formerly borne the ſlaughter of their armies, the death of their generals, and the utter deſtruction of many noble families, adding, that princes were mortal, but the commonwealth eternal. The emperor's decree was immediately complied with, as to the external appearance; the courts of juſtice were opened again, public affairs reſumed, and an end put to the vacation. *Druſus*, who was come to *Rome* on purpoſe to attend the funeral, returned to the army in *Illyricum*; which he had ſcarce reached, when *Piſo* appeared in the camp, hoping to find the young prince leſs incenſed againſt him for the death of a brother, than favourable to him for the removal of a rival. *Druſus* at their firſt meeting told him, that if the crime laid to his charge was true, he would be the firſt to revenge it; but that he hoped the current report was groundleſs, and that the death of *Germanicus* would be pernicious to none. This declaration he made in public, and carefully avoided all private interviews with *Piſo*. This artful anſwer and the cautious behaviour of a youth, otherwiſe frank and unwary, prompted moſt people to believe, that he had been inſtructed beforehand by his father how to behave in ſo nice and critical a conjuncture. Young *Piſo*, whom the father had ſent to *Rome* with inſtructions how to ſoften the emperor, was received very kindly by him, and honoured with ſuch preſents as were uſually beſtowed on the ſons of governors, when they returned from the provinces. This he did to ſhew himſelf utterly unbiaſſed. In the mean time, news was brought, that *Martina*, famous for the art of poiſoning, who, as we have related above, had been ſent in cuſtody towards *Rome*, was found dead at *Brunduſium* with poiſon bound up in the knots of her hair, but without any marks of poiſon on her body. Whether her death was accidental, or procured by private orders from *Tiberius* or *Piſo*, was never known. By her death the accuſers were deprived of their chief evidence; for ſhe had ever lived in cloſe confidence with *Plancina*, and the ſenate hoped to extort from her, by force of torments, a ſincere confeſſion of the crime and a diſcovery of her accomplices. Not long after *Piſo* arrived at *Rome* with his wife *Plancina*, and landed, as he had imbarqued, at *Narnia* upon the *Nar*, and thence ſailed into the *Tiber*, near the tomb of *Auguſtus*, where the aſhes of *Germanicus* had been lately repoſited. This with their inſolent behaviour heightened the indignation of the people; for they both appeared with gay countenances, and, attended with a numerous retinue, he of clients and domeſtics and ſhe of women, proceeded to their ſtately palace, which overlooked the forum, and was on occaſion of their return magnificently adorned and illuminated. The night they paſſed in rejoycings, having invited their friends and relations to a great banquet, with which they ſolemnized their ſafe arrival. But the very next day *Piſo* was arraigned by *Vitellius*, *Veranius*, and others, who had attended *Germanicus*, before the emperor; who, after having heard in a private audience the charge of the accuſers and the defence of the accuſed, referred the intire cauſe to the ſenate, being well appriſed of the reflections that would be caſt upon him, whether he condemned or abſolved the accuſed. When the ſenate met for this great trial, *Tiberius* made a ſpeech full of affected moderation; he told the conſcript fathers, that *Piſo* had been his father's lieutenant and friend, and lately appointed by himſelf, at the direction of the ſenate, to aſſiſt *Germanicus* in ſettling the affairs of the eaſt: whether he had there by his haughtineſs and oppoſition provoked the young prince, and rejoiced at his death, or wickedly procured it, they were then to judge with unbiaſſed minds. "If you find "him guilty, ſaid the emperor, of having only exceeded the bounds of his commiſ-

"ſion,

Tiberius *by a decree checks the public grief.*

Druſus's *artful anſwer to* Cneius Piſo.

Cn. Piſo *arrives at* Rome

Is arraigned.

Tiberius's *ſpeech to the ſenate on this occaſion.*

a " ſion, and not ſubmitted to the will of his general, or even of having betrayed joy at
" his death and my affliction, I ſhall ever hate him and baniſh him from my houſe;
" but cannot for private injuries exert the prince, and condemn him as a criminal. But
" if you find him guilty of *Germanicus*'s death, it is incumbent upon you to revenge
" it, and afford his children, and us his father and grandmother, the ſatisfaction of
" ſeeing him puniſhed for ſuch an enormous attempt. Examine too with great care,
" whether he endeavoured to debauch the army, whether he countenanced licentiouſ-
" neſs in the ſoldiery, or attempted to recover the province by force of arms. I have
" juſt cauſe to be offended with the indiſcreet zeal of his accuſers: to what purpoſe
" ſtrip the corps, and expoſe it naked to the eyes of the multitude? Why was it pro-
" claimed among foreign nations, that he was taken off by poiſon, if all this was
b " ſtill doubtful and remains to be examined? I am grieved for the death of my ſon,
" and ever ſhall lament ſo great a loſs; but far be it from me any ways to hinder the
" accuſed from doing all he can to ſhew his innocence, or even from expoſing and lay-
" ing open the faults of *Germanicus*, if he had any faults. I beſeech you to proceed
" with the ſame impartiality: let not your regard to me miſlead you to take crimes for
" proved, becauſe they are committed againſt me. As for the accuſed, if he has any
" friends or relations, let them exert their eloquence, and uſe their utmoſt endeavours
" to clear him from the crimes laid to his charge. Let his accuſers take the ſame pains
" to convict him of the charge which is brought againſt him: by this means we ſhall
" be able to judge impartially, to abſolve the accuſed, if innocent; to condemn him,
c " if guilty." Two days were then allowed to the accuſers to make good their charge,
and ſix days after three to the accuſed to make his defence. The articles of impeach-
ment, brought againſt *Piſo* by *Servæus*, *Veranius*, and *Vitellius*, were, that he had per- *Articles of impeachment brought againſt* Piſo.
mitted a general licentiouſneſs in the army, and corrupted the common ſoldiers to that
degree, that he was ſtyled by the moſt profligate father of the legions; that he had
abuſed in a moſt outrageous manner the friends of *Germanicus*; and laſtly, that by
poiſon and witchcraft he had deſtroyed *Germanicus* himſelf, and borne arms againſt the
commonwealth; inſomuch, that they had been obliged to engage and defeat him
before they could bring him to his trial. He defended himſelf but weakly againſt
d theſe accuſations; only the charge of poiſoning *Germanicus* could not be ſufficiently
proved. However, the ſenate could not be perſuaded, that *Germanicus* had died a
natural death; and at the ſame time the people were heard crying aloud at the door
of the ſenate-houſe, that though the fathers abſolved the accuſed, yet he ſhould not
eſcape the puniſhment due to his crimes; nay, they had already overturned the ſtatues
of *Piſo*, and would have dragged them to the *ſcalæ Gemoniæ*, the place where crimi-
nals were executed, had they not been reſcued by *Tiberius*'s orders. Theſe diſturb-
ances induced the ſenate to put off the final deciſion of the cauſe; and *Piſo*, that he
might not be expoſed to the outrages of the incenſed multitude, was conveyed to his
houſe in a litter, followed by a tribune of a prætorian cohort, whom ſome looked upon
as a guard for his ſafety, others as the miniſter of his death.

c THE people were no leſs incenſed againſt *Plancina* than *Piſo*; but ſhe, having by *Piſo abandoned by his wife Plancina.*
the ſecret ſolicitations of *Livia* ſecured her own pardon, began by degrees to drop
her huſband, and to make a ſeparate defence, though ſhe had declared from the
beginning, that ſhe would employ all her intereſt and favour with *Livia* in behalf of
both, and that by the ſame ſentence they ſhould both be either abſolved or condemned.
This ſo diſheartened *Piſo*, who had placed more confidence in the intereſt of his wife,
than his own, that he was ſome time in ſuſpenſe whether he ſhould make any farther
defence. But his ſon prevailed upon him to appear once more before the ſenate, and
try whether he could move the fathers or *Tiberius* to compaſſion. But the ſenate proving
f implacable, and the emperor carefully avoiding to ſhew even in his countenance the
leaſt mark of tenderneſs towards him in his diſtreſs, he returned home, as if he de-
ſigned to prepare for his farther defence againſt the next day. But, inſtead of that,
he wrote a letter to the emperor, which he ſealed and delivered to his freedmen.
He then bathed, according to the *Roman* cuſtom, and ſupped as uſual. His wife
kept him company till the night was far ſpent, and then retired; which ſhe had no
ſooner done, than *Piſo* ordered the door of the chamber to be ſhut, and was found *His death.*
at break of day with his throat cut, and his ſword lying by him. *Tacitus* tells us,
that while he was a youth, he heard from ſome old men, that a bundle of writings
was frequently ſeen in *Piſo*'s hands during his trial, which contained, as his friends
conſtantly affirmed, the letters of *Tiberius*, ordering him to diſpatch *Germanicus*.
These

Theſe letters, ſaid they, he deſigned to lay before the ſenate and accuſe the prince; a
but was diverted from it by *Sejanus*, who in the emperor's name promiſed him his
pardon: they added, that *Piſo* did not fall by his own hand, but by that of an exe-
cutioner ſent privately by *Tiberius* to diſpatch him. Our hiſtorian tells us, that he
dares affirm neither of theſe things, but yet thought himſelf obliged to acquaint his
readers with ſuch relations (D). *Tiberius* fearing the death of *Piſo* might be imputed
to him, as if he had procured it to prevent farther diſcoveries, examined his domeſtics
in the ſenate about the circumſtances of his death, and then read the letter which
Piſo had written to him, imploring his protection for his ſons, whom he cleared from
having any ſhare in his late conduct, whatever it were. Of his wife *Plancina* he
ſaid nothing. One of his ſons had remained at *Rome*, and therefore could be no ways b
acceſſary to his father's guilt; the other had indeed attended him into *Syria*, and
ſerved under him in the war he raiſed in the province; but *Tiberius* would not allow
that to be imputed to him as a crime, alledging the orders of his father, which, he
Tiberius *favours* Plancina. ſaid, a ſon could not diſobey. As for *Plancina*, who was ſuppoſed to have been
more guilty than her huſband, *Tiberius* openly declared, not without bluſhing and
betraying great confuſion in his ſpeech and countenance, that at the earneſt intreaties
of his mother he could not help pleading for her and aſſiſting her in her trial. How-
ever, *Vitellius* and *Veranius* did not drop the proſecution; but after they had in a trial,
which laſted two days, made the charge appear pretty plain, and ſilenced thoſe who
pleaded for the accuſed, ſhe eſcaped the puniſhment due to her crime by the indul- c
Who is abſolved. gence of the ſervile ſenate. For the conſul *Aurelius Cotta* being firſt aſked his opinion
by the emperor, who collected the voices himſelf, anſwered in the following terms:
I am of opinion, that the name of *Piſo* be razed out of the *conſular faſti* or tables,
part of his eſtate forfeited, and part granted to his ſon *Cneius* upon his changing that
name; that his ſon *Marcus* be driven out of the ſenate, baniſhed for ten years, and
allowed out of his father's eſtate only fifty thouſand great ſeſterces; as to *Plancina*,
I think ſhe ſhould be pardoned at the requeſt of *Livia*. This ſentence ſeemed too
rigorous to the emperor with reſpect to *Piſo*'s children and memory; he therefore
would not allow his name to be ſtruck out of the conſular tables, ſaying, that the name
Tiberius *favours the children and memory of* Piſo. of *Marc Antony*, who had made war upon his country, and that of his ſon *Julius An-* d
tonius, who had by adultery diſhonoured the houſe of *Auguſtus*, remained ſtill there.
He likewiſe delivered *Marcus Piſo* from the infamy of being diveſted of his dignity,
and left him his paternal inheritance intire. He alſo oppoſed the motion of *Valerius*
Meſſalinus, who was for erecting a golden ſtatue in the temple of *Mars the avenger*,
and that of *Cæcina Severus*, who propoſed building an altar to *Revenge*. Such monu-
ments, he ſaid, were fit to be raiſed for victories over a foreign enemy; but domeſtic
evils were either to be buried in oblivion, or remembered with grief (E). As the
emperor had ſhewn great favour to *Plancina* and her children, to maintain the opinion
of an impartial judge, a few days after the trial he moved in the ſenate, that *Vitellius*,
Veranius, and *Servæus*, who had accuſed *Piſo*, might be rewarded; and they were e
accordingly prefered to pontifical honours [h].

The death of *Germanicus* being thus revenged, *Druſus*, who had returned from
Illyricum to be preſent at the trial, was honoured with an ovation, which, though
decreed him the year before for having ſettled peace in *Germany*, he had poſtponed
till the trial was over. A few days after died his mother *Vipſania*, of all the chil-
dren

[h] Tacit. l. iii. c. 1---19.

(D) *Suetonius* writes, that he narrowly eſcaped being torn in pieces by the populace, and was condemned to death by the ſenate (90). *Dion* ſays, that he was brought into the ſenate by *Tiberius* himſelf, who deſired, that he might have time to prepare for his defence, and that he laid violent hands on himſelf. But, according to *Tacitus*, the ſentence was not awarded againſt him till after his death; neither does that writer ſay, that he laid violent hands on himſelf, but only that he was found with his throat cut, and his ſword lying by him.

(E) *Meſſalinus* added to his motion, that public thanks ſhould be rendered to *Tiberius*, *Livia*, *Antonia*, *Agrippina*, and *Druſus*, for having revenged the death of *Germanicus*, but omitted to mention *Claudius* the brother of the deceaſed prince. Whereupon *Lucius Aſprenas* aſked him, whether he had omitted him deſignedly; and then *Meſſalinus* ſubjoined the name of *Claudius* too. This ſhews how little regard was then paid to *Claudius*: and indeed he was deſpiſed and neglected by all, and thought incapable of any public employment. But for all this, fortune reſerved the ſovereignty to him, and we ſhall ſee him one day, notwithſtanding the weakneſs both of his body and mind, maſter of the *Roman* empire.

(90) *Suet. in Calig.* c. 2.

dren of *Agrippa*, the only one, says *Tacitus*, who died a natural death (F). The same year *Tacfarinas*, who had been some time before defeated by *Furius Camillus*, as we have related above, renewed the war in *Africa*, but was obliged by *L. Apronius*, who had succeeded *Camillus* in the government of that province, to shelter himself again in the deserts. A *Roman* cohort having on this occasion given ground at the first onset, the proconsul caused every tenth man of that cowardly body to be executed; which exemplary rigor, at this time very rare, had so good an effect on the rest, that a numerous body of the enemy was soon after put to flight by a detachment of no more than five hundred veterans, and their numerous army utterly routed by another detachment commanded by *Apronius Cesianus*, the proconsul's son.

Vipsania *the mother of* Drusus *dies.* Tacfarinas *renews the war, but is defeated.*

This year, *Æmilia Lepida*, descended from one of the most illustrious families in *Rome*, and besides great grand-daughter to *Sylla* and *Pompey*, and once designed for the wife of *Lucius Cæsar* and for the daughter-in-law of *Augustus*, was charged with imposing upon her husband *Publius Quirinius* a suppositious child, with adultery, and with consulting the *Chaldeans* about the fate of the imperial family, which was a capital crime. Her brother *Manius Lepidus* undertook her defence, *Tiberius* behaving on this occasion with such subtlety, that it was impossible to discover his real sentiments. At first he begged the senators not to meddle with the articles of treason, and soon after charged *Marcus Servilius* to produce those very proofs which he pretended to suppress: He would not suffer the slaves of *Lepida* to be examined by torture as to the articles of treason, nor his son *Drusus*, though consul elect, to vote first, lest the rest should think themselves obliged to follow his example. However, the slaves of *Lepida* confessing upon the rack, that she had imposed upon her husband a suppositious child, and even attempted to poison him, she was condemned to perpetual banishment; but at the request of *Scaurus*, who had had a daughter by her, either before her marriage with *Quirinius* or after her divorce, her estate was not confiscated. After she was condemned, *Tiberius* told the senators, that he had learnt from the slaves too of her husband *Quirinius*, that she had attempted to poison him[i]. *Suetonius* tells us, that she had committed the crimes, for which she was at this time condemned, twenty years before; but *Tacitus* only says, that she was prosecuted by her husband even after their divorce; which drew compassion upon her, however guilty and infamous.

The trial of Æmilia Lepida.

This year *Tiberius* softened the rigor of the law *Papia Poppea*, which, as we have related above, loaded those with heavy fines who did not marry at a certain age. But great numbers of *Romans* chusing rather to pay the said fines, than incumber themselves with a family, so that the law served only to inrich the exchequer, *Tiberius* with great disinterestedness appointed five persons, who had been formerly consuls, five who had been prætors, with ten other senators, to examine all the regulations made before his time against celibacy. These explained the intricacies of the laws enacted against a single life, which the pleaders, that is, the lawyers of those days, laid hold of to undo many noble families; and at the same time they qualified the rigor of the ancient law by lessening the fines, which, according to the regulations of *Augustus*, every man was to pay, who did not marry at a certain age. This, as *Tacitus* observes, was some relief to the city, the number of laws proving as great an evil as the crimes, for the restraining of which they were enacted. Towards the end of this year, *Nero*, *Germanicus*'s eldest son, being now of age, *Tiberius* recommended him to the senate, that he might stand for the quæstorship five years sooner than the laws directed, which, as we may well imagine, was readily granted, as also a place in the college of pontiffs. The first day he entered the forum in his manly robe, a donative of corn and money was distributed by *Tiberius* to the populace, overjoyed to see a son of *Germanicus* now of age. Their joy

The severity of the law Papia Poppea *softened.*

[i] Idem, c. 22, 23. SUET. in Tib. c. 49.

(F) *Agrippa* had three wives, viz. *Pomponia*, the daughter of *Atticus*, *Marcella* the daughter of *Octavia*, and *Julia*. By *Pomponia* he had *Vipsania* the mother of *Drusus*, mentioned here by *Tacitus*; *Marcella* likewise brought him children, if *Suetonius* is to be credited; but as we find no farther mention made of them, we conclude, that they died very young: by *Julia* he had five children, *Caius* and *Lucius Cæsars*, *Agrippa Posthumus*, *Agrippina*, and *Julia*. *Caius* and *Lucius* were supposed to have been poisoned; *Agrippina* perished by hunger, and *Postumius Agrippa* by the sword; but as to *Julia*, she died a natural death, according to the account which *Tacitus* himself gives of it (91); though he tells us in this place, that *Vipsania* was of all the children of *Agrippa* the only one who died a natural death.

(91) *Tacit. annal. l.* iv.

joy was doubled by his marriage with *Julia* the daughter of *Druſus*; but ſoon after the people ſaw with the utmoſt concern and indignation the daughter of *Sejanus* betrothed to young *Druſus*, the nephew of *Germanicus* and ſon of *Claudius*, who reigned after *Caligula*. By this match the *Claudian* family ſeemed in a manner degraded, and *Sejanus*, whoſe power and credit with the emperor was already too great, raiſed ſtill higher. But a few days after *Druſus* died at *Pompeii* by a very ſtrange accident, being choaked by a pear, which ſtuck in his throat, as in play he threw it up in the air, and catched it in his mouth [i]. a

Death of Druſus, *nephew to* Germanicus.

THE following year, *Tiberius* was conſul the fourth time, and *Druſus* the ſecond; but *Tiberius*, ſoon after he had reſumed the faſces, under pretence of his health, retired to *Campania*, either with a deſign to accuſtom himſelf by degrees to live out of *Rome*, or to leave *Druſus* the honour of diſcharging that office alone. Not long after his departure he wrote to the ſenate, acquainting them, that *Tacfarinas* had raiſed new diſturbances in *Africa*, and exhorting them to chuſe a proconſul to be ſent into that province equal to the war with which it was threatened. Upon the receipt of this letter the fathers met, but, inſtead of naming a governor themſelves, decreed, that the appointment of a proper perſon for the government of *Africa* ſhould be left to the emperor. On this occaſion *Cæcina Severus* made a ſpeech againſt any magiſtrate's carrying his wife with him into his province; but, being oppoſed by *Valerius Meſſalinus* and *Druſus* himſelf, his motion was over-ruled (G). The next time the ſenate met, a letter was preſented to them from *Tiberius*, wherein, after complaining of them for caſting upon him the care of all public affairs, he named *M. Lepidus* and *Junius Blæſus*, leaving it to them to chuſe for the proconſulate of *Africa* which of the two they pleaſed. Hereupon *Blæſus* was choſen, *Lepidus* excuſing himſelf with great earneſtneſs, and pleading his infirmities, the tender age of his children, and a daughter who was marriageable. There was another reaſon too, ſays *Tacitus*, which, though not mentioned by *Lepidus*, was underſtood: *Blæſus* was uncle to *Sejanus*, and therefore b

Tiberius *goes into* Campania

c

[i] TACIT. c. 29. SUET. in Claud. c. 27.

(G) *Cæcina* introduced this motion with a long preamble, that he lived in perfect concord with his wife, and had ſix children by her; but nevertheleſs had practiſed himſelf, though he had ſerved forty years in different provinces, what he offered to the public. He ſaid, that it had not without cauſe been provided of old, that women ſhould not be carried into the countries of confederate or foreign nations, ſince they introduced luxury in peace, retarded war with their fears, and made the *Roman* armies on their march reſemble thoſe of the barbarians. Women, ſaid he, are not only tender and unfit to bear fatigues; but, if not reſtrained, cruel, ambitious, and greedy of power. They even march among the ſoldiers, and are attended and obeyed by the centurions. A woman has lately acted the chief part at the exerciſe of the cohorts and the evolutions of the legions. Beſides, you well know, conſcript fathers, that as often as any of the magiſtrates are accuſed of plundering the provinces, their wives are always concerned in the guilt. To them the moſt profligate in the provinces immediately apply; by them all affairs are undertaken and tranſacted. They are no leſs reſpected than their huſbands, have the ſame court paid them, are equally obeyed, nay more readily obeyed, their orders being generally more imperious. This authority in women was formerly reſtrained by the *Oppian* and other laws; but now they rule without controul, not only their families, but the forum, the courts of juſtice, and even the armies. To this ſpeech, which was applauded by ſome, but diſliked by the far greater part, *Valerius Meſſalinus* anſwered, that many of the inſtitutions of their forefathers were changed for the better; that women were ſo far from burdening the provinces, that they were no burden to their own huſbands; that in time of peace they proved no incumbrance to them, but a great relief after the fatigues of war, to which it was not proper they ſhould attend their huſbands. As to the pride, cruelty, and ambition, to which ſome of them had given a looſe, he anſwered, that if on that account none were to be allowed to accompany their huſbands into the provinces, no governors ought, according to that method of reaſoning, be ſent thither, ſince ſome of them had proved cruel, haughty, rapacious, &c. The *Oppian* laws, he ſaid, were once judged neceſſary, and their ſeverity thought expedient for the ſtate; but afterwards their rigor was ſoftened, and that too was judged expedient for the public good. As to the wives being acceſſary to the guilt of their huſbands, the latter, he ſaid, ought to bear the blame; but he thought it very hard, that for the too great compliance of one or a few weak huſbands, all the reſt ſhould be deprived of the comfort and relief which the fellowſhip of their wives, the natural partners of their good and bad fortune, afforded them. He added, that the ſex, weak by nature, would be thus left defenceleſs, a prey to their own paſſions, and expoſed to the temptations of thouſands, who would make it their buſineſs to ſeduce them; whereof the natural conſequence in an abſence of many years was to every one obvious, ſince the marriage-bed was ſcarce preſerved undefiled under the eye of the huſband. He concluded his ſpeech with exhorting the fathers ſo to redreſs the evils abroad, as not to neglect the diſorders at home. *Druſus* approved of this ſpeech; and having alledged the example of *Auguſtus*, who travelled moſtly accompanied with *Livia*, added, that he himſelf had taken a progreſs to *Illyricum*, and was ready, if it were thought expedient, to viſit other nations; but not without uneaſineſs, if he were to be torn from his dear wife, by whom he had ſo many children. For theſe reaſons, if they deſerve that name, the motion of *Cæcina* was defeated (92).

(93) *Tacit. c.* 34.

fore, as his intereſt prevailed, *Lepidus* declined ſtanding in competition with him [k]. The moderation and mildneſs with which *Druſus* governed, during his father's abſence, encouraged ſome ſenators to apply to him for redreſs to an evil, which was by degrees grown unſupportable. The ſtatues of the emperor were become ſanctuaries to profligates, who, laying hold of them, might with impunity threaten, and wantonly inſult whom they pleaſed, not even a maſter being allowed to puniſh a ſlave for the invectives he had uttered againſt him, while he held the emperor's ſtatue. Againſt this abuſe *Caius Seſtius*, a ſenator, ſpoke with great vehemence, as he had been lately abuſed in a moſt outrageous manner by one *Annia Rufilla*, whom he had got condemned for forgery. To put a ſtop to this diſorder, *Druſus* ſummoned *Rufilla* before his tribunal; and finding her guilty of uttering invectives againſt *Seſtius*, under ſhelter of the emperor's ſtatue, he committed her to priſon. The puniſhment of this profligate woman, and that of two *Roman* knights, *Conſidius Æquus* and *Cælius Curſor*, who had forged a charge of treaſon againſt the prætor *Magius Cæcilianus*, gained *Druſus* the affections of the people, and made them overlook his love of pleaſure and the luxury in which he lived, ſpending the day at the ſhews of gladiators, and the greater part of the night in revels and banquets. *Antiſtius Vetus*, a principal nobleman of *Macedon*, being tried for adultery, during *Druſus*'s adminiſtration, was abſolved; which highly offended *Tiberius*, who wrote a letter to the ſenate, reproaching the judges, and ordering them to recall *Vetus* and try him for treaſon, as a diſturber of the public peace, and confederate with the late king *Rheſcuporis*, when having killed his nephew *Cotys*, whom *Tacitus* through miſtake calls his brother, he deſigned to make war upon *Rome*. The charge of treaſon, ſays our hiſtorian, proved in thoſe days the ſum and bulwark of all accuſations whatſoever, and was the moſt effectual means of making ſure of the criminal. *Vetus* was therefore condemned to perpetual baniſhment, and to his ſentence was added, that he ſhould be confined to an iſland, neither in the neighbourhood of *Macedon*, nor of *Thrace*. The troubles, which began about this time in *Thrace*, prompted the judges, or rather *Tiberius*, to add this clauſe. For the *Odryſians*, and other warlike nations of *Thrace*, being diſſatisfied with the government of *Rhemetalces*, to whom *Tiberius* had given that part of *Thrace*, which his father *Rheſcuporis* had held, and much more with the government of *Trebellienus Rufus*, whom *Tiberius* had appointed guardian to the ſons of *Cotys*, who were minors, openly revolted; and having committed dreadful ravages, beſieged *Rhemetalces* in the city of *Philippopolis*. But diviſions ariſing among them, *Publius Velleius*, whom ſome writers take to be the hiſtorian *Velleius Paterculus* [l], demarching againſt them from the neighbouring province, where he commanded, defeated them, and obliged them, without loſing a ſingle man, to abandon the ſiege [m].

Statues of the emperors become ſanctuaries.

Druſus *redreſſes this evil*

Antiſtius Vetus *tried.*

And condemned.

A revolt in Thrace *ſuppreſſed.*

THE ſame year, the *Gauls*, no longer able to bear the heavy tributes, with which they were loaded, and the cruelty and pride of their governors, attempted to ſhake off the *Roman* yoke, being ſtirred up by *Julius Florus*, a native of *Treves*, and *Julius Sacrovir*, a leading man among the *Ædui*, that is, thoſe of *Autun*. The *Andecavi* and *Turonii*, that is, the inhabitants of *Angers* and *Tour*, firſt took up arms; but the former were ſoon reduced by *Acilius Aviola* at the head of a cohort drawn from the gariſon of *Lugdunum* or *Lions*, and the latter by the ſame *Aviola* with a detachment ſent him by *Viſellius Varro* governor of *Lower Germany*. *Julius Florus*, having attempted in vain to debauch a body of horſe, which had been raiſed by the *Romans* at *Treves*, made to the foreſt of *Ardea*, attended by a rabble of his own clients and followers; but finding all the paſſes beſet by *Viſellius Varro* and *Caius Silius*, he was obliged to venture a battle with his countryman *Julius Indus*, whom the *Romans* had ſent forward with a choſen body of men, as one who was well acquainted with the roads, and a declared enemy to *Florus*. *Indus* put him to flight at the firſt onſet, and by purſuing him from place to place, reduced him to ſuch ſtreights, that finding no other means to avoid falling into the hands of his implacable enemy, he put an end to his life with his own ſword. By his death the inſurrection of *Treves* was quelled. But that of the *Ædui* gave the *Roman* generals no ſmall uneaſineſs, *Sacrovir*, the chief author of it, having raiſed an army of forty thouſand men, and made himſelf maſter of *Auguſtodunum* or *Autun*, the capital of the nation, where he found and ſeized all the young nobility of *Gaul*, hoping by that means to engage their parents and relations in his intereſt. A contention which aroſe between the two *Roman* generals about

The Gauls *revolt.*

Julius Florus, *one of the ring-leaders of the revolt, is routed, and dies by his own hand.*

[k] Idem, c. 35. [l] Voss. hiſt. Lat. l. i. c. 24. [m] TACIT. c. 36, 37.

about the command of the army, gave him time to prepare for a vigorous defence. a
At length *Varro*, who was old and infirm, yielding to *Silius*, who was vigorous and in the flower of his age, the troops began their march, and advancing towards *Augustodunum*, were met by *Sacrovir* twelve miles from that city. Whereupon an engagement ensuing, the *Gauls* were routed with great slaughter, and *Sacrovir* obliged to fly first to *Augustodunum*, and thence to a neighbouring town, where he slew himself, and those who attended him one another, after having set fire to the place, by which it was reduced to ashes. Our historian observes, that when news of this insurrection in *Gaul* was brought to *Rome*, the best men were grieved for the sake of their country, but many rejoiced in their own dangers, and in hatred to *Tiberius* wished success to the common enemy [n].

Sacrovir *the author of the rebellion dies in the same manner.*

When the insurrection was intirely suppressed, *Tiberius* wrote to the senate, acquainting them with the rise, progress, and conclusion of the war; he added, that it was brought to a happy issue by the fidelity and bravery of his lieutenants directed by his counsels. As some had complained of him for not going in person to suppress it, in the same letter he yielded reasons why neither he nor *Drusus* had, during these commotions, offered to stir out of *Italy*, telling them, that the *Roman* empire was an immense body, and that it was below the dignity of princes, upon the revolt of one or two cities, to abandon the capital, whence proper directions were sent to govern the whole; but nevertheless, that he would visit those nations and settle them, since they were again brought under subjection; which before would have been doing them too much honour, as if he had not been able to conquer them by his lieutenants. The senate decreed vows, supplications, and the other usual honours on such occasions; but *Cornelius Dolabella*, a notorious flatterer moved, that *Tiberius*, on his return from *Campania*, should be honoured with an ovation. This ridiculous motion occasioned a letter from the emperor, wherein he declared, that he was not so destitute of glory as to hunt after empty honours in his old age, for a short progress in the neighbourhood of *Rome*, after having in his youth vanquished most warlike nations, and either enjoyed or despised many triumphs. This year *Publius Sulpicius Quirinius*, whom St. *Luke* calls *Cyrenius*, dying at *Rome*, *Tiberius* wrote to the senate, desiring that he might be honoured with a public funeral. He was a native of *Lanuvium*, a municipal town; but, though of a mean descent, had raised himself by his valour to the highest posts in the army, and had been honoured by *Augustus*, first with the consulship, and afterwards with the ensigns of triumph, for driving the *Homonadenses* out of their strong-holds in *Cilicia*. Upon the disgrace of *Marcus Lollius* he was appointed governor to *Caius Cæsar*, then employed in settling the affairs of *Armenia*, in which high station he made use of all his interest in behalf of *Tiberius* then at *Rhodes*, and by degrees reconciled the young prince to him. These kind offices *Tiberius* now remembered, and extolled them in his letter to the senate, inveighing at the same time against *Lollius*, as the author of the misunderstanding between him and *Caius*. When *Archelaus*, the son of *Herod*, was deposed by *Augustus*, *Quirinius* was appointed governor of *Syria*, and ordered to seize the country, which *Archelaus* had held, and reduce it to a *Roman* province; which he did accordingly, taxing the *Jews* according to the estimate of their estates, which had been made eleven years before by *Sentius Saturninus*. The senate readily complied with the request of *Tiberius* as to the funeral of *Quirinius*, though they had no great respect for his memory on account of his covetousness, his great credit with the emperor, and above all, for his prosecuting *Æmilia Lepida* in the manner we have related above [o]. At the end of the year, *Drusus* falling sick, *Caius Lutorius Priscus*, a *Roman* knight, thinking the distemper would prove mortal, composed a poem bewailing his death, and out of vanity read it in the house of *P. Petronius* in the presence of *Vitellia*, mother-in-law to *Petronius*, and of other women of great distinction. As *Rome* swarmed with informers, the poet was immediately accused of this before the senate; all the ladies, who had heard him, were summoned to appear against him, and frightened into a confession, except *Vitellia*, who maintained to the last with great firmness, that she had heard nothing. But more credit being given to those who deposed against him, *Haterius Agrippa*, who, as consul elect, voted first, declared, that in his opinion he ought to be punished with death; *Lepidus* was for condemning him to perpetual banishment and confiscating his estate. But of all the consulars, *Rubellius Blandus* alone

b

Tiberius's *reasons for not going in person into* Gaul.

c

P. Quirinius *honoured with a public funeral.*

d

C. Lutorius Priscus *tried.*

e

f

[n] Idem, c. 40—47. [o] Idem, c. 48. Strab. l. xii. Dio, l. lvii. Joseph. antiq. l. i. & ii.

alone voting with *Lepidus*, and the reſt with *Agrippa*; *Priſcus* was conveyed to priſon, and immediately put to death. To what a deplorable ſtate of ſlavery was *Rome* already reduced! But *Lutorius*'s real crime was, it ſeems, his having compoſed a poem on the death of *Germanicus*, which had been ſo well received, that *Tiberius* could not help rewarding him for it [p]. The emperor, who was ſtill in *Campania*, behaved on this occaſion with his uſual ambiguity; for in a letter, which he wrote to the ſenate, he commended their zeal in thus puniſhing the ſlighteſt injuries done to the prince; but at the ſame time intreated them not to be ſo haſty in puniſhing words: he praiſed *Lepidus*, blamed not *Agrippa*. His ſeeming to diſapprove of this ſudden execution gave riſe to a famous decree of the ſenate, *viz.* that their orders ſhould not be carried to the treaſury (H), nor the condemned perſon executed, in leſs than ten days. But no criminals reaped any benefit from this reſpite in *Tiberius*'s reign, his cruel and revengeful temper being never ſoftened by time, as *Tacitus* well obſerves [q].

Condemned and executed.

His haſty execution gives riſe to a famous decree.

THE following year, *Caius Sulpitius Galba* and *Decimus Haterius Agrippa* being conſuls, *Caius Bibulus*, one of the ædiles moved, that ſome regulation might be made againſt luxury, which, in ſpite of the ſumptuary laws, was grown to a monſtrous exceſs in the expence of entertainments, in the number of domeſtics, in the quantity of gold and ſilver plate, of pictures, ſtatues, precious ſtones, *&c.* The motion was ſeconded by the other ædiles, who made long deſcants on the miſchievous conſequences of the growing evil. The fathers heard them with patience, but referred the whole matter to *Tiberius*; which occaſioned a letter from him to the conſcript fathers, wherein, after commending the zeal of the ædiles, he owned, that the exceſſes they complained of required a regulation, that the prevailing evil ought to be checked by the ſevereſt laws; but nevertheleſs, if ſuch laws were enacted, even thoſe who now cenſure, at their entertainments and in their converſations, the profuſe luxury of the times, would be the firſt to complain, that the ſtate was utterly undone, that ſnares were laid for every noble and wealthy family, and that all men would become the prey of informers. In the end of his letter, he told them, that if any of the magiſtrates would undertake to put a ſtop to ſo great an evil, he ſhould have both his praiſes and thanks for eaſing him of part of his burden; but that as to himſelf, he would not take upon him that odious taſk: Believe me, conſcript fathers, ſaid he, I am not fond of being the object of the public hatred; I have already enemies enow; let me not therefore, I intreat you, wantonly and vainly raiſe more by ſuch regulations, as promiſe no advantage to you or to me. The ſenate, upon reading the emperor's letter, ordered the ædiles to proceed no farther in that matter. *Tiberius*, by thus rejecting the project of

Tiberius *refuſes to take upon him the cure of luxury.*

[p] TACIT. c. 49. DIO, l. lvii. p. 616, 617. SUET. in. Tib. c. 75.

[q] TACIT. c. 51. DIO, ibid. p. 617.

(H) In the treaſury were lodged the public regiſters and the decrees of the ſenate, which, till entered there, had neither the force nor name of decrees, but were called *the orders* or *authority* of the ſenate, as is evident from *Cicero*, *Dion Caſſius*, and other ancient writers. This decree of the ſenate, by which it was provided, that no perſon condemned ſhould be executed till the tenth day after ſentence pronounced, was obſerved by *Caligula*, even with reſpect to thoſe whom he himſelf ſentenced to death (93), and probably by all the ſucceeding emperors to the time of *Theodoſius the Great*, who granted twenty days more to thoſe who were condemned (94) either by the prince, or the ſenate (95). This we find is the general opinion, an opinion, without all doubt, well grounded, ſince *Tacitus*, *Dion Caſſius*, *Suetonius*, and *Seneca* affirm, in expreſs terms, that *Tiberius* granted ten days reſpite to criminals after ſentence, and the more modern writers unanimouſly aſcribe to *Theodoſius* the thirty days reprieve. But on the other hand, we read in *Quintilian*, who flouriſhed about this time, the following words: *The law forbidding a criminal to be executed till after thirty days was wiſely eſtabliſhed, ſeeing the accuſer may be deceived* (96); and in *Calpurnius Flaccus*, who wrote long before *Theodoſius*'s time, *Let the puniſhment of a raviſher be deferred thirty days* (97). As there is no reconciling teſtimonies ſo evidently oppoſite and contradictory, and on the other hand we have innumerable inſtances of tranſcribers miſtaking numbers, we ſhall with the moſt judicious critics impute to them the preſent diſagreement among authors. Perhaps in tranſcribing the declamations of *Quintilian* and *Calpurnius* in or after *Theodoſius*'s time, they adapted them to the law which that emperor had enacted. *Baronius* pretends, that the ten days reprieve extended to all criminals, by what judge ſoever condemned; and thence infers, that *Pilate* tranſgreſſed the law of his prince in cauſing our Saviour to be crucified as ſoon as he had pronounced ſentence againſt him (98). But it is manifeſt from *Gothofredus* in his comments upon the *Theodoſian* code, that neither the decree of *Tiberius*, nor the law of *Theodoſius*, extended to the magiſtrates in the provinces till the time of *Nicephorus Botoniates*, who ordered all judges and magiſtrates to conform to the law of *Theodoſius* (99).

(93) *Senec. de tranq. c.* 14. *p.* 351, *epiſt.* 7. (94) *In l. ſi vindicari, c. de pœnis.* (95) *Sid. l.* i. (96) *Quintil. declamat.* 303. (97) *Calpur. Flacc. declamat.* 25. (98) *Baron. annal.* 34. (99) *Cod. Th. tom.* 3. *p.* 307.

of reforming luxury, which would have proved an inexhauſtible fund of crimes, impeachments, and confiſcations, gained the fame of moderation among the nobility, with whoſe wealth the accuſers would not have failed to inrich themſelves, had the emperor either inforced the ancient, or enacted new, ſumptuary laws[r]. Soon after *Tiberius* wrote another letter to the ſenate, deſiring the tribunitial power for *Druſus*, which the fathers granted with the more refined flattery, as they had foreſeen this requeſt: ſtatues were decreed both to *Tiberius* and *Druſus*, altars were erected to the gods, arches raiſed, *&c.* *M. Silanus* moved, that for the future not the names of the conſuls, but of thoſe who exerciſed the tribunitial power, ſhould be prefixed to all public and private records; *Haterius Agrippa*, that the decrees of that day ſhould be written in letters of gold and hung up in the ſenate. Thus the lords of the *Roman* ſenate, who once headed mighty armies, raiſed and depoſed great kings, beſtowed or took away empires, were by degrees changed into mean ſlaves, and become by their infamous flattery an object of deriſion and contempt to all foreign nations, nay to that very prince, whoſe favour they ſtrove to gain by diſgracing themſelves. *Druſus*, who was then in *Campania*, probably with his father, wrote to the ſenate, returning them thanks for the tribunitial power with which they had inveſted him; but did not condeſcend to come to *Rome*, as was expected, to receive it. Soon after, *Servius Maluginenſis*, who, as prieſt of *Jupiter*, was not allowed to leave *Italy*, nay, to ſleep one night out of *Rome*, demanding the government of *Aſia*, and his ſuit being oppoſed by *Lentulus* the augur and others, the affair was referred to *Tiberius*, who in his anſwer to the ſenate poſtponing the pretenſions of the prieſt of *Jupiter*, moderated the honours which had been decreed to *Druſus* with the tribunitial power, and particularly cenſured the motion of the golden letters, as contrary to the cuſtom of *Rome*. As the liberty of inſtituting ſanctuaries and privileged places at pleaſure had long ſince prevailed among the *Greek* cities, and filled their temples with fugitive ſlaves, debtors, and criminals, *Tiberius* this year referred to the ſenate the examining of the privileges which thoſe cities enjoyed, and the grants on which they were founded. The ſenate and conſuls, after having heard the *Greek* deputies, and carefully ſearched into the validity of their ſeveral pretenſions, utterly ſuppreſſed ſome ſanctuaries, and either limited the extent, or abridged the privileges and immunities, of others, ordering the decree they enacted on this occaſion to be engraved on braſs, and hung up in the temples of *Greece*[s]. *Suetonius* tells us, that *Tiberius* abſolutely ſuppreſſed all ſanctuaries throughout the whole *Roman* empire[t]. Not long after *Livia* being ſeized with a dangerous diſtemper, *Tiberius* haſtened back to *Rome*; ſince the mother and ſon either ſtill lived in perfect amity, or cunningly diſguiſed their mutual hatred: the latter was commonly believed at *Rome*; for *Livia* having not long before dedicated a ſtatue to *Auguſtus*, and placed her own name before that of *Tiberius*, the emperor was thought to have grievouſly reſented this, as an undervaluing the majeſty of the prince, but to have ſmothered his reſentment with a deep diſſimulation, However that be, the ſenate upon her illneſs decreed ſupplications to the gods, with the celebration of the great *Roman* games for her recovery, and betrayed on this occaſion ſuch a mean ſpirit of ſervitude, that *Tiberius* himſelf was aſhamed of their vile debaſement, and ſcandalous ſubmiſſions[u]. The next time the ſenate met, *Caius Silanus*, proconſul of *Aſia*, *Cæſius Cordus*, proconſul of *Crete*, and *Lucius Ennius*, a *Roman* knight, were accuſed before them, the two firſt of robbing the public, and the other of treaſon, for having uſed as the current coin a piece of ſilver, on which was engraved the effigies of *Tiberius*. To the charge of rapine and extortion againſt *Silanus* and *Cordus*, that none of their friends or relations might dare to plead for them in their trial, articles of treaſon were ſubjoined, a ſure bar, ſays *Tacitus*, to all aſſiſtance, and a ſeal upon their lips. They were both found guilty of male-adminiſtration and extortion, and condemned to perpetual baniſhment, and their eſtates declared confiſcated. But *Cneius Lentulus* moving, that the eſtate of *Silanus* deſcending to him from his mother *Cornelia*, who was related to the *Cæſars*, might be reſtored to his ſon, *Tiberius* approved of, and aſſented to, the motion: nay, he even mitigated the rigor of the ſentence which the ſenate had pronounced againſt him, alledging, that the iſland of *Gyarus*, to which they had confined him, was an unhoſpitable place and deſtitute of inhabitants, and begging, that, in favour of the *Junian* family and in regard of his ſiſter *Torquata*, a veſtal of an unblemiſhed character, they would allow him for the place

Druſus inveſted with the tribunitial power.

The debaſement of the ſenate.

The number of ſanctuaries leſſened.

Livia's *illneſs* Tiberius *returns to* Rome

Other inſtances of the ſervile ſpirit of the ſenate.

Caius Silanus *and* Cæſius Cordus *condemned.*

[r] Tacit. ibid. c, 52—55. [s] Idem, c. 55. [t] Suet. in Tib. c. 37. [u] Idem, c. 64.

a place of his exile the iſland of *Cythera*. This the ſenators readily granted at the requeſt of the prince, who by this affected ſhew of clemency pretended to cover the artifice and violence which he had employed to deſtroy the unhappy proconſul (I). To what place *Cordus* was confined, we are not told. As for *L. Ennius*, the emperor judged the charge brought againſt him frivolous, and therefore would not allow him to be tried as a criminal. Whereupon *Ateius Capito*, with an affected ſpirit of liberty, cried out, that the emperor intrenched upon the privileges of the ſenate; that all injuries done to the prince were public injuries, injuries done to the commonwealth, which it was the province of the ſenate charged with the care of the republic to revenge and reſtrain, in ſpite of any one's private clemency and compaſſion. *Tiberius* had reaſon b to cry aloud, as we are told he uſed to do, as often as he went out of the ſenate, *Oh men prepared for bondage!* He was, ſays *Tacitus*, irreconcileable to public liberty; but abhorred flattery, as ſuiting only with the ſpirit of ſlaves. The infamy of *Capito* was the more ſignal, as he debaſed it by not only the dignity of the ſenator, but his own perſonal accompliſhments [u] (K). The condemnation of *Silanus* and *Cordus* was followed by a religious debate, in what temple the offering ſhould be placed, which the *Roman* knights had vowed to *Fortune Equeſtrian* for the recovery of *Livia*. As there was no temple in *Rome* dedicated to *Fortune* under that title, but one at *Antium*, it was decreed, that the gift of the knights ſhould be preſented there. And now that matters of religion were on foot, *Tiberius*, as pontifex maximus, returned the anſwer which he had lately deferred, touching the pretenſions of *Servius Maluginenſis*, and c produced a ſtatute of the pontiffs made under *Auguſtus*, declating, that when the prieſt of *Jupiter* was taken ill, he might with the conſent of the pontifex maximus be abſent from the city two nights, except on days of public ſacrifice, and never more than twice a year. This regulation ſhewed that the adminiſtration of a province, which required a year's abſence, was incompatible with the office of the *flamen dialis*, or prieſt of *Jupiter* [w], So that the government of *Aſia*, which *Maluginenſis* had demanded, was conferred on the conſular, who was next in ſeniority to him. When this affair was over, *Æmilius Lepidus* aſked and obtained leave of the ſenate to repair and beautify at his own expence the *baſilic* (L) of *Paulus Æmilius*. On the other hand, the emperor undertook to

The infamous flattery of Capito.

Prieſt of Jupiter *debarred from the government of the provinces.*

[u] Idem, c. 66——71.

[w] Idem, ibid.

(I) *Silanus* was very hardly uſed in his trial, as *Tacitus* obſerves. The beſt pleaders of all *Aſia* were choſen on purpoſe to accuſe him. They charged him with cruelty and extortion in his government. To this charge was added that of treaſon by *Mamercus Scaurus* once conſul, *Junius Otho* prætor, and *Brutidius Niger* ædile. The number of his accuſers was increaſed by *Gellius Poplicola* and *Marcus Paconius*, the former quæſtor to *Silanus*, the other his lieutenant. As he was accuſed of treaſon, no one dared to appear in his favour, he himſelf was no pleader or orator, and beſides, *Tiberius*, with an awful voice and countenance, was continually interrupting and confounding him with queſtions, which he was not allowed time to refute, nay, he was often forced to confeſs, leſt the emperor ſhould have aſked in vain. His ſlaves too were firſt by the emperors orders ſold to the public, and then examined upon the rack. He was no doubt guilty of cruelty and extortion; but the hatred and ſpite, which *Tiberius* ſhewed him, and his eagerneſs to get him condemned, were juſtly cenſured.

(K) *Ateius Capito* was a man of extraordinary accompliſhments, and one of the moſt learned civilians of his age. All we know of his pedigree is, that his grandfather was only a centurion under *Sylla*, and that his father arrived at the prætorſhip. *Gellius*, *Macrobius*, and *Feſtus*, quote ſeveral books wrote by him, *viz.* a comment upon the laws of the twelve tables, a hundred and twenty books *de jure*, ten books *de jure pontificum*, ten *de jure ſacerdotum*, a treatiſe *of the duty of a ſenator*, and a volume of *collections*. But he debaſed, ſays *Tacitus*, his rare accompliſhments by the moſt infamous flattery and a mean obſequiouſneſs to power. *Auguſtus* honoured him early with the conſulſhip to raiſe him above *Antiſtius Labeo*, another civilian of equal knowledge and abilities, but of an unblemiſhed character and a probity which was proof againſt all temptations. However, *Labeo* obtained the prætorſhip; but his virtue checked his riſe to greater preferments, whence he was no leſs beloved and adored by the people, than his rival abhorred and deteſted. We do not find the name of *Capito* in the conſular tables; whence, as both *Tacitus* in this place and *Pomponius* in his book *de origine juris* (100) aſſure us, that he was raiſed to the conſulſhip, we conclude, that he was one of the conſuls who were called *ſuffecti*, becauſe ſubſtituted in the room of thoſe who died or reſigned. *Pighius* produces an ancient marble diſcovered at *Rome* with this inſcription; *C. Ateio. Capitone. C. Vibio. Poſtumo. cos.* *Vibius* was, according to *Pighius*, conſul in the year of *Rome* 759.

(L) *Baſilics* were originally ſpacious halls in which kings, from whom theſe buildings borrowed their name, adminiſtered juſtice to their ſubjects. The *Romans* appropriated that name to great halls, haveing two ranges of pillars and two wings with galleries over them. *Cicero* ſpeaks of the baſilic mentioned here (1), which, according to him, was begun by *Æmilius Paulus*, then ædile, and afterwards conſuls with *C. Marcellus*. It was afterwards finiſhed under *Auguſtus* by *Paulus Æmilius*, who was conſul in the year of *Rome* 730, and afterwards cenſor (2); but being conſumed by accidental fire, it was rebuilt twenty years after by another *Æmilius* (3). As it was at this time out of repair, *Lepidus* aſked leave to ſtrengthen and embelliſh it at his own expence.

(100) *Pomp. p.* 1. (1) *Cic. ad Attic. l.* 4. *ep.* 17. (2) *Dio, l.* xlix. (3) *Idem, l.* liv.

to rebuild the theatre of *Pompey*, which had been consumed by accidental fire, none of that family being equal to so great a charge, and promised that it should still be called by the name of its illustrious founder. On this occasion he enlarged on the praises of his favourite *Sejanus*, to whose care and vigilance, he said, it was owing, that the fire had done no greater damage. Hereupon the servile senate, applauding the prince's speech, decreed a statue to *Sejanus* to be placed in the theatre of *Pompey*[x]. We are told by *Seneca*[y], that upon the passing of this decree, *Cremutius Cordus*, of whom we shall speak anon, cried out, *Now is* Pompey's *theatre utterly destroyed.*

Tacfarinas's arrogant embassy to Tiberius.

THIS year *Tacfarinas*, quitting anew the deserts, to which he had been so often driven, appeared unexpectedly in the fruitful plains of *Africa* at the head of a numerous army; and having committed every-where dreadful devastations, he arrived to such a height of boldness, as to send embassadors to *Tiberius*, demanding a settlement for himself and his army, and threatening the emperor, in case he did not grant him his request, with an eternal war. Our historian tells us, that *Tiberius* never betrayed so much indignation and resentment as on this occasion, not being able to bear, that a deserter, a free-booter, should have the arrogance to offer terms of peace, as if he were an equal enemy. He therefore ordered *Junius Blæsus*, whom he continued another year in the government of *Africa*, to exert his utmost efforts against so bold and contemptible an enemy. *Blæsus* drove him every-where before him, and pursued him even into the deserts, where he took his brother prisoner; but *Tacfarinas* himself had the good luck to make his escape, though the passes were beset on all sides by the enemy. However, as most of his forces were cut in pieces and his brother taken, *Tiberius* looked upon the war as concluded, and confirmed to *Blæsus* the title of *imperator*, which his troops had conferred upon him. He was the last private person who enjoyed that title, thenceforth peculiar to the reigning family (M). He was likewise honoured with the ensigns of triumph, *Tiberius* declaring that he thus distinguished him in regard of *Sejanus*, who was his nephew, though in *Tacitus*'s opinion his actions intitled him to all the honours that were conferred upon him[z]. This year died three persons of great distinction, *viz. Ateius Capito*, the most learned civilian in *Rome*, but one who debased his extraordinary parts with the meanest and most servile flattery, as we have observed above; *Asinius Saloninus*, grandson to *M. Agrippa*; and *Asinius Pollio*, half brother to *Drusus*, and betrothed to one of *Tiberius*'s grand-daughters (N); and the celebrated *Junia*, niece to *Cato* of *Utica*, sister to *Brutus* (O), and wife to *Cassius*, three most zealous champions for the public liberty. She died sixty-four years after the battle of *Philippi*, in which her husband lost his life. As she was immensely rich, her will made a great noise; for she left legacies to almost all the great men of *Rome*, but nothing to *Tiberius*, who did not seem to resent in the least this omission, but allowed her panegyric to be pronounced in public, and her obsequies to be performed with all the pomp suitable to her rank. Before the corps were carried, according to the *Roman* custom, the images of twenty of the most noble families in *Rome*, to which the illustrious deceased was related; but as those of *Brutus* and *Cassius* were not seen among the rest, the people took thence occasion to extol the zeal with which those two heroes had formerly signalized themselves in the cause of liberty[a].

He is distressed by Blæsus.

Who is honoured with the title of imperator.

Deaths of several illustrious persons.

The original character and pursuits of Sejanus.

C. Asinius Gallus and *C. Antistius Vetus* were the following consuls. During their administration, the famous *Sejanus* took the first steps towards the execution of the black designs he had been long fostering in his heart. As this powerful and ambitious minister henceforth to his downfal is to act a principal part in the present history, we

x Idem, c. 72. y SENEC. ad Martiam, c. 22. z Idem, c. 73, 74. a Idem, c. 75, 76.

(M) *Lipsius* observes here, that the title of *imperator*, when given to the prince, was placed before his name, thus; *Imp. Cæsar Augustus*, but put after the names of generals, to whom it was only a transient title of honour, thus; *Junius Blæsus imp. M. Tullius Cicero imp.*

(N) *Asinius Pollio*, the famous orator and poet, one of *Augustus*'s chief favourites, and *Virgil*'s patrons, had a son by name *Asinius Gallus*, who, according to *Lipsius* (4), was surnamed *Saloninus* from the city of *Salona* in *Dalmatia*, which was taken either by him, or during his consulship. *Salonius*, or, as *Tacitus* and *Dion Cassius* constantly call him, *Asinius Gallus*, married *Vipsania*, the daughter of *Agrippa*, after *Tiberius* had divorced her to marry *Julia*. *Tiberius* had by her *Drusus*; and *Asinius Gallus* many children, viz. *Asinius Saloninus*, or *Asinius Gallus*, mentioned by *Tacitus* in this place, *Asinius Gallus*, *Asinius Pollio*, who was consul in the year of *Rome* 756, *Asinius Agrippa*, and *Asinius Celer*, whom *Pliny* calls a consular man.

(O) *Junius Silanus*, who was consul with *L. Licinius Murena*, married *Servilia* the sister of *Cato*, and had by her *Tertia* or *Tertulla*, and this *Junia*, who was sister to *Brutus* by the mother; for *M. Junius Brutus* was the famous *Brutus*'s father.

(4) *Lip. in Tac. annal.* 3. *N.* 174.

a we ſhall premiſe a ſuccinct account of his original, manners, and characters, copied from the moſt creditable writers of antiquity. *L. Ælius Sejanus* was born at *Vulſinii* in *Hetruria* (P), ſon to *Sejus Strabo*, who, though commander of the prætorian guards under *Auguſtus*, and in the beginning of *Tiberius*'s reign, was but a private *Roman* knight [b]. His mother was deſcended of an illuſtrious family, *viz.* the *Junian*; for *Junius Blæſus* who at the death of *Auguſtus* commanded the legions in *Pannonia*, and afterwards ſignalized himſelf againſt *Tacfarinas* in *Africa*, was his maternal uncle. He had other relations in great employments, and even brothers, who had been conſuls [c]; but theſe were perhaps of the *Ælian* family, into which *Sejanus*, as we conjecture from his name, was probably adopted. In the very beginning of *Tiberius*'s reign, he was joined with his father in the command of the prætorian guards,
b and even then in high favour with the prince; whence no collegue was aſſigned him in that important employment, when his father was ſent into *Egypt*, the government of which kingdom was by the regulation of *Auguſtus* committed only to private knights. In his early youth he was ſuſpected of having for hire abandoned himſelf to the lewd deſires of the famous *Apicius* (Q). As to his character, *Tacitus* draws it in the following lines: With various inſinuations and artifices he got the aſcendant over *Tiberius* ſo far, that he made him reſerved to others, but to himſelf careleſs and open. He did not accompliſh this ſo much through policy, for by that others overpowered him, as from the wrath of the gods againſt the *Roman* ſtate, to which his riſe and his downfall proved alike deſtructive. He had a ſtrong body and a bold mind. He diſ-
c guiſed his own faults, and impeached others: alike fawning and imperious. By his outward appearance one would have thought him modeſt, but in his heart he had the moſt unſatiable thirſt after power, to which he made ſometimes luxury and bribery ſubſervient, and ſometimes induſtry and application, qualities no leſs pernicious, when they are aſſumed for the vile purpoſes of power. Thus far *Tacitus*. The ambitious favourite, ſeeing himſelf by the indulgence of his kind maſter, lifted up above his condition and raiſed to the higheſt poſts of the empire, began to entertain thoughts of ſoaring ſtill higher. He was in power and authority the ſecond man in the *Roman* ſtate; but this to his ambition ſeemed little; he aimed at nothing leſs than the ſove-
d reign power, towards the attaining of which, his firſt ſtep was to gain the affections of the prætorian guards, who were all under his command. Till his time they had been quartered all over the city, and diſperſed about the neighbouring towns and villages. But *Sejanus*, pretending, that while they were thus ſcattered, they lived looſe and debauched, and could not be eaſily gathered into one body on any ſudden emergency, obtained leave of the emperor to aſſemble them into one camp, where, he ſaid, the military diſcipline would be obſerved with more exactneſs and ſeverity. As ſoon as the camp was finiſhed, he made it his chief ſtudy to gain the favour of the common ſoldiers by his affability and obliging behaviour; as for the tribunes and

[b] TACIT. l. iv. c. 1. DIO, l. lvii. p. 616. [c] VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 127.

e

(P) The poet *Juvenal* alludes to *Vulſinii* the birthplace of *Sejanus* in the following lines:

——— *idem populus, ſi Nurſcia Thuſco*
Faviſſet, ſi oppreſſa foret ſecura ſenectus
Principis, hac ipſa Sejanum diceret hora
Auguſtum, &c.

For *Nurſcia*, or as ſome will have it, *Nortia*, was the tutelar god of *Vulſinii*, as appears from *Livy* (5).

f (Q) The ancients mention three *Apiciuſes*, all famous epicures. The firſt lived in the times of the republic, and is ſpoken of by *Athenæus* (6). The ſecond, who is mentioned by our hiſtorian in this place, lived under *Auguſtus* and *Tiberius*; and the third, as appears from *Suidas*, under *Trajan*. The ſecond was the moſt famous of all for gluttony; for after he had by voluptuous eating and drinking reduced his immenſe wealth to ten millions of ſmall ſeſterces, he choſe rather to put an end to his life, than retrench the uſual expences of his table, for which the remaining ſum was no ways ſufficient. Tongues of peacocks and nightingales, and the moſt exquiſite meats, that the foreſts, ſeas, or rivers, produced, were, ſays *Appian* the grammarian, his daily food (7). He is ſtyled by *Pliny nepotum omnium altiſſimus gurges*. *Seneca*, who was his contemporary, tells us, that he publiſhed a book of cookery with which he infected the age he lived in (8), a treatiſe *de re culinaria*, that is, of *cookery*, was diſcovered by *Albanus Torinûs* in the iſland of *Maguelonne* near *Montpelier* in 1529, and printed at *Baſle* twelve years after another copy of the ſame treatiſe had been diſcovered a hundred years before, by *Enochus* of *Aſcoli*, under the pontificate of *Nicolas* V. To both theſe manuſcripts was prefixed the name of *M. Cælius Apicius*; but *Voſſius* is of opinion, that this *Apicius* lived long after the famous epicure of that name, whoſe books, *de irritamentis gulæ* and *de juſcellis*, are mentioned by *Seneca* (9), *Iſidore* of *Seville* (10), and the old ſcholiaſt of *Juvenal*.

(5) *Liv. l.* vii. (6) *Athen. l.* iv. *c.* 20. (7) *Vide Athen. l.* iv. *c.* 20. (8) *Senec. de conſol. ad Albin.* (9) *Senec. ibid.* (10) *Iſid. l.* xx. *de orig. c.* 4.

and centurions, they were all choſen by him, and he took care to employ none but his own creatures and dependents. Having thus attached to his intereſt this formidable corps, the flower of the *Roman* forces, his next care was to gain a ſtrong party in the ſenate, which it was no difficult taſk for a favourite to effect, at whoſe diſpoſal were both the public money and the public employments; for no ſenator, however diſtinguiſhed by his birth or perſonal accompliſhments, was employed, unleſs recommended by *Sejanus* [d]. He is ſaid to have gained over to his intereſt even the wives of all the men of quality in *Rome*, by a private promiſe of marriage to each of them, when he attained the ſovereignty. This encouraged them to contribute all that lay in their power to his grandeur, which they looked upon as their own, and at the ſame time to acquaint him with the moſt ſecret counſels of their huſbands [e]. He did not even neglect the emperor's freedmen, but carefully cultivated their friendſhip too [f]. In the mean time, *Tiberius*, though a man of great penetration, inſtead of curtailing the overgrown power of his favourite, was ever extolling him, in his ſpeeches both to the ſenate and people, as the ſharer of his burdens, and even ſuffered his effigies to be adored in all public places, nay, among the eagles of the legions [g]; for they all carried the image of *Sejanus* in their colours, except thoſe that were then quartered in *Syria*, which refuſed to follow the example of the reſt [h].

a

b

But *Sejanus*'s deſign of raiſing himſelf to the ſovereign power met with many obſtructions. The imperial family had a numerous iſſue; the emperor's ſon was a grown man, and his grandſons, the children of *Germanicus*, who was his ſon by adoption, were now of age. This, however, did not deter *Sejanus* from his wicked purſuits; he reſolved to cut off the reigning family root and branch, that none of the blood of the *Cæſars* might traverſe his ambitious deſign. But as it was dangerous to cut them off all at once, he reſolved to deſtroy the whole race by degrees, and to begin with *Druſus*, who was continually complaining of his overgrown power (R), and had lately upon ſome conteſt ſhaken his fiſt at him; and, as he offered to reſiſt, given him a blow in the face. Upon this affront, *Sejanus*, after having examined with himſelf various expedients to rid himſelf of ſuch a rival, reſolved at length to apply to his wife *Livia*, the ſiſter of *Germanicus*; which he did accordingly; and having firſt, by pretending a violent paſſion for her, induced her to comply with his criminal deſires, prevailed upon her afterwards, without much difficulty, to concur with him in deſtroying her huſband. Thus the niece of *Auguſtus*, the daughter-in-law of *Tiberius*, the mother of ſeveral children by *Druſus*, diſgraced herſelf, her anceſtors, and her poſterity, with a mean adulterer, and all to exchange her preſent condition, both honourable and certain, for the hopes of one equally infamous and uncertain; for *Sejanus* had promiſed to marry her upon the death of her huſband, and make her his partner in the empire. *Eudemus* was made privy to the wicked deſign, becauſe he, as phyſician to *Livia*, under colour of his profeſſion, was frequently with her in private, and conſequently could adviſe and direct her without giving any umbrage. *Sejanus*, to convince *Livia* of the ſincerity of his intention, as to the promiſed marriage, and thereby encourage her to diſpatch her huſband, divorced his wife *Apicata*, though he had three children by her. But ſtill the blackneſs of the crime frightened *Livia*, and her ambition could not ſmother or get the better of her remorſe. *Sejanus* himſelf, abandoned as he was, could not, without horror, think of imbruing his hands in the blood of the emperor's ſon; and hence caution, delays, and great confuſion in their counſels [i].

His deſigns againſt Druſus

He debauches his wife.

c

d

e

In the mean time, *Germanicus*'s ſecond ſon, by name *Druſus*, putting on the *toga virilis*, or the manly robe, had the ſame honours decreed him by the ſenate, which had been conferred on his elder brother *Nero*. On this occaſion *Tiberius* made a ſpeech in commendation of the youth, and likewiſe of his ſon *Druſus*, on account of the

f

[d] Tacit. l. iii. c. 2 [e] Dio, l. lvii. p. 669. [f] Joseph. antiq. l. xviii. c. 8. [g] Tacit. l. iii. c. 2. [h] Suet. in Tib. c. 48. [i] Tacit. l. iii. c. 3.

(R) *Druſus* complained, and indeed with a great deal of reaſon, that while he, the emperor's ſon, was in the flower of his age, another was called, as coadjutor to the government, nay, was in a manner declared collegue in the empire. *Sejanus*, ſaid he, has already formed a camp for the guards, that thus united, they may all at once receive his orders; the ſoldiery depend entirely upon him; his ſtatue is ſet up in the theatre of *Pompey*; in his grandchildren the blood of the *Druſi* will be mixed with that of *Sejanus*; what now remains but to ſee him inveſted with the ſovereign power, while the emperor's ſon is excluded from any ſhare in the adminiſtration?

a the kindneſs he ſhewed to his brother's children (S). This raiſed new jealouſy in *Sejanus*, who judging it time to haſten the execution of his wicked deſign, ordered *Eudemus* to prepare a ſlow working poiſon, that the death of the young prince might be aſcribed to a caſual diſtemper. The fatal potion was adminiſtered to *Druſus* by *Lygdus* the eunuch, one of his freedmen, as was learnt eight years after, that is, the year in which *Sejanus* was diſgraced and puniſhed according to his deſerts, this whole ſcene of iniquity being then brought to light by his wife *Apicata*, and the particulars of the murder owned by *Eudemus* and *Lygdus* on the rack. *Druſus* fell into a lingering diſtemper, pined away, and died. *Tiberius*, during the whole time of the illneſs of his ſon, appeared altogether unconcerned, perhaps to make a ſhew, ſays *Tacitus*, of the firmneſs and conſtancy of his mind; nay, after his death, when his b corps lay yet unburied, he went to the ſenate, and finding the conſuls had left their curule chairs, and placed themſelves, as a token of their grief, on a common ſeat, he put them in mind of their dignity and ſtation; and the ſenate burſting into tears, he ſmothered his own ſorrow to comfort them, which he did in a ſpeech uttered without the leaſt heſitation: he told the fathers, that he was well appriſed he might be cenſured for appearing among them while his grief was yet freſh, when few in the firſt tranſports of their ſorrow could endure even the comforting ſpeeches of their relations, or behold the day. Though thoſe who thus indulged their grief were not, he ſaid, to be condemned of weakneſs, yet for his part, he had ſought for more powerful comforts, ſuch as aroſe from purſuing the welfare of the republic. He c then lamented the preſent condition of the imperial family, the extreme age of his mother, the tender years of his grandſons, and his own life in its decline, and begged, that the ſons of *Germanicus*, who alone could leſſen the preſent misfortunes, might be introduced. Hereupon the conſuls went for them, and bringing in the two youths, *Nero* and *Druſus*, preſented them to the emperor, who, taking them by the hand, addreſſed the ſenate thus: "Conſcript fathers, theſe fatherleſs children I commended "to their uncle, and beſought him, though he had iſſue of his own, to bring them up, "and cheriſh them no otherwiſe than if they were immediately deſcended from him. "*Druſus* being ſnatched from us, I addreſs my prayers to you, and, in the preſence of d "the gods and our country, conjure you to receive into your protection, and take "under your tuition, the great grandchildren of *Auguſtus*, deſcended from moſt illuſtri-"ous anceſtors; fulfil your own duty towards them, fulfil mine." Then turning to the youths, "To you, *Nero*, ſaid he, to you, *Druſus*, theſe are in the ſtead of a fa-"ther: your condition is ſuch, that whatever good or evil befalls you, muſt befall the "the commonwealth." This diſcourſe was heard with great ſatisfaction, and drew tears from the eyes of all who were preſent. Had *Tiberius* ſtopt here, he had left the hearts of

He cauſes Druſus *to be poiſoned.*

Tiberius *ſhews no concern for the illneſs and death of his ſon.*

His ſpeech to the ſenate.

He recommends to them the ſons of Germanicus.

(S) *Tacitus* tells us, that *Tiberius*, in the end of his ſpeech, told the conſcript fathers, as he had often done before, that he deſigned to take a progreſs into the provinces, alledging the multitude of veterans diſcharged, and thence the neceſſity of recruiting the armies. On this occaſion he enumerated all the legions then in pay, and named the countries, where they were quartered. As from this detail we may learn what forces the *Romans* had then on foot, what kings were their confederates, and how far the boundaries of the empire extended, it would be an unpardonable omiſſion not to acquaint our readers with it. In the firſt place, *Italy* was guarded by two fleets, one at *Miſenum* in the *Mediterranean*, the other at *Ravenna* in the *Adriatic* ſea and the coaſt adjoining to *Gaul*, by the galleys taken by *Auguſtus* at the battle of *Actium*, and ſent well manned and equipped to *Forojulium*. As to the legions, there were eight upon the *Rhine* to keep in awe both the *Germans* and *Gauls*, and three in *Spain*. In *Mauritania* reigned king *Juba*, of whom we ſpoke above, a friend and ally of *Rome*; the reſt of *Africa* was kept in ſubjection by two legions, and *Egypt* by the like number. *Syria*, quite to the banks of the *Euphrates*, was maintained by four legions. *Thrace* was poſſeſſed by *Rhemetalces* and the ſons of *Cotys*, who were in alliance with *Rome*; on the banks of the *Danube* lay four legions; two were quartered in *Pannonia*, two in *Mœſia*, and two in *Dalmatia*. The latter two, by the ſituation of the country, were at hand to ſupport the former, and might be ſoon in *Italy* upon any ſudden emergency; though *Rome* had her peculiar guards, nine prætorian and three city cohorts. Beſides, the legions, fleets, and cohorts, which we have enumerated in the ſeveral provinces, were ſtationed, according to their ſituation and neceſſity, the fleets of the ſeveral allies, with bodies both of horſe and foot, no ways inferior either in number or ſtrength to the *Roman* legions. From this vaſt number of forces kept in conſtant pay, we may judge of the ſtrength and wealth of the empire at this time. As to the emperor's intended progreſs, *Suetonius* tells us, that he often declared in the ſenate his intention of viſiting the provinces and armies abroad, and made almoſt every year the neceſſary preparations for his journey, ordering carriages to be bought, and proviſions to be laid in at a great charge in all the municipal towns and in the colonies; nay, he went ſo far as to let the people make their ſolemn vows for his happy journey, and ſafe return, but in the mean time never ſtirred out of *Rome*, or went only to the neighbouring towns; whence he was generally nicknamed *Callipedes*, one who, according to the *Greek* proverb, was always running, yet never advancing (10).

(10) *Suet. in Tib. c.* 38.

of the ſenators full of compaſſion and admiration. But as he repeated anew what he had often ſaid, and what had been as often ridiculed, *viz.* that he deſigned to reſtore the republic, the ſenators began to ſuſpect the ſincerity of his other aſſertions[k]. a

Honours decreed to Druſus. Before the ſenate broke up, they decreed the ſame honours to the memory of *Druſus*, which they had before decreed to that of *Germanicus*, adding many others to them, agreeable to the genius of flattery. The obſequies were performed with the utmoſt pomp, and the funeral proceſſion diſtinguiſhed with a long train of images, repreſenting *Æneas*, the ſuppoſed father of the *Julian* family, all the kings of *Alba*, *Romulus* founder of *Rome*, all the heroes of the *Claudian* race, with *Attus Claudius*, the firſt of that family who came to *Rome*, at the head of them. *Tiberius* himſelf pronounced the panegyric of his ſon, the people and ſenate aſſuming the outward appearance of mourners, but rejoicing in their hearts to ſee the houſe of *Germanicus* nearer the throne. Beſides, *Druſus* was generally hated, being cruel (T), paſſionate, given to drinking, and all manner of debauchery (U). However, he lived in a friendly manner with *Germanicus*, and after his death ſhewed himſelf kind, at leaſt not ill diſpoſed, towards his children. He left behind him two ſons born at a birth, one of whom did not long ſurvive him, the other named *Tiberius Nero Gemellus*, lived to the reign of *Caius*, by whom he was put to death. *Tiberius*, if we may give credit to *Suetonius*[l], deſpiſed them both, as doubting whether they were really the ſons of *Druſus*. As ſoon as the funeral ceremonies were over, *Tiberius* reſumed his uſual employments, prohibited any farther vacation, and to the embaſſadors of the *Ilienſes* or *Trojans*, who came ſomewhat too late with their compliments of condolence, anſwered by way of raillery, as if the memory of his loſs had been quite effaced, that he in his turn condoled with them for having loſt ſo brave and eminent a citizen as *Hector*[m]. b c

His obſequies.

His offspring.

Sejanus *attempts to deſtroy* Agrippina *and her children.*

Sejanus, when he ſaw the death of *Druſus* paſs unrevenged, encouraged with the ſucceſs of his firſt attempt, began to meditate how he might deſtroy the ſons of *Germanicus*, whoſe ſucceſſion to the empire was now unqueſtionable. But as he could not compaſs his wicked ends by poiſon, on account of the great vigilance of their mother *Agrippina*, and the diſtinguiſhed fidelity of their governors, he choſe to attack them another way, which was to rouſe the old hatred *Livia* bore to *Agrippina*, and by her means raiſe jealouſies and ſuſpicions againſt her and her children in the mind of the emperor. His wicked counſels had the deſired effect; for having by a thouſand calumnies and falſe inſinuations rendered *Livia*, who was naturally greedy of power, irreconcileable to the widow of her grandſon, he compaſſed by her means the ruin of that unhappy family, as we ſhall ſoon have occaſion to relate. d

In

[k] Idem, c. 8 [l] Suet. in Tib. c. 62. [m] Idem ibid. c. 52.

(T) *Tacitus* and *Dion Caſſius* give us ſeveral inſtances of *Druſus*'s cruelty. The former writer tells us, that when he firſt preſided at a ſhew of gladiators exhibited in the name of *Germanicus* and his own, he betrayed ſuch delight in blood, that his father was ſaid to have reproved him for it. *Dion Caſſius* ſays, that he often upbraided him with his cruelty both in public and in private, and adds, that from him ſharp ſwords were ſtyled *gladii Druſiani*. The perſon who exhibited the ſhew of gladiators uſed, as *Lipſius* obſerves, to examine the weapons of the combatants before they entered the liſts; on which occaſion *Druſus* approved of ſuch only as were exceeding ſharp; and thence ſharp ſwords were called *Druſian* ſwords. This was, no doubt, a great inſtance of his cruelty, as it was of humanity and good nature in *M. Antoninus*, to approve on the like occaſion of ſuch ſwords only as were blunt, and incapable of occaſioning deep wounds. Beſides *Druſus*, as *Dion* informs us, was very paſſionate, and upon the leaſt provocation ready to ſtrike perſons of the firſt quality; whence he was nicknamed *Caſtor*, whom the ancients ſuppoſe to have been a famous boxer.

(U) *Tacitus* tells us, that in relating the death of *Druſus*, he followed the greateſt part of the *Latin* hiſtorians, and the moſt credible; but adds, that a ſtrong report prevailed in thoſe times, and was ſtill current in his, as if *Tiberius* himſelf had, at the inſtigation of *Lygdus*, preſented the poiſonous potion to his ſon. The eunuch, according to this report, charged *Druſus* with a deſign of poiſoning his father; and privately warning the emperor of this, adviſed him to beware of the firſt draught offered him in the next entertainment at his ſon's houſe. Upon this, *Tiberius*, fully perſuaded of *Druſus*'s wicked deſign, after he had ſat down to table, delivered to his the firſt cup that was preſented to him, which the young prince, not in the leaſt ſuſpecting any plot, gayly drank off. This heightened the jealouſy of *Tiberius*, who upon the death of his ſon, which happened ſoon after, the potion having beforehand been poiſoned by *Lygdus*, concluded, that *Druſus* through fear and ſhame had ſwallowed that death which he had prepared for his father. This report our hiſtorian refutes as void of all appearance of truth. For who can believe, ſays he, that a man of common prudence, much leſs *Tiberius*, ſo long practiſed in great affairs, would to his own ſon, without ſo much as hearing him, preſent with his own hands the mortal potion? He would, no doubt, have tortured the informer, inquired into the plot, endeavoured to diſcover the authors of it, and uſed that caution and ſlowneſs towards his only ſon, hitherto never ſuſpected of any ſuch crime, which was natural to him even in his proceedings againſt ſtrangers.

a In the mean time, *Tiberius*, reſuming the care of public affairs, attended the adminiſtration of juſtice at *Rome*, and diſpatched the petitions from the provinces. At his motion the cities of *Cityra* in *Aſia* and *Ægyra* in *Achaia*, both overthrown by an earthquake, were by a decree of the ſenate eaſed of tribute for three years. *Vibius Serenus*, proconſul of the *Farther Spain* or *Bætica*, being accuſed of governing his province in a violent and arbitrary manner, was condemned and baniſhed into the iſland of *Amorgos*. But *Carſius Sacerdos* and *Caius Gracchus* (W), being charged with ſupplying *Tacfarinas* with corn, were both acquitted [n]. This year at length, after many complaints from the prætors, which had proved ineffectual, *Tiberius*, who had before laid

b the players under various reſtraints and curtailed their wages, repreſented to the ſenate, that they had on many occaſions raiſed tumults, and diſturbed the public tranquillity, that they promoted debauchery in private families, that the obſcenities of the *Oſcan* farce, the ſame with the *Atellana*, of which we have ſpoken in the foregoing volume [o], were grown to ſuch exceſs, that it required the authority of the ſenate to check them, *&c.* Upon theſe complaints from the emperor, the players were all driven out of *Rome* and *Italy* [p], and forbidden, if we believe *Dion Caſſius* [q], to act in any place whatſoever of the *Roman* dominions. The ſame year, died one of *Druſus*'s twins, for whoſe death the emperor was greatly concerned, and no leſs afflicted for that of *Lucius Longus*, his ancient and conſtant friend, and the only ſenator who had attended him in his retreat to *Rhodes*, and ſhared with him both his good and bad

c fortune; for which reaſon, though he was but a new man, the ſenate decreed him a public funeral, and a ſtatue to be placed in the forum built by *Auguſtus*. At the ſame time, *Lucilius Capito*, the emperor's procurator in *Aſia*, being accuſed before the ſenate by the province, *Tiberius* proteſted, that *Lucilius* had no authority from him but over his ſlaves, that he had only empowered him to collect his domeſtic rents, and therefore, if he had uſurped the authority of a prætor, or employed military force, he had therein tranſgreſſed his orders. Hereupon the ſenate, after hearing the allegations of the province, found him guilty and condemned him. The cities of *Aſia* were ſo taken with the moderation *Tiberius* ſhewed on this occaſion, and the ſeverity with which he had proceeded the year before againſt *Caius Silanus*, accuſed of cruelty

d and extortion, that they decreed a temple to him, to his mother, and to the ſenate, and obtained leave to build it. For this conceſſion *Nero* returned thanks to the ſenate and his grandfather in a ſpeech which charmed the fathers, who imagined they heard and ſaw *Germanicus* himſelf [r]. This temple was built at *Smyrna*, and finiſhed three years after, as *Dion Caſſius* informs us [s]. Towards the end of this year *Servius Maluginenſis* dying, his ſon was appointed *flamen Dialis*, or prieſt of *Jupiter*, in his room, and *Cornelia* choſen ſuperior of the veſtals in the place of *Scantia* likewiſe deceaſed. To *Cornelia* a preſent of two thouſand great ſeſterces was decreed, and

e a privilege granted to *Livia* of ſitting amongſt the veſtals in the theatre [t], whoſe place was, as *Suetonius* informs us, over-againſt the prætor's tribunal [u], no other women, however diſtinguiſhed, having a peculiar place, but all ſitting promiſcuouſly together, apart from the men, purſuant to the regulations of *Auguſtus*.

f THE following year, *Sergius Cornelius Cethegus* and *L. Viſellius Varro* being conſuls, the pontiffs, and after their example the other prieſts, making vows for the proſperity of the emperor, commended at the ſame time *Nero* and *Druſus* to the gods; which greatly provoked *Tiberius*, who ſending for the pontiffs, examined them, whether they had paid that compliment to the intreaties or menaces of *Agrippina*. The pontiffs denied both, but nevertheleſs the emperor rebuked them for putting youths upon the level with a man of his years, and afterwards in a ſpeech to the ſenate warned the fathers to take care for the future not to feed the pride of the young men with untimely

Vibius Serenus tried and condemned.

Stage-players driven out of Italy.

A temple erected to Tiberius.

Lucilius Capito *condemned.*

Tiberius *betrays ſome diſaffection to* Germanicus's *children*

[n] Idem, c. 13. [o] Hiſt. Univerſal. Vol. IV. p. 585, c. 37. [p] TACIT. c. 14. SUET. in Tib. [q] DIO, l. lvii. p. 617. [r] TACIT, c. 15. [s] DIO, l. lvii. p. 607. [t] TACIT. l. iii. c. 16. [u] SUET. in Aug. c. 44.

(W) *Caius Gracchus* was ſon to *Sempronius Gracchus*, who, on account of his amours with *Julia*, had been baniſhed by *Auguſtus* into the iſland of *Cercina*, and afterwards aſſaſſinated there by *Tiberius*'s orders. When he firſt left *Italy*, he took his ſon *Caius*, then very young, along with him, as a companion in his exile. *Caius* grew up there among fugitives and men deſtitute of liberal education, and afterwards ſupported himſelf by traffic between *Africa* and *Sicily*. But, notwithſtanding the low condition to which he was reduced, the ſplendor of his illuſtrious family would have occaſioned his ruin, had not *Ælius Lamia* and *Lucius Apronius*, ſucceſſively proconſuls of *Africa*, cleared him from the crime laid to his charge.

timely and too early honours. *Sejanus*, ever intent on improving all opportunities of inflaming *Tiberius* againſt *Agrippina*, laid hold of this to inſinuate, that *Rome* was rent into factions, that already ſome had the boldneſs to declare themſelves openly the partizans of *Agrippina*, and that there was no other remedy againſt the prevailing ſpirit of faction, but the cutting off, under other pretences, one or two of the moſt forward and powerful. Hereupon it was by the deluded emperor thought expedient, that the ſuppoſed riſing faction ſhould be immediately ſuppreſſed, by the utter ruin of all the friends of the houſe of *Germanicus*. The chief among theſe were *Caius Silius* and *Titius Sabinus*, and with them it was agreed to begin this general maſſacre. Other conſiderations, beſides the friendſhip of *Germanicus*, concurred to ruin *Silius*. He had commanded for ſeven years a powerful army, and had been diſtinguiſhed, as we have related above, with the enſigns of triumph for his exploits in *Germany*; he had routed *Sacrovir*, and ſuppreſſed the revolt in *Gaul*; but by boaſting his ſervices, and publicly vaunting that he had ſecured the ſovereign authority to *Tiberius*, by keeping his ſoldiers in their obedience, when the other legions in *Germany* revolted, he had incurred the diſpleaſure of the emperor, who, thinking himſelf incapable of rewarding, as he ought, ſuch important ſervices, was glad of any favourable opportunity to get rid of the perſon who had rendered them. So that his chief offence was over-much ſervice done to *Tiberius*; thence that refined obſervation of *Tacitus*, that benefits are ſo far acceptable, as it ſeems poſſible to requite them; but when once they have exceeded all retaliation, hatred is returned for gratitude. His wife too, by name *Soſia Galla*, contributed to his ruin by her friendſhip and intimacy with *Agrippina*. Both *Tiberius* and *Sejanus* thought it adviſeable to have *Silius* and his wife arraigned firſt, and poſtpone for ſome time the trial of *Sabinus*. Accordingly, the ſenate was ſummoned, and *Silius* accuſed by *Varro* (X) the conſul of keeping up a correſpondence with the authors of the revolt in *Gaul*, and of diſhonouring his victory with cruel extortions: the behaviour of his wife, and her avarice were likewiſe objected to him. *Silius* made no defence, being well appriſed it would be to no purpoſe: he only dropped ſome words to ſhew by whoſe malice he was oppreſſed. They were both declared guilty of treaſon, for under that article the whole charge was brought againſt them. *Silius* prevented his condemnation by a voluntary death; yet his eſtate was confiſcated, contrary to the conſtant cuſtom of *Auguſtus*, who beſtowed on the children of the condemned the eſtates of ſuch as died before ſentence, whether their death was natural or voluntary. His wife *Soſia* was baniſhed at the motion of *Aſinius Gallus*, who propoſed, that one half of her effects ſhould be forfeited, and the other left to her children. *Marcus Lepidus* voted the fourth part to the accuſers, as the law required, and all the reſt to the children. Which of theſe two opinions prevailed, our hiſtorian does not inform us. On this occaſion *Cotta Meſſalinus* moved, that by a decree of the ſenate, governors of provinces, however innocent in themſelves, ſhould be equally puniſhed for the crimes of their wives as for their own. As this decree is mentioned by *Ulpian*, we may ſuppoſe that it paſſed this year, though that writer ſpeaks of it as made four years before. *Calpurnius Piſo* was tried next, and charged by *Quintus Granius* with treaſonable words privately uttered againſt the emperor: to this charge the accuſer added, that *Piſo* kept poiſon in his houſe, and came into the ſenate armed with a dagger. The latter article ſeemed incredible, and therefore was dropped; but for other crimes, of which he was no leſs falſly accuſed, he was put upon his trial, but his condemnation was prevented by a natural death (Y). Then complaints were made of *Caſſius Severus* (Z), who, though formerly confined to the iſland

Caius Silius *accuſed.*

Prevents his condemnation by a voluntary death.

Calpurnius Piſo *tried.*

Caſſius Severus *confined to* Seriphos.

(X) *Tacitus* tells us, that *Silius*, ſeeing the conſul engaged againſt him as an accuſer, begged the emperor to poſtpone the trial till the time of his conſulſhip was expired; but that his requeſt was rejected by *Tiberius*, who, cloaking his acts of tyranny under venerable old names, anſwered, that as other magiſtrates were allowed to bring particulars upon their trial, the prerogative of a conſul in the like caſe ought not to be infringed, ſince it was chiefly incumbent upon him to take care, that no damage accrued to the republic.

(Y) *L. Calpurnius Piſo* was one of the boldeſt men at that time in *Rome*, and had threatened, as we have related above, to quit *Rome*, and to retire into ſome diſtant corner of the earth, where he might be free from the mercileſs purſuits of the informers. *Tiberius* bore this calmly, nay, he even deſcended to ſoften him with kind words. Afterwards, the undaunted *Piſo*, in defiance of the power of *Livia*, proſecuted her favourite *Urgulania*, and could not be prevailed upon to drop the proſecution, though ſhe had taken ſanctuary in the emperor's palace. This alſo *Tiberius* diſſembled; but though he often ſuppreſſed his reſentment, yet deep impreſſions remained in his unforgiving ſoul. *Piſo* is now charged with treaſon, and but for a natural death, which very ſeaſonably intervened, muſt have been puniſhed as a traitor.

(Z) *Auguſtus* was the firſt, as we have obſerved above, who brought libels under the penalties of the law of majeſty or treaſon. To this he was chiefly induced

a island of *Crete* for his petulant and satirical writings, yet continued even in his exile his former practices, defaming the most illustrious persons in *Rome*. He was therefore stript of his estate, and banished into the hospitable island of *Seriphos*, which we have described elsewhere [u]. About this time *Plautius Silvanus* prætor killed his wife *Apronia*, by throwing her headlong out of one of the windows of his apartment. Whereupon, being carried by *Apronius* his father-in-law before the emperor, he pretended, that while he was asleep, his wife had been the occasion of her own death. Upon this answer, *Tiberius*, unmindful of his dignity, hastened to *Silvanus*'s chamber, and finding there evident marks of his violence and his wife's struggling, he made his report to the senate, who immediately appointed judges to try the prætor. In the mean time, his grandmother *Urgulania*, who, as we have observed above, was one b of *Livia*'s chief favourites, finding she could not with all her interest save the life of her grandson, sent him, by the advice of *Tiberius*, as was supposed, a dagger, which was tacitly advising him to prevent his impending condemnation by a voluntary death. The criminal had not courage enough to make use of the dagger; but causing his veins to be opened, bled to death. After his death, his former wife *Numantia*, whom he had divorced to marry *Apronia*, was accused of having by charms and potions disordered the understanding of her husband, but was acquitted [w].

Plautius Silvanus prevents his condemnation by a voluntary death.

This year at length put an end to the war with *Tacfarinas* the *Numidian*, who was utterly routed and killed by *P. Dolabella*, proconsul of *Africa*, with the assistance of *Ptolemy*, who had succeeded his father *Juba* in the kingdom of *Mauritania*. The c proconsul desired the ensigns of triumph for his victory, which had been granted to three others; but *Tiberius* refused him that mark of distinction in compliment to *Sejanus*, that the fame of his uncle *Blæsus* might not be thence eclipsed. *Dolabella* on his return to *Rome* brought with him many distinguished captives, among whom was the son of *Tacfarinas*; and was attended by embassadors from the *Garamantes*, a people of the *Inner Libya*, who, being frightened with the death of *Tacfarinas*, whom they had assisted, thought it adviseable to appease, by an embassy, the resentment of the *Roman* people. To *Ptolemy*, king of *Mauritania*, who had bore great share in this war, was dispatched a senator with an ivory staff and an embroidered robe, presents which the *Roman* people used to send in ancient times to kings, who were d their friends and confederates [x]. The same year, one *Titus Curtisius*, formerly a soldier of the prætorian guards, sowed the seeds of a servile war, inviting by declarations publicly hung up all slaves to resume their liberty. But this tumult was suppressed just as it was breaking out, the leader himself and the most resolute men of his party being surprised and dragged to *Rome*, which was already in great consternation on account of the immense number of domestic slaves [y].

Tacfarinas defeated and killed.

A servile war suppressed in its rise.

During the same consulate, *Rome* saw an example of horror and unnatural cruelty, which alone is sufficient to render the reign and memory of *Tiberius* execrable to the latest posterity. *Vibius Serenus*, proconsul of the *Farther Spain*, was condemned, as e we have related above, for arbitrary administration, and banished to the island of *Amorgos*. But now that unhappy father is dragged from the place of his exile to a fresh trial, being accused by his son of treasonable practices against the majesty of the emperor. The father appeared before the senate, bound in chains, with a dejected countenance, and in the dismal habit of a criminal, while the son, in the gayest attire, as if he intended to insult nature itself, alledged a plot framed by his father against the emperor, accusing him at the same time of having sent conspirators into *Gaul*, to stir up the people there to rebellion. He likewise charged *Cæcilius Cornutus*, formerly prætor, with having supplied the conspirators with money. *Cornutus*, though innocent, no sooner heard himself accused, than, looking upon his accusation only as

Vibius Serenus accused by his own son.

[u] Hist. Univers. Vol. III. p 277.
[w] Tacit. ibid. c. 15—22.
[x] Idem, c. 23—27.
[y] Idem, c. 27.

induced by the insolence of *Cassius Severus*, who had in his writings wantonly defamed the most illustrious men and women in *Rome*. He was of a mean descent, but an excellent speaker, and had a particular turn for satyre. He wrote also a history, which we find quoted by *Suetonius* (11) and *Tertullian* (12). *Seneca* makes honourable mention of him in his controversy (13). *Tacitus* tells us in this place, that he grew old among the rocks of *Seriphos*; which is agreeable to what we read in *Eusebius*, viz. that *Cassius Severus*, a famous orator, died of want in the twenty-fifth year of his exile, being reduced to such poverty, that he had not wherewithal to cover his nakedness (14). S. *Jerom* supposes him to have died for want of necessaries in the eighth year of his banishment (15).

(11) *Suet. in Vitell. c.* 2. (12) *Tertull. in apolog.* (13) *Senec. controvers.* 3. *init.*
(14) *Eusеb. in chron.* (15) *Hier. in chron.*

as a ſignal of deſtruction, he laid violent hands on himſelf. But *Serenus*, turning full upon his ſon and ſhaking his chains, begged of the gods with tears in his eyes, that they would reſtore him to the place of his exile, where he might paſs his days far from ſuch objects of horror, and that they would one day take juſt vengeance of ſuch a cruel and unnatural ſon. He then urged, that *Cornutus* was innocent, and only frightened with a falſe accuſation; and challenged his ſon to produce other witneſſes and name other confederates, ſince it was not probable, that with one accomplice only he ſhould have thought of murdering the prince and introducing a change in the government. The accuſer then named *Cneius Lentulus* and *Seius Tubero*, both men of the firſt rank in *Rome* and *Tiberius*'s intimate friends. Beſides, *Lentulus* was extremely old, and *Tubero* broken with infirmities; inſomuch, that *Tiberius* himſelf could not help bluſhing in hearing them named. *Dion Caſſius* tells us, that *Lentulus*, finding himſelf, aged as he was, charged with meditating the murder of the prince and a change of ſtate, broke into a loud laugh; and that the emperor inſtantly acquitted him, ſaying, *I do not deſerve to live, if I am hated even by* Lentulus: *Tubero* was likewiſe diſcharged, but the ſlaves of the pretended criminal were examined upon the rack, and their teſtimony proved favourable to their maſter. Hereupon the populace, provoked at ſuch monſtrous and unheard-of proceedings, began to threaten the unnatural ſon with the puniſhments inflicted by the laws on parricides; which ſo terrified him, that he fled privately out of *Rome* and withdrew to *Ravenna*. But *Tiberius*, ſtill remembering ſome expreſſions, a little too free, which *Serenus* had uſed in a letter written to him eight years before (A), and no wiſe diſguiſing his old hatred, obliged the ſon to return and purſue the action begun againſt his father. Nothing could be proved againſt him; nevertheleſs the votes being taken, he was ſentenced to death as a traytor. And then *Tiberius*, to mitigate the odium accruing to him from ſuch a crying piece of injuſtice, granted him his life. Hereupon *Aſinius Gallus* was for confining him to the iſland of *Gyarus*, or to that of *Donuſa*; this motion was diſliked by the emperor, becauſe both theſe iſlands were deſtitute of water, and to whom life is granted, ſaid he, the neceſſaries of life ought likewiſe to be granted. *Serenus* was therefore remanded to *Amorgos* [a]. The death of *Cornutus*, who had laid violent hands on himſelf, gave occaſion to the following motion in the ſenate; *viz.* that when a perſon charged with treaſon ſhould put an end to his own life before he was condemned, the accuſers ſhould loſe their rewards, which were the fourth part of the condemned perſon's eſtate. This motion ſeemed reaſonable, and would have been generally approved of, had not *Tiberius*, throwing off his uſual diſguiſe and reſerve, openly declared himſelf an advocate for the accuſers, ſaying with great ſternneſs, that by this means the laws would be defeated and the republic overturned; and that they had better diſannul the laws themſelves, than remove their guardians. Thus theſe bloody and deſtructive inſtruments, ſays *Tacitus*, never ſufficiently curbed by any terrors or puniſhments, were now allured and encouraged by ample rewards [b]. The ſame year, were accuſed and convicted *Caius Cominius*, a *Roman* knight, *Publius Suilius*, formerly quæſtor to *Germanicus*, and *Catus Firmius*, a ſenator. *Cominius* had written a ſcurrilous poem againſt the emperor, who nevertheleſs pardoned him at the intreaties of his brother, who was a ſenator. *Suilius*, being convicted of taking a bribe in an affair which he was to decide as a judge, was by the ſenate only condemned to be driven out of *Italy*; but this ſentence appearing too mild to the emperor, he cauſed him to be baniſhed into an iſland, after having declared upon oath, that he conſulted therein the welfare of the republic. This ſeverity, which was then ſharply cenſured, turned afterwards to the emperor's praiſe: for *Suilius*, returning to *Rome* in the reign of *Claudius*, proved an abandoned mercenary and one of the moſt miſchievous miniſters of that weak prince; a proof this, of *Tiberius*'s deep penetration and thorough knowledge of mankind, a knowledge in which he has been equalled by few, and excelled by none. *Catus Firmius* was likewiſe by the ſentence of the ſenate to be expelled *Italy* for forging crimes of treaſon againſt his ſiſter. But as he had been inſtrumental in procuring the deſtruction of *Libo Druſus*, by firſt malicioufly ſeducing

The revengeful temper of Tiberius.

He openly countenances the accuſers.

Several perſons accuſed.

[a] Dio, l. lviii. p. 630, 631. [b] Tacit. c. 28—30. Idem, c. 30, 31.

(A) *Tacitus* tells us, that after the condemnation of *Libo Druſus*, *Serenus* had by letters upbraided the emperor for not rewarding the ſingular zeal with which he had ſignalized himſelf in that trial, uſing expreſſions more free than the tender ears of a prince, naturally proud and jealous of his prerogative, could bear. Our hiſtorian, in his account of that famous trial, which he ſeems to have deſcribed pretty minutely, does not mention *Serenus* among the informers, though he acted, as apears from this paſſage, a chief part on that occaſion.

[a] ſeducing him, and afterwards informing againſt him, as we have related above. *Tiberius*, mindful of this ſervice, but pretending other motives, ſaved him from baniſhment, but did not oppoſe his being expelled the ſenate [c].

Tacitus begins the following year, when *Coſſius Cornelius Lentulus* and *M. Aſinius Agrippa* were conſuls, with an account of the arraignment and noble defence of *Cremutius Cordus*, a celebrated hiſtorian, who was accuſed of having praiſed *Brutus* in the annals he had publiſhed, and ſtyled *Caſſius the laſt of the* Romans, which was the elogium beſtowed upon him by *Brutus* himſelf. His accuſers were *Satrius Secundus* and *Pinarius Natta*, both creatures of *Sejanus*; which he looking upon as a ſignal of his deſtruction, and beſides obſerving great ſternneſs and indignation in the countenance of *Tiberius*, he caſt away all hopes of life, ſpoke in his own defence [b] with the ſpirit and in the ſtyle of a true *Roman* (B), and then, withdrawing from the ſenate, ſtarved himſelf to death. The fathers condemned his books to be burnt by the ædiles; but they were ſtill privately diſperſed and read, both in *Tiberius*'s time and many ages after: whence our hiſtorian takes occaſion to deride the ſtupidity of thoſe, who imagine they can by their preſent power conceal the tranſactions of their times from future ages; whereas it happens quite otherwiſe; for the puniſhment of writers gains credit to their writings, and kings reap no other fruit from it, than infamy to themſelves and glory to thoſe whom they thus perſecute [d]. But time has done what the emperor could not effect with all his authority; only ſome few fragments of *Cremutius Cordus*'s hiſtory have been tranſmitted to us by *Seneca* [e], the [c] reſt having been long ſince loſt. For this whole year accuſations were purſued with ſuch warmth, that even during the feſtival of the *Feriæ Latinæ*, while *Druſus*, probably

Cremutius Cordus *arraigned.*

Ends his life by abſtinence.

[c] Idem, c. 31. Chr. Alex. p. 492.

[d] Tacit. c. 34. Dio, l. lvii. p. 619. Senec. ad Marc. c. 22. Cassiod.

[e] Vide Senec. in ſuaſ. de mort. Cic.

(B) "As to facts, conſcript fathers, ſaid he, I "am ſo free from guilt, that words only are pro- "duced againſt me. But neither were my words "uttered againſt the prince or his father, who are "the only perſons compriſed under the law of trea- "ſon. I am charged with having praiſed *Brutus* "and *Caſſius*, men whoſe exploits many have diſ- "played, and all in honourable terms. *Titus Livius*, "one of our moſt famous writers both for eloquence "and veracity, beſtowed ſuch high encomiums up- "on *Pompey* that *Auguſtus* ſtyled him a *Pompeian*; "nor did this in the leaſt prejudice their friendſhip. "He no-where calls *Scipio Africanus*, nor even this "*Caſſius*, this *Brutus*, *thieves* and *parricides*, as "they are now-a-days commonly termed, but of- "ten mentions them as worthy and famous men. "The writings of *Aſinius Pollio* have conveyed "down to us the memory of the ſame men under "honourable characters. *Meſſala Corvinus* was "proud of having had *Caſſius* for his general; and "for all this both theſe writers flouriſhed both in "wealth and honours under *Auguſtus*. *M. Cicero* "extolled *Cato* to the ſkies; and nevertheleſs *Cæſar* "the dictator contented himſelf with anſwering it "in the ſame ſtyle, as if he had been before his "judges. The letters of *Marc Antony*, the ſpeeches "of *Brutus*, are full of reproaches againſt *Auguſtus*, "falſe indeed and groundleſs, but urged with great "bitterneſs. The poems of *Bibaculus* and *Catul- "lus*, though ſtuffed with ſatirical and virulent re- "flections upon the *Cæſars*, are ſtill read. The "deified *Julius*, the deified *Auguſtus*, bore theſe in- "vectives, and winked at them, whether with great- "er moderation or wiſdom, I cannot eaſily ſay. For "things of that nature, if neglected, are but ſhort- "lived; whereas they argue, when reſented, a guilty "conſcience. I forbear mentioning the *Greeks*, a- "mong whom, not only the freedom, but even "the licentiouſneſs, of ſpeech is unpuniſhed; or if "any correction is returned, it is only by revenge- "ing words with words. It has been ever allowed, "and at no time thought matter of reproach, to "paſs our judgment upon thoſe whom death hath "exempted from hatred and favour. Do I with "ſeditious harangues inflame the people to civil "wars, or exhort them to join *Caſſius* and *Brutus*, "now in arms and maſters of the fields of *Philippi*? "*Brutus* and *Caſſius*, now above ſeventy years ſlain, "are ſtill known in their ſtatues, which even the "conqueror did not deſtroy: why then may not "an hiſtorian preſerve their memories in his write- "ings? Impartial poſterity does every one juſtice; "and if my death is determined, there will not be "wanting ſome, who will not only maintain the "memory of *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, but mine too." Notwithſtanding this noble defence, the hiſtorian, not doubting, but he would have been condemned by the ſervile ſenate, returned home and ended his life by abſtinence. What *Cordus* ſays here of the ſtatues of *Caſſius* and *Brutus* is confirmed by other writers, namely by *Plutarch* who tells us, that *Auguſtus* took care, that all the honours which had been paid to the two heads of the republican party in their life-time, ſhould be preſerved inviolable to them after their death, and relates to this purpoſe the following ſtory: As *Auguſtus* was paſſing thro' the city of *Mediolanum* in *Ciſalpine Gaul*, he obſerved a ſtatue of *Brutus*, which was of excellent workmanſhip, and ſtrongly reſembled the original. Upon this he halted, and, in the preſence of many who attended him, called the magiſtrates before him, and told them, that their town had broken the league and honoured one of his enemies. At firſt the magiſtrates denied the fact, and, not knowing what he drove at, dared upon one another, as men under an inexpreſſible ſurpriſe. Then *Auguſtus*, pointing to the ſtatue, aſked them with a frown, *Is not that my enemy, whom you have received into the very heart of your city?* At theſe words the magiſtrates, ſtill more aſtoniſhed, were ſtruck dumb. Whereupon *Auguſtus* ſmiling commended them for their conſtancy to their friends, though in adverſity; and left orders, that the ſtatue ſhould remain ſtanding as he found it (16).

(16) *Plut. in Bruto.*

bably the ſon of *Germanicus*, who had been appointed governor of *Rome*, was aſcend- a
ing the tribunal to take poſſeſſion of his new employment, *Calpurnius Salvianus* accoſted him with a charge againſt *Sextus Marius*, which *Tiberius* highly reſented, publicly rebuking the informer, who was thereupon immediately baniſhed by the ſenate. The inhabitants of *Cyzicum* were this year accuſed of neglecting the worſhip of the deified *Auguſtus*, which they had eſtabliſhed in their city, and of committing violences upon ſome *Roman* citizens (B). They were therefore deprived of their liberty, which had been formerly granted them by the *Roman* people, in conſideration of their gallant behaviour during the *Mithridatic* war [f], as we have related elſewhere. *Fonteius Capito*, formerly proconſul of *Aſia*, was accuſed at the ſame time, but acquitted, it plainly appearing, that the crimes, laid to his charge by *Vibius Serenus*, were forged. b
And yet *Serenus* eſcaped unpuniſhed; nay the public hatred he had incurred, by falſely arraigning perſons of the greateſt diſtinction, rendered him the more ſecure: for, as our hiſtorian obſerves, the more miſchievous an accuſer was, the ſafer he was, thoſe only of the tribe being ſurrendered to puniſhment, who were incapable of doing great miſchief [g].

The inhabitants of Cyzicum *deprived of their liberties.*

About this time, embaſſadors arrived in *Rome* from the *Farther Spain*, to beg leave of the ſenate to erect a temple, after the example of *Aſia*, to *Tiberius* and his mother. When they were introduced to the ſenate, the emperor laid hold of that occaſion to confute thoſe who had taxed him with ambition, for having allowed the *Aſiatics* to pay him divine honours, and ſpoke in the following manner: "I know, conſcript fathers, c
"that I am generally blamed, and taxed with inconſtancy, for not oppoſing the cities of "*Aſia*, when they petitioned for this very thing. I ſhall therefore now acquaint you with "the motives of my former ſilence, and at the ſame time with the rules I propoſe to "follow for the future. As the deified *Auguſtus* did not oppoſe the founding of a temple at *Pergamus* to himſelf and the city of *Rome* (C), I, with whom all his actions "and ſayings have the force of laws, followed a precedent already approved the more "willingly, becauſe to the worſhip beſtowed upon me was annexed that of the ſenate. But as the accepting of that honour in one inſtance deſerves pardon, ſo to "be adored in every province, under the ſacred repreſentations of the deities, ſavours "of pride and ambition: beſides, the rendering common, and in a manner proſti- d
"tuting, this honour would be detracting from the glory of *Auguſtus*. For myſelf, "conſcript

Tiberius's wiſe reaſoning againſt admitting divine honours.

[f] Tacit. c. 36. Suet. in Tib. c. 37. Dio, l. lvii. p. 619. [g] Tacit. ibid.

(B) The *Cyzicans* had begun to build a temple in honour of *Auguſtus*, but neglected to finiſh it, and beſides had committed violences upon ſome *Roman* citizens (17). Of the latter fault they had been guilty alſo in the reign of *Auguſtus*, who thereupon deprived them of their liberties, which, however, he reſtored to them ſoon after (18). In the *Mithridatic* war they ſuſtained a ſiege, as we have related inour hiſtory of *Pontus*, with incredible bravery, and repulſed the king. But now, without any regard to their former ſervices, they are ſtript of thoſe privileges, which they had purchaſed by a moſt gallant behaviour and at the expence of their blood (19). We do not find, that their liberties were ever after reſtored to them; whence we conclude, that *Strabo* was either dead, or had put the laſt hand to his work before this year, the eleventh of *Tiberius*'s reign, ſince he writes, that in his time the city of *Cyzicum* was free (20).

(C) Though in *Auguſtus*'s time temples were built even in honour of the proconſuls and governors of provinces, yet that prince, as *Suetonius* informs us, would ſuffer no temples to be erected to him alone, but jointly to him and the city of *Rome*. Thus the temple mentioned here by *Tiberius* was built at *Pergamus* by the communities of *Aſia*, and conſecrated to *Rome* and *Auguſtus*. The repreſentation of this temple is to be ſeen on ſeveral coins which have reached our times, with this legend; *Com. Aſiae. Rom. et. Aug.* that is, *The communities of* Aſia *to* Rome *and* Auguſtus (21). The *Smyrneans* firſt erected a temple to *Rome* in the year of the city 558 (22): their example was followed about twenty four years after by the inhabitants of *Alabanda*, a city of *Caria* (23). In proceſs of time, a temple was erected in the city itſelf to *Rome* and *Venus*. Of this temple *Prudentius* ſpeaks in the following lines:

——— colitur nam ſanguine & ipſa
More deæ, nomenque loci ceu numen habetur:
Æque urbis Veneriſque pari ſe culmine tollunt
Templa, ſimul geminis adolentur thura deabus.

The ſame poet addreſſes elſewhere *Rome* as a goddeſs, thus:

Exaudi, regina tui pulcherrima mundi,
Inter ſydereos Roma recepta polos.

Claudian places this temple on mount *Palatine*:

Conveniunt ad tecta deæ, quæ candida lucent
Monte Palatino, &c.

Says that poet, ſpeaking of the temple conſecrated to *Rome* (24),

(17) *Suet. in Tib. c.* 37. (18) *Dio, l.* liv. (19) *Tacit. c.* 36, *Dio, l.* lvii. *p.* 619.
(20) *Strab. l.* xii. (21) *Vide Dion, l.* li. *ad annum* 735. (22) *Tacit. c.* 56. (23) *Liv.* xliii. (24) *Claudian. de laud. Stilic. l.* ii.

a " conſcript fathers, I acknowledge to you, and would have poſterity to know, that
" I am a mortal man, and ſubject, like others, to the common functions of nature.
" It is enough for me to hold the chief place among you, and poſterity will ſuffi-
" ciently honour my memory, if they believe me to have been worthy of my ance-
" ſtors, careful of your affairs, unmoved in dangers, fearleſs of private hatred for
" the public welfare. Theſe are the temples which I would raiſe in your breaſts,
" theſe the beſt and moſt laſting images. As for temples and ſtatues of ſtone, if
" thoſe who are worſhipped in them come to be condemned by the judgment of
" poſterity, they are deſpiſed as their ſepulchres. I therefore here implore our allies
" and citizens, all the gods and goddeſſes, beſeeching the latter to grant me, to the
b " end of my life, a mind undiſturbed and a thorough knowledge of the laws human
" and divine, and the former to celebrate my actions, whenever my diſſolution comes,
" with a kind remembrance." Thus ſpoke *Tiberius*; but his reaſoning, however judicious and wiſe, was variouſly conſtrued, ſome aſcribing his thus rejecting divine honours to modeſty, others to diffidence, and many to a meanneſs of ſpirit unbecoming a prince. But whatever was his motive, he thenceforth continued to ſlight upon all occaſions, and even in private converſation, divine honours [g].

Sejanus *aſks young* Livia *in marriage.*

And now *Sejanus*, intoxicated with his exceſſive power, and beſides egged on by the importunity of *Livia*, the widow of *Druſus*, who was continually reminding him of his promiſe, preſented a memorial to the emperor, begging, that if a huſband
c were ſought for *Livia*, he would remember his friend, to whom he had already given innumerable inſtances of his affection and benevolence. He added, that *Auguſtus*, in the diſpoſal of his daughter, had not been without thoughts of ſome *Roman* knight; that he had nothing in view but the glory of ſuch an affinity and the ſafety of his children, ſince their alliance with the imperial family would ſufficiently ſcreen them againſt the wrath and malice of *Agrippina*; for himſelf, he ſaid, he cared to live no longer, than he could be ſerviceable to ſo gracious and benevolent a prince. *Tiberius* for a preſent anſwer commended the fidelity of *Sejanus*, curſorily recapitulated his own favours towards him, and demanded time to examine his requeſt with more maturity. At length he returned this anſwer: " That princes were not, like other men, guided

Tiberius's *anſwer to him.*

d " in their purſuits by the notions of conveniency, but were in their actions chiefly to
" conſider the applauſe and approbation of the public; and therefore, that he
" would not put *Sejanus* off with this obvious and plauſible anſwer, that *Livia* could
" herſelf determine whether ſhe would marry again or no, or that ſhe had a mother
" and grandmother, with whom, as nearer relations, ſhe might adviſe; but would
" deal more candidly with him: And in the firſt place, as to the enmity of *Agrip-*
" *pina*, it would become more outrageous, if by the marriage of *Livia* the houſe
" of the *Cæſars* were rent, as it were, into two oppoſite parties; that even as things
" ſtood, great emulation reigned among the women, which occaſioned a mutual
" miſunderſtanding in his grandſons. What would be the conſequence, if by ſuch
e " a marriage the conteſt and diſagreement were heightened? For you are deceived,
" *Sejanus*, ſaid he, if you think to continue then in the ſame rank you are now in.
" Can you imagine, that *Livia*, who was firſt married to *Caius Cæſar*, and after-
" wards to *Druſus*, will be ſatisfied to grow old with a perſon only of the equeſtrian
" rank? If I ſhould ſuffer you after your marriage to remain in the ſame ſtation,
" do you think, that thoſe would ſuffer it, who have ſeen her brother, her father, and
" her anceſtors, ſhining in the firſt dignities? You propoſe continuing in your
" preſent rank; but thoſe very magiſtrates and great men, who in all affairs affect
" to conſult you, openly complain, that you are already lifted up above the rank
" of a knight, that you ſurpaſs in power all my father's friends, and therefore out
f " of hatred to you cenſure me. *Auguſtus*, you ſay, had ſome thoughts of giving
" his daughter in marriage to a *Roman* knight. What wonder, if diſtracted with
" innumerable cares, and well appriſed to what a great height he raiſed the perſon
" whom he diſtinguiſhed with that match, he talked of *Proculeius* (D) and ſome
" others

g Idem, c. 37, 38.

(D) *Caius Proculeius* was brother to *Varro Muræna*, who conſpired againſt *Auguſtus*. Their ſiſter was married to *Mecænas* (25). His two brothers, *Scipio* and *Muræna*, having loſt their eſtates in the civil wars, he reſerved only one-third of his eſtate for himſelf, and gave the reſt to them, for which generoſity

(25) *Dio, l.*

"others of the ſame rank, remarkable for the retiredneſs of their lives, and no a
"ways engaged in affairs of ſtate? But if we are moved by the heſitation of *Auguſtus*,
"how much more ought we to be influenced by the reſolution he took in the end of
"giving his daughter firſt to *Agrippa*, and afterwards to me? Theſe conſiderations
"I have out of friendſhip ſuggeſted to you; however, I will not oppoſe your incli-
"nations, or thoſe of *Livia*. What I am now meditating with myſelf in your
"favour, by what ties I am contriving to bind you to me, I will forbear at preſent
"to relate. Thus much only I will ſay, that there is nothing ſo high, but your
"abilities and zeal for me may juſtly claim. Theſe my ſentiments, I will, on a
"proper occaſion, declare, either in the ſenate, or the aſſembly of the people".
Sejanus was alarmed at this anſwer, as being well acquainted with the emperor's ob- b
ſcure and diſtruſtful temper: laying therefore aſide all thoughts of marrying *Livia*, he
earneſtly intreated him not to give ear to the ſlanderous reports of his enemies, nor
hearken to the malicious inſinuations of ſuch as hated him, only on account of his un-
ſhaken fidelity. The more he reflected on *Tiberius*'s anſwer, the more apprehenſive
he grew of giving him any umbrage. He was chiefly at a loſs how to comport himſelf
with reſpect to the crouds of perſons of all ranks, who daily frequented his houſe to
court his favour. To refuſe them admittance would be impairing his power, and
the encouraging of them might, as he juſtly apprehended, furniſh a handle for criminal
accuſations. In this perplexity he came at length to the following reſolution, *viz.* to
urge the emperor to leave *Rome*, and retire to ſome pleaſant place remote from the c
noiſe and hurry of the city. From this counſel he promiſed himſelf great advan-
tages; there could be no acceſs to the prince, but by him; all letters and expreſſes,
as they were conveyed, according to the cuſtom which then obtained, by ſoldiers,
who were at his devotion, would paſs through his hands; the emperor, declining in
age, and growing ſlothful and effeminate through the ſolitude of the place, would
more eaſily transfer upon him the whole charge of the empire; finally, he himſelf
ſhould be removed from the crouds of ſuch as to make their court attended him at
Rome, which would ſtop one ſource of envy. He therefore began by little and little
to rail at the hurry of buſineſs at *Rome*, cunningly inſinuating to *Tiberius* the great
and enormous inconveniencies of the city, the conſtant trouble of attending the ſenate, d
the diſcontented and ſeditious temper of the people, highly extolling at the ſame
time a quiet and ſolitary retirement, a life without anguiſh of mind, free from envy
and ill-will, and therefore more fit to diſpatch important and weighty matters. A
trial, which happened about this time, gave no ſmall weight to the cunning inſinu-
ations of *Sejanus*. One *Votienus Montanus* (E), a man of great wit, was charged
with contumelious ſpeeches againſt the emperor. *Æmilius* the witneſs, a rough and
unthinking ſoldier, to make good his evidence, repeated word for word what he had
heard. The fathers endeavoured with their clamours to ſtop his mouth; but to no
purpoſe, *Æmilius* obſtinately perſiſting in the odious detail, and rehearſing with a
loud voice all the reproaches he had ever heard uttered againſt the prince, who was e
ſo affected with them, that he could not forbear crying out, that he would inſtantly
clear himſelf, either in their preſence, or before an aſſembly of the people: *Votie-
nus* was condemned, and, according to *Euſebius* [h], confined to the *Balearic* iſlands.
At the ſame time, was condemned to baniſhment *Aquila*, a woman of diſtinction,
for adultery, and *Apidius Merula* expelled the ſenate for not having ſworn upon the
acts of *Auguſtus* i. Next were heard embaſſadors from the *Lacedæmonians* and *Meſſe-
nians* about the right each people claimed to a temple of *Diana*, which the ſenate,
after hearing the parties, adjudged to the latter [k]. The citizens likewiſe of *Segeſtum*
in *Sicily* ſent deputies to *Rome*, begging, that the temple of *Venus Erycina*, fallen
through age, might be rebuilt. This charge *Tiberius* readily took upon himſelf, f
becauſe the *Segeſtani* were ſuppoſed to be likewiſe deſcended from the *Trojans*. Then
a petition was heard from the inhabitants of *Marſeilles*, claiming the eſtate of one *Vol-
catius*

Sejanus urges the emperor to leave Rome, *and his views in this.*

Votienus Montanus *accuſed and condemned.*

Embaſſadors from the Lacedæmonians *and* Meſſenians.

[h] Euseb. in chron. [i] Tacit. c. 41. 42. [k] Idem, c. 43.

generoſity he is deſervedly celebrated by *Horace* in the following lines:

Vivet extento Proculeius ævo
Notus in fratres animi paterni.

(E) *Votienus Montanus* is commended by *Seneca* as an orator of great fame (26), and by *Ovid* as a poet of no mean character:

Quique vel imparibus numeris, Montane, vel æquis
Sufficis, & gemino carmine nomen habes.

(26) *Senec. l.* v. *controver.* 7.

a *catius Moſchus*, who, being baniſhed from *Rome* and by them admitted a citizen, had left to their republic, as to his country, his whole fortune. Their claim was approved, and the eſtate of *Moſchus* ſurrendered to them. This year died three *Romans* of great diſtinction, viz. *Cneius Lentulus*, *Lucius Domitius*, and *Lucius Antonius*. *Lentulus* had been conſul, and rewarded for his victories over the *Getuli* with the enſigns of triumph: he had long borne private poverty with great patience, and afterwards with equal modeſty enjoyed great wealth virtuouſly acquired. *Domitius* was the ſon of *Lucius Domitius*, who, being condemned by the *Pedian* law as privy to the murder of *Julius Cæſar*, though he was no ways acceſſory to it, betook himſelf to *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, who were his kinſmen, and continued with them till their death; b after which he retained the command of the fleet, which they had given him long before, and conſiderably augmented it in ſpite of all his diſaſters. At length, when the republican party was irrecoverably ruined, he ſurrendered the fleet under his command to *Marc Antony*, and was the only perſon, condemned by the *Pedian* law, who was allowed to return to his native country, where he was advanced to the higheſt honours. Upon the breaking out of the civil war between *Antony* and *Octavianus*, the former appointed him his lieutenant; but he not approving of *Antony*'s conduct, and ſome offering to confer the ſupreme command upon him, he retired to *Auguſtus*, and died a few days after [l]. His ſon, mentioned here by *Tacitus*, led a *Roman* army beyond the *Elb*, and advanced farther into *Germany* than any had done before him; whence he was honoured with the enſigns of triumph. He married *Antonia* the youn- c ger, or, as *Suetonius* has it, the elder [m], and had by her *Cneius Domitius*, the father of the emperor *Nero*. *Lucius Antonius*, who likewiſe died at this time, was the ſon of *Julius Antonius*, whom *Auguſtus* put to death on account of his criminal converſation with *Julia*. Upon the death of the father the emperor removed the ſon, then a child, to *Marſeilles*, where, under pretence of purſuing his ſtudies, he was long kept in an honourable exile. However, as he was the grandſon of *Octavia*, *Auguſtus*'s ſiſter by his mother *Marcella*, he was honoured with a public funeral, and his bones were, by a decree of the ſenate, repoſited in the tomb of the *Octavian* family [n]. During the adminiſtration of the ſame conſuls, *Lucius Piſo*, governor of the *Hither* *Spain*, as he travelled through the province unguarded, was attacked unawares by a d peaſant, and diſpatched with one blow. The aſſaſſin, by the fleetneſs of his horſe, eſcaped to a neighbouring foreſt, and there quitted him. But the horſe being taken, the owner was ſoon diſcovered, ſeized, and put to the rack, which he bore with incredible conſtancy and reſolution, declaring in the language of his country, that his accomplices might ſafely ſtand by; for no torture or pain, however exquiſite, ſhould extort from him a diſcovery. The next day, as they were dragging him again to the rack, he broke from his keepers, and daſhed his head with ſuch violence againſt a ſtone, that he immediately expired [o].

The deaths of ſome illuſtrious Romans.

Lucius Piſo *governor of* Hither Spain *killed by a peaſant.*

Poppæus Sabinus *defeats the* Thracians

Agrippina's *juſt reproach upon* Tiberius.

The following year, *Lentulus Getulicus*, the ſon of *Cneius Lentulus* mentioned above, and *Caius Calviſius Sabinus* being conſuls, *Poppæus Sabinus* was honoured with the enſigns of triumph for his ſucceſsful exploits againſt the wild *Thracians*, who had taken arms, and endeavoured to drive the *Romans* out of their country, on account of their raiſing recruits amongſt them and conveying their ſtouteſt youth out of the country. They were, after a moſt vigorous reſiſtance, utterly defeated by *Sabinus*, and forced to ſubmit. This year, diſcord began to reign in the imperial family, which we ſhall ſee end at laſt in the deſtruction of *Agrippina*. *Claudia Pulchra*, her couſin, being accuſed by *Domitius Afer* of adultery with one *Furnius*, and likewiſe of employing magical charms and preparing poiſon for the emperor, ſhe flew to *Tiberius*; and finding him by chance ſacrificing to *Auguſtus*, as ſhe was, notwithſtanding her great f virtue, of a violent temper, ſhe took occaſion from the ſacrifice he was offering to upbraid him, and tell him, that it ill became the ſame man to offer victims to the deified *Auguſtus*, and proſecute his poſterity; that his divine ſpirit was not transfuſed into dumb ſtatues and images; that the genuine images of *Auguſtus* were his deſcendants, of whom ſhe herſelf was one, in great diſtreſs and in the ſtate of a ſuppliant. She added, that other crimes were in vain alledged againſt *Pulchra*, when the only cauſe of her intended ruin was, that ſhe had unadviſedly loved *Agrippina*, even to adoration, not remembering the fate of *Soſia*, whoſe condemnation and misfortunes were owing to the ſame crime, the like unſeaſonable affection. Theſe bitter words highly

[l] Suet. in Ner. c. 3. [m] Idem ibid c. 5. [n] Tacit. c. 44. [o] Idem, c. 45, 46.

highly provoked *Tiberius*; but nevertheleſs, as he had a perfect command of his temper, he only rebuked her, by telling her in a *Greek* verſe, which he quoted out of an ancient tragedy, *If you do not reign, you think yourſelf injured*; and then diſmiſſed her, without vouchſafing her any further anſwer. *Pulchra* and *Furnius*, notwithſtanding the ſolicitations and remonſtrances of *Agrippina*, were both condemned. Some time after, *Agrippina* falling ſick, the emperor went to pay her a viſit, when ſhe, after many tears and long ſilence, at length intreated him to give her a huſband, in whom ſhe and the children of *Germanicus* might find a faithful protector againſt the malicious deſigns of their enemies. But *Tiberius*, well appriſed to what a height of power in the ſtate the perſon would be raiſed, who married the grand-daughter of *Auguſtus*, and, on the other hand, not caring openly to withſtand ſo reaſonable a requeſt, leſt it ſhould betray jealouſy or fear in him, inſtantly left her, though very preſſing with him, without returning her any anſwer. This behaviour was highly reſented by *Agrippina*, and *Sejanus*, to inflame her ſtill more, and by that means haſten her ruin, employed his ſecret agents to warn her, under colour of friendſhip, that poiſon was prepared for her, and that ſhe ought to avoid eating at her father-in-law's table. As *Agrippina* was a ſtranger to all diſſimulation, ſhe followed their advice; and though ſhe ſat near the emperor, touched no part of the meat; which *Tiberius* obſerving, to be the better convinced of her ſuſpicions, after having praiſed the apples that ſtood before him, preſented ſome of them to her with his own hand. This only increaſed the ſuſpicion of *Agrippina*, who, without ſo much as offering to taſte them, delivered them to the waiters. However, *Tiberius*, always dark and reſerved, ſpoke not a word openly; but turning to his mother, *No wonder*, ſaid he, *that I ſhould uſe ſeverity with her, ſince ſhe charges me with a deſign of poiſoning her.* Hence a rumour was immediately ſpread abroad, that her ruin was reſolved upon; but that the emperor, not daring to attempt it openly, had choſe to diſpatch her by ſome ſecret means. *Tiberius*, to ſuppreſs that report, by diverting the public talk upon other topics, attended the ſenate with great aſſiduity, and gave audience to ſeveral embaſſadors from *Aſia*, contending in what city the temple lately decreed to *Tiberius*, ſhould be built. For this honour eleven cities ſtrove; but when the votes of the ſenators were collected, the pretenſions of *Smyrna* were preferred (F). It was alſo moved by *Vibius Marſus*, that *Lentulus*, to whom had fallen the province of *Aſia*, ſhould have a legate extraordinary appointed to ſuperviſe the building of the temple. The motion was approved, and *Lentulus* impowered to chuſe whom he pleaſed; but he through

She deſires a ſecond huſband

She is deceived by the ſecret agents of Sejanus,

(F) For this honour eleven cities ſtrove with equal ambition, urging their antiquity and diſtinguiſhed zeal for the *Roman* people, during their ſeveral wars with *Perſes*, *Ariſtonicus*, and other kings. But the *Hypæpenians*, *Trallians*, *Laodiceans*, and *Magneſians*, were diſmiſſed at once as not ſufficient for the charge. The *Ilienſes* or *Trojans* repreſented, that *Troy* was the mother of *Rome*; but had no advantage above the reſt, beſides the glory of antiquity. The *Halicarnaſſians* urged, that for twelve hundred years their city had not been ſhaken by earthquakes, and promiſed to lay the foundations of the temple on a ſolid rock. The ſame plea was brought by the inhabitants of *Pergamus*; but as a temple was already erected in their city to *Auguſtus*, that diſtinction was judged ſufficient for them. The cities of *Epheſus* and *Miletus* were thought already ſufficiently taken up with the ceremonies of their peculiar deities, the former with thoſe of *Diana*, the latter with thoſe of *Apollo*. Thus the diſpute was confined to *Sardes* and *Smyrna*. The former urged their antiquity, power and opulence; they recited a decree of the *Hetrurians*, acknowledging them for kinſmen. For they pretended to derive their original from *Atys*, the ſon of *Hercules* by *Omphale*, who, as we have related in the hiſtory of *Lydia*, is ſuppoſed to have had two ſons, *Lydus*, and *Tyrrhenus*; the former remained in his native country, which from him was called *Lydia*, and the latter ſettled in *Hetruria*, where his followers were from him named *Tyrrhenian*. They likewiſe enlarged on the opulence of the ancient *Lydians*; on the colonies ſent under *Pelops* into *Greece*, which from him took the name of *Peloponneſus*; their league with *Rome* during the war with *Macedon*, &c. The account they give here of their original does not intirely agree with what we read of it in *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus* and *Velleius Paterculus* (27). The *Smyrneans* likewiſe diſplayed the glory of their antiquity and founders, of whom we have ſpoken at length in our hiſtory of *Aſia*; but inſiſted chiefly on their early friendſhip with *Rome*, and kindly offices to the *Roman* people, whom they aſſiſted, not only in their foreign wars, but in thoſe which were waged in the very bowels of *Italy*. They deſired the fathers to remember, that they had, before any other people whatſoever, erected a temple to *Rome*, when the power of the *Roman* people was indeed great, but not yet raiſed to its greateſt height, ſince *Carthage* was ſtill ſtanding, and *Aſia* governed by mighty kings: they laid great ſtreſs on their generoſity to *Sylla*, the miſerable condition of whoſe army, ready to periſh in a ſevere winter for want of cloaths, was no ſooner related to the citizens of *Smyrna*, at that time by chance aſſembled, than they all ſtript themſelves of their own garments, and ſent them to the naked legions. This ſignal inſtance of their great fidelity and ſincere attachment to the *Roman* people made ſo deep an impreſſion upon the whole aſſembly, that the honour, for which ſo many cities contended, was by a great majority conferred upon them (28.

(27) *Vide Dion. Halicar. l.* i. & *Vell. Paterc. l.* i. (28) *Tacit. c.* 55, 56.

through modeſty declining to name one, *Valerius Naſo* was drawn by lot from among thoſe who had been prætors [p].

THIS year at length, the twelfth of his reign, *Tiberius* put in execution the deſign, which he had long meditated and from time to time deferred, of leaving *Rome*. At his departure he gave out, that he was going into *Campania* only to dedicate a temple to *Jupiter* at *Capua*, and one at *Nola* to *Auguſtus*; but in truth determined never to return to *Rome*. Moſt hiſtorians, who wrote before *Tacitus*, aſcribe this his reſolution to the artful inſinuations of *Sejanus*; but, as he continued in his retirement ſix years after the diſgrace and execution of *Sejanus*, that writer thinks he was influenced by ſome other more powerful motive, namely, that of concealing in the darkneſs
b of a retired and ſolitary place his natural inclination to cruelty, lewdneſs, and debauchery (G). Some believed, that in his old age he was aſhamed of the figure of his perſon; for he was very thin, tall, and ſtooped; his head was bald, his face full of ulcers, and for the moſt part beſmeared with ointments (H). During his retirement at *Rhodes*, he uſed to avoid, as much as he could, appearing in public, and to conceal his debaucheries in the receſs of a ſolitary life; whence many concluded, that he had been prevailed upon, not ſo much by the plauſible perſuaſions of *Sejanus*, as by his own natural inclinations, to retire from the city. Some gave out, that he was driven from *Rome* by the reſtleſs and inſupportable ambition of his mother, whom on one hand he ſcorned to admit as a partner in the ſovereignty, but on the other
c could not intirely exclude, ſince the ſovereignty itſelf was her gift (I). Whatever was his motive, though he removed to ſeveral places, he never returned once to the city

Tiberius *abandons* Rome. *Year after the flood* 3025. *Of Chriſt* 26. *Of* Rome 774

What prompted him to retire.

[p] Idem, c. 53---57.

(G) As to his debauchery, *Suetonius* tells us, that in his youth he was much given to drinking, that inſtead of *Tiberius Claudius Nero*, he was nicknamed *Biberius Caldius Mero*. Afterwards being raiſed to the ſovereign power, continues the ſame writer, at the very time he was reforming the manners of the people, he ſpent one night and two days in carouſeing with *Pomponius Flaccus* and *L. Piſo*, to one of whom he gave immediately the province of *Syria*, and to the other the government of *Rome*, ſtyling them in his letters, *jucundiſſimos & omnium horarum amicos*. Being invited to ſupper by *Sextius Gallus*, an old debauchee, who had been noted with infamy by *Auguſtus* and ſeverely reprimanded by himſelf in the ſenate, he accepted the invitation, upon condition, that he altered nothing of his old way, and that they were ſerved at table by naked virgins. He preferred a man of a mean extraction, who ſtood for the quæſtorſhip, to ſeveral competitors of great diſtinction, for no other reaſon, but becauſe he had drank with him an incredible quantity of wine at one meal. He preſented *Aſellius Sabinus* with two hundred thouſand ſeſterces for a dialogue he wrote between the muſhroom, the beccafico, or fig-pecker, the oyſter, and the thruſh, which were all his favourite diſhes (29). As to his lewdneſs, exceſſes ſo deteſtably infamous are related of him by the ſame writer, that they ſeem almoſt incredible. We ſhall not defile our hiſtory with the infamous detail he gives us of them, but only relate one inſtance out of the many which that author produces. He tells us, that a very ſcandalous picture, done by the famous *Parrhaſius*, and repreſenting *Atalanta* and *Meleager*, being left to the emperor as a legacy, upon condition, that if he liked not that piece, he ſhould have a million of ſeſterces paid him immediately in its ſtead, he not only preferred it to the ſaid ſum, but cauſed it to be hung up in his room (30).

(H) *Suetonius* deſcribes his perſon thus: he was, ſays he, of a ſtrong well-ſet body, ſomewhat exceeding the common ſize; broad in the breaſt and ſhoulders, in the reſt of his limbs from head to foot well proportioned. He uſed for the moſt part his left hand, in the joints of which he had ſuch ſtrength, that he could run his fingers through a green apple, however ſound, and ſtun a man with a fillip. His complexion was fair; his hair long behind, ſo as to cover his neck, which was peculiar to the *Claudian* family. His countenance was graceful, though covered with ſmall pimples: he had large eyes, and could ſee in the dark, but only for a ſhort time, and when he firſt awaked. He ſtooped, eſpecially when he walked, and ſhewed always a great deal of ſeverity in his ſtern looks. He was ſlow of ſpeech, and in private converſation was continually moving his fingers, in a manner which no ways became him. All theſe imperfections, ſays the ſame writer, and indications of arrogance *Auguſtus* obſerved in him, and frequently endeavoured to excuſe to the ſenate and people, repreſenting to them, that they were defects in nature, but no imperfections in his mind. He was very healthy, and ſcarce ever out of order the whole time he was emperor, though from the thirtieth year of his age he lived as he pleaſed, without hearkening to his phyſicians (31).

(I) *Livia* having preſſed him very earneſtly, as we read in *Suetonius*, to advance a perſon, whom he had admitted citizen of *Rome*, into the number of the decuries, he abſolutely refuſed to do it, unleſs ſhe would allow it to be inſerted in the regiſter; *That it was extorted from him by his mother*. This *Livia* took greatly amiſs, and immediately produced certain letters which *Auguſtus* had formerly written to her, complaining of his ſtubborn temper and the intolerable perverſeneſs of his manners, and cauſed them to be publicly read. This inſpired him with ſuch an averſion to the empreſs, who had ſo long preſerved, and ſo maliciouſly produced, theſe letters, that being no longer able to bear the ſight of her, he was thought by ſome to have withdrawn from *Rome*, that he might have no farther intercourſe or communication with her (32). *Tacitus* makes no mention of theſe letters, but only ſays, that *Livia*, who knew he was indebted to her alone for the empire, ſince ſhe had prevailed upon *Auguſtus* to adopt, contrary to his inclination, *Tiberius*, and exclude *Germanicus*, imperiouſly reclaimed the power which ſhe had procured him.

(29) *Suet. ibid. c.* 42. (30) *Idem ibid.* (31) *Idem ibid. c.* 68. (32) *Idem ibid. c.* 51.

city during the remaining part of his reign. He departed with a ſmall attendance, a
having with him but one ſenator, *Cocceius Nerva*, formerly conſul, and well verſed
in the knowledge of the laws, one *Roman* knight, beſides *Sejanus*, by name *Curtius*
Atticus (K), and ſome men of letters, chiefly *Greeks*, with whoſe converſation he was
pleaſed and amuſed [q]. *Suetonius* tells us, he left orders, that during his abſence no one
ſhould come near him, and that on his journey he declined all communication [r]. Upon
his departure the aſtrologers gave out, that he left *Rome* under ſuch a conjunction of
the planets, that he would never return thither, and that his end was at hand. That
he was never to return to *Rome* proved true; but the conjectures, publiſhed by the
aſtrologers concerning his death, ought to have convinced the world of the falſhood
of that art, ſince it proved fatal to its profeſſors, of whom many were for their pre- b
dictions either put to death, or involved in endleſs calamities, which with all their
knowledge of the ſtars they had not foreſeen [s]; whereas *Tiberius* lived eleven years
after his retreat. However, their conjectures touching his death were very near being
fulfilled ſoon after his departure; for as he was ſupping in a cave of one of his villas,
called thence *Spelunca* (B), its mouth fell ſuddenly in, and buried under it ſome of
his attendants; which ſo frightened the reſt, that, abandoning the emperor, they all
Sejanus *expoſes his perſon for* Tiberius. fled, except *Sejanus*, who covering the emperor's body with his own, and, ſtooping
upon his knees and hands, received all the ſtones that fell from the roof; ſo that
Tiberius eſcaped quite unhurt. From this time the emperor, looking upon him as one
quite regardleſs of his own ſafety and only ſolicitous about his, repoſed an intire c
confidence in him, blindly following all his counſels, however bloody and deſtructive.
This confidence the wicked miniſter abuſed to the deſtruction of the family of *Germanicus*, which alone could thwart his ambitious deſigns. He attacked firſt *Nero*,
Germanicus's eldeſt ſon, and conſequently next in ſucceſſion, ſuborning perſons to
miſrepreſent all his actions to *Tiberius*. *Nero* was a young prince no ways ambitious,
He brings Nero *into diſgrace with* Tiberius. but unmindful of that circumſpection which his preſent ſituation required. He was
alſo miſled and ill-adviſed by his freed-men and followers, who, deſirous of having the
power in their own hands, were continually animating him to exert the courage and
reſolution becoming a perſon in his ſtation; that both the people and ſoldiery longed
to ſee him ſhare the government with his grandfather; and that as to *Sejanus*, he d
would not dare to oppoſe him, though he now equally inſulted the tameneſs of an
old man and the ſloth of a youth. As the young prince gave ear to ſuch ſuggeſti-
ons, ſome unguarded expreſſions eſcaped, which were immediately catched up by
the ſpies placed upon him, and with aggravations carried to the emperor, who would
not ſo much as allow him the privilege of clearing himſelf. He was even betrayed
by his wife *Julia*, the daughter of *Druſus* and *Livia*, who acquainted her mother and
by

[q] Tacit. c. 57, 58. [r] Suet. ibid. c. 40. [s] Tacit. ibid.

(K) *Curtius Atticus* was in high favour with *Tiberius*, which was the cauſe of his ruin, *Sejanus*, who was jealous of his power, having by falſe inſinuations brought him into diſgrace. To him *Ovid* inſcribed two elegies, *viz.* the fourth and ſeventh of his ſecond book *de Ponto*.

(B) *Seneca* tells us, that the *Romans*, generally ſpeaking, choſe to build their country ſeats near ſome cave, to which they frequently reſorted, eſpecially in the ſummer. He gives us a very particular deſcription of two grottos or caves adjoining to the country ſeat of *Vatia*. The cave ſpoken of here lay, according to our hiſtorian, between the *Amyclean* ſea and the mountains of *Fundi*, or, as it is now called, *Fondi*, that is, between *Caieta* and *Tarracina*; for between theſe two places ſtood *Amyclæ*, which gave its name to the neighbouring ſea. *Pliny* (33) and *Solinus* (34) tell us, that the territory of *Amyclæ* was ſo infeſted with ſerpents and vipers, that the inhabitants were obliged to abandon their dwellings and ſettle elſewhere. *Amyclæ* is mentioned by *Virgil*:

——————— *ditiſſimus agri*
Qui fuit Auſonidum, & tacitis regnavit Amyclis,

ſays that poet (35). He gives the epithet of *tacitus*, *ſilent*, to *Amyclæ*, either becauſe it was built by the *Lacedæmonians*, who, as they followed the doctrine of *Pythagoras*, always inculcating ſilence, were thence called *taciti*, or becauſe of a law which obtained in this place, forbidding under ſevere penalties any one to mention the approach of an enemy. Theſe are the conjectures of *Servius* in his comments upon this place. He adds, that before this law was made the city was daily alarmed by falſe reports, as if the enemy had been already at the gates, from which terrors and uneaſineſs the above-mentioned law indeed delivered them; but in the end it proved their ruin; for no one venturing to tranſgreſs it, even when the enemy appeared unexpectedly under the walls, the city was taken and deſtroyed. To this *Silius* alluded in the following words.

------*quaſque evertere ſilentia, Amyclæ* (36);

and *Lucilius*, as quoted by *Servius*, *I muſt ſpeak*, for by *ſilence the city of* Amyclæ *was deſtroyed*. *Amyclæ* was built by a colony from another city of the ſame name in *Laconia* (37).

(33) *Plin. l.* iii. *c.* 5. (34) *Sol. de Italia, c.* 2. (35) *Virg. Æneid.* 10. *v.* 564. (36) *Sil. l.* viii. *v.* 529. (37) *Sol. in ibid.*

a by her means *Sejanus*, not only with the words, but even with the ſighs and dreams, of her huſband. His brother *Druſus* was likewiſe drawn into the combination, with the hopes of immediately ſucceeding *Tiberius*, if his elder brother, already in diſgrace, were effectually ſet aſide (C). The emperor, thus prejudiced againſt him, even by his neareſt relations and thoſe who were thought to be his beſt friends, always received him with a ſtern countenance; if the youth ſpoke, there were crimes in his words; and crimes in his ſilence, if he ſpoke nothing. *Sejanus*, having by theſe baſe arts ſet *Tiberius* againſt *Nero*, began to conſult with his creatures how he might inflame him at the ſame time againſt *Druſus* and *Agrippina*, that the whole family of *Germanicus* might be involved in the ſame ruin[f]. We ſhall ſoon ſee what ſteps he took to-

Conſults how to deſtroy the whole family of Germanicus.

b wards the compaſſing of that deſign. In the end of this year, died *Aſinius Agrippa*, deſcended of a family renowned rather than ancient (D), himſelf not unworthy of his anceſtors; and *Quintus Haterius* of a ſenatorial family, and famous for eloquence while he lived, though the orations he left behind him were not much eſteemed, the harmony of his voice, as our hiſtorian obſerves, which charmed the ears of his hearers, dying with him (E). [t] This year *Pontius Pilate* was appointed by *Tiberius* governor of *Judæa* in the room of *Valerius Gratus*[u]. How he behaved during his ten years adminiſtration, appears from *Philo*[w], and from what we have ſaid in our hiſtory of the *Jews*[x].

THE following year, *M. Licinius Craſſus* and *Lucius Calpurnius Piſo* being conſuls, *Fifty thouſand perſons deſtroyed or maimed by the fall of an amphitheatre.*

c *Atilius*, one of the race of freedmen, having built an amphitheatre at *Fidenæ*, in order to exhibit in it a ſhew of gladiators, vaſt crouds flocked thither from *Rome*, eager for ſuch ſhews, as during the reign of *Tiberius* they were debarred from diverſions at home. But, as the ſpectators were intent upon the gladiators, the amphitheatre, which was but ſlightly built and overcharged with the multitude, fell down, and with its fall deſtroyed or maimed fifty thouſand perſons[y]. *Suetonius* ſays, that twenty thouſand ſouls periſhed by this ſad ſtroke[z]. On this occaſion the great men of *Rome* threw open their doors to receive ſuch as had been hurt, ſupplied them with medicines, and took all poſſible care of them till they recovered. Thus, to the great ſatisfaction of the city, was revived at this juncture the public ſpirit of the ancient

d *Romans*, who after great battles conſtantly relieved the wounded, ſuſtained them by their bounties, and reſtored them with care. *Suetonius* tells us, that *Tiberius*, upon the news of this dreadful calamity, immediately left *Capreæ*, paſſed over to the continent, and allowed perſons of all ranks to come to him; but according to *Tacitus* he had not yet withdrawn to that iſland, but was either at *Capua* or *Nola*. *Atilius*, who had built the amphitheatre only for gain, and therefore employed bad materials and unſkilful workmen, was baniſhed; and it was provided for the future, by a decree of the ſenate, that no man, who was not worth four hundred thouſand ſeſterces, ſhould exhibit the ſhew of gladiators[a]. The public affliction from this terrible blow was yet freſh, when another ſupervened. A fire breaking out on mount

e *Cælius* burnt with ſuch rage and violence, that it utterly conſumed all the houſes in that quarter of the city. On this occaſion *Tiberius* gave proofs of a generoſity truly worthy of a great prince. For at his own expence he made good the loſs of every ſufferer, ſeeking out, of his own accord, the unknown, and, without any ambitious views, without the application of friends, relieving them by his bounty. For this the ſenate returned him thanks, and decreed, that mount *Cælius* ſhould for the future be ſtyled *Mount Auguſtus*, ſince the ſtatue of *Tiberius*, which ſtood there in the houſe of *Junius*

Mons Cœlius conſumed by fire.

Tiberius's generoſity on that occaſion.

[f] TACIT. c. 60. [t] Idem, c. 61. [u] JOSEPH. antiq. l. xviii. c. 3. [w] PHILO, legat. ad Caium.
[x] Hiſt. Univerſ. Vol. IV. p. 372. [y] TACIT. c. 62. [z] SUET. ibid. c. 40. [a] TACIT. c. 63.

(C) *Druſus* was prompted to combine againſt his brother, not only by a paſſion for power, and by the uſual and too common competition among brothers, but alſo by the partiality of *Agrippina*, who was fond of *Nero*, and ſhewed no great affection for him (38).

(D) *Aſinius Agrippa* was the ſon of *Aſinius Gallus*, of whom we have ſpoke above, and grandſon of the famous *Aſinius Pollio*, one of *Auguſtus*'s chief favourites, by whom he was raiſed to great honours, though the *Aſinian* family had made no figure till his time; and hence *Tacitus* ſays, that *Aſinius Agrippa* was of anceſtors more illuſtrious than ancient.

(E) *Quintus Haterius* is mentioned alſo by *Seneca*, who names him among the orators more applauded for their delivery than their compoſitions. *Euſebius* calls him a ready and *popular* orator, and adds, that he lived in great honours, and died in the ninetieth year of his age (39).

(38) *Tacit. c.* 60. (39) *Euſeb. in chron.*

Junius the ſenator was ſpared by the flames, though every thing round it was conſumed (F). a

As the univerſal zeal of the great men in *Rome* and the generous bounty of the prince adminiſtered great relief in the preſent misfortunes, ſo the fury and rage of the informers, which grew daily more dreadful, involved without alleviation the moſt illuſtrious citizens in endleſs calamities. *Quintilius Varus*, a man of great wealth and related to the emperor (G), was accuſed by *Domitius Afer*, the ſame who had arraigned his mother *Claudia Pulchra*. The informer had, it ſeems, ſquandered away what he had earned by procuring the condemnation of *Claudia*; and therefore in hopes of a more ample reward had marked out and doomed to deſtruction *Varus*, one of the moſt wealthy men in *Rome*. The city was ſurpriſed to ſee *Publius Dolabella*, a man of an illuſtrious family and nearly related to *Varus*, join a perſon of ſuch an infamous character as *Afer*, againſt his kinſman. The ſenate was ſo ſhocked with it, that they refuſed to hear the charge, and voted, that the trial ſhould be poſtponed till the return of the emperor [b]. b

Informers become more dreadful.

In the mean time, *Tiberius*, having dedicated the temples in *Campania*, though he had by an edict warned the public not to diſturb him, and poſted ſoldiers on all the roads to prevent the concourſe of people to the towns where he reſided, nevertheleſs hating all towns and every place on the continent, retired at length to *Capreæ*, an iſland ſeparated from the cape of *Surrentum* by a channel of three miles. The air is mild there in the winter, the cold winds being intercepted by a mountain, and refreſhed in the ſummer by gales from the weſt. The ſea, open all round it, makes a delightful view: from thence was ſeen then one of the moſt beautiful coaſts in the world; but which was afterwards greatly damaged by the eruptions of mount *Veſuvius*. The iſland was ſurrounded on all ſides with inacceſſible rocks, and a profound and almoſt bottomleſs ſea, which was void of havens, and had but few ſtations for the ſmaller veſſels, and thoſe very difficult of acceſs; ſo that none could put in unperceived by the guards (H); and this, as is commonly believed, was what chiefly took *Tiberius*, who confined himſelf to twelve ſtately villas on the iſland, ſome of which were probably built by *Auguſtus*, who, liking the ſolitude and mild air of the place, purchaſed it, according to *Dion Caſſius* [c], of the *Neapolitans*. There *Tiberius* ſpent the laſt ten years of his life, giving himſelf intirely up to the moſt infamous lewdneſs and debaucheries, which for us ſhall be buried in oblivion, who think the detail *Suetonius* has publiſhed of them equally ſcandalous and unworthy of an hiſtorian. In that dark receſs he threw off all concern for the commonwealth, though he had been to that time very aſſiduous in the adminiſtration of juſtice, and wholly intent upon public cares. But nevertheleſs he retained his old inclination to ſuſpicions, and gave more credit than ever to informers, *Sejanus* inflaming his jealouſies and fomenting his diſtruſts for the private views of his ambition. Secret ſpies and informers were employed in all parts of the city, which cauſed daily diſturbances and the ruin of many worthy citizens. If a perſon of merit teſtified any zeal for the glory of the empire, *Tiberius* immediately ſuſpected it was from a ſecret deſign of gaining it. If another had an innocent remembrance of liberty, he was looked upon as a dangerous perſon, and one who aimed at re-eſtabliſhing the commonwealth. To praiſe any of the ancient *Romans* was a capital crime; to bewail *Auguſtus* was complaining of *Tiberius*, &c. Every action became liable to forced interpretations; the moſt innocent diſcourſes expreſſed c d e

Tiberius *retires to* Capreæ.

Gives himſelf there up to all manner of wickedneſs.

The effects of his ſuſpicions.

b Idem, c. 66.

c Dio, l. lii. p. 495.

(F) *Suetonius* diſagreeing, as he often does, with *Tacitus*, tells us, that *Tiberius* exerted on this occaſion his generoſity, and made good to the ſufferers all the loſſes they had ſuſtained; but that he did it with ſo much affectation of his own liberality, that he cauſed mount *Cælius* to be called thenceforth mount *Auguſtus*, with a view of perpetuating the memory of his liberality. *Tiberius* was, as evidently appears from innumerable inſtances, an utter enemy to all flattery, pomp, and oſtentation, which inclines us to prefer the authority of *Tacitus* to that of *Suetonius*.

(G) *Quintilius Varus* was probably ſon to the commander of that name, who was with the *Roman* legions cut off in *Germany* in the manner we have related above. He married one of *Germanicus*'s daughters, as we read in *Seneca* (40). Beſides, he was the ſon of *Claudia Pulchra*, whom *Tacitus* calls *Agrippina*'s couſin, and by that means too related to the reigning family.

(H) *Suetonius* tells us, that a few days after his arrival in the iſland of *Capreæ*, a fiſherman brought him a mullet of an extraordinary ſize; but that the emperor, inſtead of rewarding him, cauſed him to be uſed moſt barbarouſly, being frightened with the conſideration, that he had made his way to him through places which he thought unfrequented and inacceſſible. (41).

(40) *Senec. l.* i. *controverſ.* 3.

(41) *Suet. ibid. c.* 60.

a expreſſed evil deſigns; a diſcreet ſilence concealed miſchievous intentions; joy betrayed hopes of the prince's death, melancholly envy of his proſperity, and fear the juſt apprehenſions of a guilty conſcience. So that to ſpeak, to be ſilent, to be glad, to be grieved, to be fearful, or aſſured, were all crimes, and frequently puniſhed with death. But *Sejanus*'s pernicious practices and wicked devices were chiefly levelled againſt *Agrippina* and her ſon *Nero*. As there was now no acceſs to *Tiberius*, but by him, he made no longer his attempts upon them a ſecret, but openly placed guards about them to obſerve the meſſages they ſent, the viſits and company they received, their behaviour in public, their private converſation, *&c.* Beſides, he ſuborned ſome of their friends, to adviſe them, as they were thus diſtreſſed, either to fly to the armies b in *Germany*, or, embracing the ſtatue of *Auguſtus* in the forum, to implore the aid and protection of the ſenate and *Roman* people. Theſe counſels, though rejected by them, were laid to their charge, as if they had intended to put them in execution [d].

THE following year, when *Appius Junius Silanus* and *P. Silius Nerva* were conſuls, began tragically. *Titius Sabinus*, an illuſtrious *Roman* knight, was hurried to priſon, for no other crime but his ſteady and faithful adherence to the family of *Germanicus*, being circumvented by the blackeſt treachery. One *Latinius Latiaris*, having inſinuated himſelf into his friendſhip with a deſign to betray him, firſt bewailed the caſe of *Agrippina* and her ſon *Nero*; and then, as *Sabinus* burſt into tears, inveighed bitterly againſt *Sejanus*'s pride and cruelty, not ſparing the emperor himſelf. *Sabinus*, c not aware of the ſnare, approved all he ſaid; and being ſoftened with compaſſion for the misfortunes of the unhappy family of his friend *Germanicus*, he added many, but ſevere, reflections of his own upon the cruelty of *Tiberius*, and imperious conduct of his favourite miniſter. And now the traytor, wanting only witneſſes to compaſs the ruin of one who repoſed in him an intire confidence, placed three ſenators, who had combined with him againſt *Sabinus*, between the roof of his room and the cieling, a place no leſs unbecoming men of their rank, than the treachery, which made them thus degrade themſelves, was execrable. The ſenators, *Porcius Cato*, *Petilius Rufus*, and *Marcus Opſius*, who, having been all prætors, aſpired at the conſulſhip, to which there was no acceſs but by *Sejanus*, and his favour was to be purchaſed only by d iniquity, having thruſt themſelves into the above-mentioned lurking-place, *Latiaris* went abroad to find out *Sabinus*, whom he eaſily drew home and into his chamber, under pretence of relating to him ſome late diſcoveries. Then he began his former complaints, ſpeaking mighty things of *Germanicus*, and exclaiming againſt the cruelties of *Tiberius* and *Sejanus*. *Sabinus*, not ſuſpecting the leaſt treachery, readily joined him, and, reſuming his former detail of the calamities they had already undergone, and were likely to undergo, inveighed with great bitterneſs againſt the authors of them, *Sejanus* and *Tiberius*. This was enough; the three ſenators, who had been liſtening the whole time with their ears cloſe to holes and chinks, diſpatched forthwith a memorial to the emperor, acquainting him with what had paſſed, though they e could not well do it, without diſcovering to him at the ſame time their own deteſtable infamy. *Tiberius* immediately wrote to the ſenate, and after having charged in his f letter *Sabinus* with treaſon, required the conſcript fathers in plain terms to take vengeance of a traytor, who had aimed at his life. Hereupon the ſuppoſed criminal was immediately ſentenced to death, and the ſame day, the firſt of the new year, which was a great feſtival among the *Romans*, executed, without being allowed time to make his defence (I). The city was never ſeized with greater dread; one relation feared

Titius Sabinus *how circumvented.*

He is condemned and executed.

[d] Idem, c. 67.

(I) *Sabinus*, ſays *Tacitus*, was dragged away to immediate death, with his head muffled in his robe and a rope about his neck: but nevertheleſs, exerting his voice as far as he could, he cried out, *With theſe ſolemnities the year begins; theſe are the victims which* Sejanus *offers*; for on the firſt day of the new year victims were ſlain in all the temples. Such a diſmal ſight occaſioned univerſal terror, flight, and ſolitude. where-ever the unhappy victim appeared, the people, to avoid betraying any marks of grief or compaſſion, fled, and withdrew in the utmoſt conſternation; ſo that all along, as he paſſed, the ſtreets were empty, and the public places deſerted. Some, however, who had fled, returned, and ſhewed themſelves again, dreading, that their having diſcovered dread might prove fatal to them. The law, which had been enacted a few years before, granting to every condemned perſon ten days reſpite, was, it ſeems, neglected on this occaſion; for *Tacitus* tells us, that the unfortunate *Sabinus* was immediately after condemnation hurried away and executed without being impriſoned. The fidelity of *Sabinus*'s dog made his death be more ſpoken of; for he conſtantly kept cloſe to him, followed his body while it was dragged through the ſtreets, and threw himſelf after it into the *Tiber*, where he periſhed (42). *Pliny* relates this ſtory at length, and aſſures us, that it was preſerved in the public regiſters of the city (43).

(42) *Dio*, *l.* lviii. *p.* 621.

(43) *Plin*, *l.* viii. *c.* 40.

feared another; a general diſtruſt reigned among men of all ranks; ſtrangers and a acquaintance were equally avoided; nay, even dumb and inanimate things, roofs and walls, occaſioned dread and circumſpection. The emperor no ſooner heard of the execution of *Sabinus*, than he wrote to the ſenate, thanking them for having puniſhed an enemy to the commonwealth. He added in his letter, that he led a life full of fear and anxiety, and that he was under continual apprehenſions of the ſnares of his enemies: though he named none, yet it was no ways doubted but he meant *Agrippina* and *Nero*, againſt whom he was conſtantly incenſed by *Sejanus* and his creatures. Juſt vengeance ſoon overtook the authors and contrivers of ſuch a black piece of treachery; for ſome of them periſhed miſerably under the emperor *Caius*, and ſome under *Tiberius* himſelf, who, though he would not ſuffer the miniſters of his b tyranny to be cruſhed by others, yet, ſurfeited with their infamy, he often ſacrificed them himſelf to the public vengeance, to make room for new ones, who were daily offering the ſame vile ſervices [e].

His accuſers meet their juſt doom.

When *Tiberius*'s letter was read in the ſenate, *Aſinius Gallus* moved, that the prince ſhould be deſired to explain his fears, and ſuffer the ſenate to remove the cauſe of them. This the emperor highly reſented, thinking that *Aſinius* was appriſed of his diſſimulation; but, however, ſmothered his wrath for the preſent, *Sejanus* ſtriving to appeaſe him, not out of any kindneſs to *Gallus*, but becauſe he knew the more his anger was reſtrained, the more tragical it would prove at laſt. This year the *Friſians*, no longer able to bear with the tyranny of the *Romans* ſent to govern them, ſhook off the yoke, c and defeated *L. Apronius*, who was diſpatched againſt them with a conſiderable force (K). But *Tiberius* choſe rather to diſſemble the loſs the empire had ſuſtained, than truſt any able general with the command of the army. The ſenate indeed met on this occaſion; but, inſtead of deliberating about an affair of ſuch importance, they only decreed ſtatues to *Tiberius* and *Sejanus*, being no ways affected with the loſſes ſuſtained on the extremities of the empire, but wholly intent on ſecuring themſelves, by the moſt ſhameful flattery, againſt the evils that threatened them at home. They importuned both the prince and his favourite with repeated ſolicitations, that they would be pleaſed only to ſhew themſelves in *Rome*. But to no purpoſe; they could not by any intreaties be prevailed upon to approach the city, thinking it ſufficient condeſcenſion to d quit

The Friſians *revolt and defeat* L. Apronius.

Tiberius *returns for a few days to the continent.*

[e] Idem, c. 68—70. Dio, l. lviii. p. 621.

(K) The *Friſians*, ſays *Tacitus*, rebelled, rather provoked at the avarice of their governors, than impatient of the *Roman* yoke. *Druſus* laid a tribute upon them ſuited to their poverty, obliging them only to furniſh certain hides for the uſes of the ſoldiers, without inſiſting upon any particular ſize or thickneſs. But *Olennius*, whom *Tiberius* appointed to govern them, having procured the large hides of ſome wild bulls, inſiſted upon their paying the tribute according to that meaſure. As their domeſtic cattle were but ſmall, this proved a very hard taſk upon them: at length, not being able to pay yearly the required tribute, they parted with their herds, next reſigned their lands, and laſtly ſurrendered their wives and children to bondage. Their miſeries and complaints made no impreſſion on their hard-hearted governor, which ſo provoked them, that in the end they reſolved to ſeek relief from war. Accordingly, they fell unexpectedly upon the ſoldiers, who were gathering the tribute, and hanged them on gibbets. *Olennius* had the good luck to make his eſcape to a neighbouring caſtle, which was defended by a numerous gariſon both of *Romans* and auxiliaries. *Lucius Apronius*, governor of *Lower Germany*, upon the firſt intelligence of this diſturbance, drew together ſome companies of the legions, and a choſen body of auxiliaries both horſe and foot, which he carried down the *Rhine*, and made a deſcent on the country of the *Friſians*. The enemy, who had inveſted *Olennius* in his caſtle, no ſooner heard of the arrival of *Apronius*, than they raiſed the ſiege, and marched with all their forces to meet him. *Apronius*, ſeeing them approach in order of battle, ordered his auxiliaries, ſupported by ſome legionary horſe, to charge them. The *Friſians* not only ſtood their ground, but repulſed firſt the auxiliaries, and afterwards five cohorts, ſent ſucceſſively to their relief. Hereupon *Apronius* ordered the whole cavalry of the legions to advance; but that body being put into diſorder by thoſe who fled, before they could charge the enemy, *Cethegus Labeo*, legate of the fifth legion, was ordered to fall upon the *Friſians* at the head of the reſt of the auxiliaries. He was attended with no better ſucceſs; for his men, being ſoon put into diſorder, would have given ground, had not the whole army, and firſt of all the fifth legion, haſtened to their relief. Then the *Friſians* retired in good order, the *Roman* general not thinking it adviſeable to purſue them: nay, he did not deem it ſafe to remain on the field of battle, till he had buried the dead. tho' many officers of diſtinction were ſlain. Beſides thoſe who fell on the ſide of the *Romans* in the engagement, a body of nine hundred men, who had ſeparated from the reſt, were all cut off, after having defended themſelves the whole night in a grove called *Baduhenna*. Another band of four hundred men, having poſſeſſed themſelves of a country-ſeat of a petty prince, named *Cruptorix*, once a tributary to *Rome*, and fearing they ſhould be delivered up to the enemy, choſe rather to fall by the hands of one another. This diſgrace *Tiberius* diſſembled, not daring to truſt any experienced commander with the conduct of the war. So that the *Friſians* enjoyed their ancient liberties unmoleſted till the ſucceeding reign (44).

(44) *Tacit. annal. l.* iv. *c.* 72, 73.

a quit their iſland for a few days, and ſuffer themſelves to be ſeen on the coaſt of *Campania*. Thither crouded ſenators, knights, and great part of the people, all eager to be ſeen by *Sejanus*, who was more difficult of acceſs than the emperor himſelf, and admitted ſuch only as were either his creatures, or by his creatures recommended to him. His thus ſeeing the greateſt men of the empire crouching, with the meanneſs of ſlaves, before him, heightened his arrogance; nay, perſons of the firſt rank were not aſhamed to cringe to his ſlaves, to court the favour of his porters, and bear their inſults with incredible patience. Many, after having continued ſeveral days and nights in the open fields, in hopes of being admitted at laſt to his preſence, were in the end ordered to depart without the ſatisfaction of ſeeing him. Theſe returned

Sejanus's arrogance.

b trembling, and ſeized with dread and terror; whereas ſuch as he had daigned to receive were filled with joy, not knowing how fatal his friendſhip would ſoon prove to them. As for *Tiberius*, having here betrothed *Agrippina*, his grand-daughter by *Germanicus*, to *Cneius Domitius* (L), and ordered the nuptials to be celebrated at *Rome*, he quitted the continent and returned to his iſland [f]. This year died *Julia*, granddaughter to *Auguſtus*, by whom, after her marriage with *Æmilius Paulus*, ſhe had been on account of her looſe and ſcandalous behaviour baniſhed to the iſland of *Trimetus*, where ſhe died after twenty years of exile.

The death and character of Livia.

THE following year, *L. Rubellius Geminus* and *Caius Fuſius Geminus* (M) being conſuls, died *Livia*, the mother of *Tiberius*, commonly ſtyled in the ancient inſcrip-

c tions *Julia Auguſta*, becauſe adopted by *Auguſtus* in his laſt will into the *Julian* family. We have already ſpoken of her deſcent and marriage with *Auguſtus*, by whom ſhe had no iſſue; but by the marriage of *Germanicus* and *Agrippina*, her blood came to be mixed with that of *Auguſtus* in their great grandchildren. She had an abſolute ſway over *Auguſtus*, which ſhe acquired and maintained, ſays *Dion Caſſius*, by a ready acquieſcence to his will, without ever betraying the leaſt deſire to know what he concealed from her, or any jealouſy or diſſatisfaction on account of his intrigues with other women [g]. In her were united the wiſdom of her huſband and the diſſimulation of her ſon. She was ſo paſſionate for the grandeur of her children, that ſhe was not without good grounds ſuſpected of having purchaſed it with the deſtruction of her

d huſband's family. For ſhe was charged with the death of *Marcellus*, of *Caius* and *Lucius Cæſars*, of *Agrippa Poſthumus*, nay, and of *Auguſtus* himſelf, which ſhe was ſuppoſed by ſome to have haſtened. She was an irreconcileable enemy to *Julia* the daughter of *Auguſtus*, and never ceaſed perſecuting her whole offspring. She challenged an equal ſhare with her ſon in the power which ſhe had procured him. This *Tiberius* was not of a temper to bear; and hence the miſunderſtanding between them, which gave occaſion to the ſatirical verſes, we have related above. He frequently warned her not to meddle with ſtate affairs, which he ſaid were above the ſphere of a woman. He avoided her converſation, eſpecially in private, as much as he decently could, leſt

Tiberius's ingratitude to her.

e he ſhould ſeem to be governed by her counſels. Being informed, that on occaſion of a fire ſhe had run immediately among the people, encouraging both them and the ſoldiers to ſtop the rage of the flames, as ſhe uſed to do in the time of *Auguſtus*, he reprimanded

[f] TACIT. c. 71—75.

[g] DIO, l. lvii. p. 619.

(L) *Cn. Domitius* was deſcended of a very ancient family, and beſides was nearly related to the *Cæſars:* for he was the ſon of *L. Domitius*, of whom we have ſpoken above, and *Antonia Major*, the daughter of *Octavia* and *Marc Antony*; ſo that *Auguſtus* was his great uncle. By *Agrippina* he had the emperor *Nero*, and was, as *Suetonius* obſerve, worthy to be the father of ſuch a prince, being in every part of his life deteſtable. In his youth he attended *Caius Cæſar* into the *Levant*, and there ſlew one of his freedmen, for no other reaſon, but becauſe he refuſed to drink as much as he commanded him. On his return to *Rome* he drove his chariot over a boy on purpoſe, and trod him to death: in the midſt of the forum he pulled out the eye of a *Roman* knight, for reprehending him with more than ordinary liberty. While he was prætor, he defrauded the victors in the chariot races of their prizes. About the latter end of *Tiberius*'s reign he was accuſed of treaſon, of adultery, and inceſt with his ſiſter *Lepida*; but *Tiberius* dying, he eſcaped the puniſhment due to his crimes. He died under the emperor *Caius* of a dropſy, leaveing behind him *Nero* by *Agrippina*. We are told, that being congratulated by his friends upon the birth of his ſon *Nero*, he anſwered, that nothing could proceed from *Agrippina* and him, but what was deteſtable, and would prove pernicious to the commonwealth (45).

(M) The conſulate of the two *Gemini* is famous in the eccleſiaſtic hiſtory, many of the ancient chriſtian writers having held, that our Saviour was crucified during their adminiſtration, which opinion is now followed by very few. *Aulus Plautius*, famous for his wars in *Britain* under *Claudius*, and *L. Nonius Aſprenas* were ſubſtituted to the two *Gemini* the fifteenth day of *July*, as we gather from *Gruter*'s inſcriptions (46), and cardinal *Noris*'s *epiſtola conſularis*, printed at *Bologna* in 1682 (47).

(45) *Suet. in Ner. c.* 5. & 6. (46) *Grut. inſcript. p.* 1087. (47) *Nor. ep. con. p.* 10.

manded her with ſome acrimony [h]. We are told, that by degrees he arrived at ſuch a height of iniquity, as to hate and deteſt her [i]. At leaſt it is certain, that during the three years ſhe lived after his retirement, he never ſaw her but once, and then for a very ſhort time. In her laſt malady, he never came near her, though he conſtantly gave out that he deſigned to pay his laſt offices to her; inſomuch, that her body was kept in continual expectation of his arrival, till it began to putrify, and could be no longer borne. Afterwards he excuſed himſelf by a letter to the ſenate, pleading the multitude of public affairs. He would not ſuffer any divine honours to be paid to her memory, pretending her expreſs command to the contrary. Nay, in his letter to the ſenate, he reflected on thoſe who courted the friendſhip of women, alluding to the conſul *Fuſius*, who was a great favourite of the ſex, in high eſteem with *Livia*, but hated by *Tiberius*, whom, as he was a man of wit, he uſed to play upon with biting ſarcaſms [k]. We are told, that he proſecuted all her friends, above all, thoſe to whom ſhe had committed the care of her funeral; that of the many honours decreed her, he admitted but very few, and that he ſuppreſſed her laſt will, which was not executed till after his death under his ſucceſſor *Caius*, who cauſed divine worſhip to be appointed her [l]. She died, according to *Pliny* [m], in the eighty-ſecond, according to *Dion Caſſius*, in the eighty-ſixth, year of her age.

He becomes more cruel after her death.

Though *Tiberius* allowed his mother no great power, nevertheleſs, as he was indebted to her for the empire, he avoided openly oppoſing her; ſo that by her means many innocent perſons were ſaved from ruin, *Sejanus* not daring to arrogate an authority ſuperior to that of a parent. But after her death, both the prince and his favourite, being let looſe from all reſtraint, ſet no bounds to their unbridled fury. Letters were immediately diſpatched to the ſenate againſt *Agrippina* and *Nero*, which were thought to have been written before, and ſuppreſſed by *Livia*. They were couched in terms remarkably bitter, and yet they charged *Nero* with no crimes againſt the ſtate, but only with unnatural luſt and other impure pleaſures. *Agrippina*'s known virtue ſcreened her from any imputations of this nature; her haughty looks therefore, and her violent, imperious, and ungovernable temper, were alledged againſt her. Theſe letters, when read in the ſenate, ſtruck the whole aſſembly with terror. The fathers continued long ſilent, looking with ſurpriſe at one another, till at length, ſome, deſirous of currying favour with *Sejanus* and *Tiberius*, demanded that they ſhould proceed upon the emperor's letters. The magiſtrates and leading men were at a loſs how to behave on ſo nice and critical a ſubject; for though the expreſſions in the letter were very bitter, yet all the reſt was left ambiguous. At length they concurred with *Junius Ruſticus*, whom they thought well acquainted with the emperor's intentions, ſince by him he had been appointed to keep a journal of their proceedings. *Ruſticus* had never before ſhewn the leaſt inſtance of generoſity, but nevertheleſs either by ſome ſecret impulſe, or becauſe unmindful of preſent dangers, he dreaded leſs *Tiberius* than the children of *Agrippina*, he oppoſed *Cotta Meſſalinus*'s cruel motion, and exhorted the conſuls to ſuſpend their deliberations, and allow the old man time to change his wrath into repentance, ſince one moment might give a new turn to affairs. At the ſame time, the people, carrying with them the images of *Agrippina* and *Nero*, ſurrounded the ſenate-houſe, and, wiſhing happineſs and proſperity to *Tiberius*, cried out inceſſantly, that the letters were counterfeit, and that the ruin of the prince's family was purſued againſt his will, and without his privity. Nothing was therefore concluded that day. In the mean time, ſeveral ſpeeches were diſperſed about the city, ſaid to have been uttered in the ſenate againſt *Sejanus* by the conſulars; but all feigned, and filled with moſt bitter and ſatirical reflections, as the authors of them were not known. This fired *Sejanus*, who immediately wrote to the ſenate, upbraiding them in the ſharpeſt terms with deſpiſing the reſentments of the prince, with liſtening to popular and diſaffected harangues, with paſſing new and unprecedented acts, *&c.* He concluded, that nothing wanted to complete their rebellion, but to take arms, and place at their head thoſe, whoſe images they had already choſen for their enſigns. *Tiberius* likewiſe wrote a ſecond letter to the ſenate, repeating his reproaches againſt his grandſon and daughter-in-law, and complaining of *Ruſticus*, the ſenate, and the people, for inſulting his authority, and making no account of his reſentment; but at the ſame time he reſerved to himſelf the final deciſion of the whole affair. The ſenate heſitated no longer, but inſtantly declared, that they were ready to

Writes to the ſenate againſt Agrippina *and* Nero.

Sejanus's *letter to the ſenate.*

[h] Suet. ibid. c. 50. [i] Idem, c. 51. Dio, l. lvii. p. 603. [k] Tacit. annal. l. v. c. 1. [l] Suet. ibid. &. Lips. in Tacit. annal. 5. not. 5. [m] Plin. l. xiv. c. 16. [n] Dio, l. lviii. p. 621.

a to inflict the deſerved puniſhments on ſuch as had by their crimes provoked his diſpleaſure, provided he would allow them on ſo juſt an occaſion to exert their authority [o]. We are ſorry we cannot give ſuch an account as the reader may expect of the further proceedings of the emperor and the ſenate againſt the unhappy *Agrippina* and her children, being deſtitute in this place of our faithful guide *Tacitus*, in whoſe excellent hiſtory begins here a chaſm for almoſt three years, by which we have loſt the detail of the moſt material tranſactions of *Tiberius*'s reign, namely of the condemnation and baniſhment of *Agrippina* and her two children, *Nero* and *Druſus*, of the diſgrace and execution of *Sejanus*, of the further wickedneſs and death of *Livilla*, the widow of *Druſus* and daughter-in-law to *Tiberius*, &c. In ſhort, time has robbed us of the flower, we may ſay, of *Tacitus*'s incomparable annals; ſo that we muſt, for the tranſ-

b actions of this year and the two following, recur to other writers, and be ſatisfied with their accounts, however imperfect. As for *Agrippina*, ſhe was condemned and baniſhed to the iſland of *Pandataria*, now known by the name of *Santa Maria*, over-againſt *Tarracina* and *Gaeta*. We are told, that, as ſhe could not forbear reproaching *Tiberius* with cruelty, and bitterly inveighing againſt him, the centurion, to whoſe cuſtody ſhe was committed, gave her ſo many blows on the face, that he ſtruck out one of her eyes [p]. *Nero* her eldeſt ſon, was likewiſe condemned and baniſhed to the iſland of *Pontia*, now *Ponza*, near that of *Pandataria*; and *Druſus*, her ſecond ſon, by the ſame vile arts of *Sejanus*, declared an enemy to the ſtate, and kept under cloſe confinement in the lower part of the palace. *Nero* died ſoon after in the place

c of his exile, ſome ſay for want of neceſſaries, while others tell us, that the young prince, frightened at the ſight of the executioner, who entered his room with the inſtruments of death in his hand, as if he had been ſent by the ſenate, choſe to put an end to his life by voluntary abſtinence [q]. *Agrippina* and *Druſus* lived four years in exile, that is, to the year of *Chriſt* 33, when we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of their tragical end. *Cn. Lentulus Getulicus* was this year appointed commander of the legions in *Upper Germany*, in which employment he was continued for the ſpace of ten years [r].

Agrippina and Nero condemned.

THE next conſuls were *L. Caſſius Longinus* and *M. Vinicius* (N). This year the

d ſenate decreed many extraordinary honours to *Sejanus*; among the reſt, it was ordained, that his birth day ſhould be yearly celebrated; that his ſtatues, which were ſet up in every quarter of the city, ſhould be adored; that vows and ſacrifices ſhould be offered for his ſafety, &c. In ſhort, he became, after the diſgrace and condemnation of *Agrippina* and her children, ſo powerful and formidable, that he was more reſpected and dreaded than *Tiberius* himſelf. As there was no acceſs to honours but through his favour, the ſoldiers, the ſenators, and all the great men of the empire, were intirely at his devotion; ſo that by their means he was immediately informed of all the actions of the prince, while no one dared to diſcover to the emperor the ambitious deſigns and views of his miniſter, though they were all well appriſed of them [s]. However, he began to ſuſpect him at laſt. *Joſephus* tells us, that *Antonia*, the widow of his

e brother *Druſus*, having received private intelligence of the deep deſigns and ſecret practices of *Sejanus*, wrote a detail of them to the emperor, ſending the letter to *Capreæ* by *Pallas*, one of her moſt truſty domeſtics, the ſame who afterwards became ſo famous under the emperor *Claudius* [t]. The emperor, thus warned of his danger, and recovering from his fatal blindneſs, began to conſider with himſelf how he might thwart the ambitious views of his over-powerful miniſter, and deliver himſelf from the impending ruin. The prætorian cohorts were more addicted to the miniſter than to the ſovereign, being filled with his creatures; the ſenate was intirely at his devotion; even thoſe whom the emperor had about him were ſo many ſpies in the

f pay of *Sejanus*; ſo that *Tiberius* was kept in a kind of captivity, from which it was no eaſy matter to diſengage himſelf. But he ſurmounted all difficulties with incredible

Extraordinary honours decreed to Sejanus.

Tiberius *begins to ſuſpect him.*

[o] TACIT. annal. l. v. c. 2---5. [p] SUET. ibid. c. 54. [q] Idem, c. 53. [r] DIO, l. liii. p. 657. [s] Idem, l. lviii. p. 653. [t] JOSEPH. antiq. l. xviii. c. 8.

(N) Both theſe conſuls were choſen two years after by *Tiberius* for huſbands to two of *Germanicus*'s daughters. *Vinicius* married *Julia*, and *Caſſius* *Druſilla*, who became ſo famous, or rather infamous, in the reign of her brother *Claudius*, who took her by force from her huſband (48). *C. Caſſius Longinus* and *L. Nævius Surdinus* were ſubſtituted to them in the conſulate (49). In an ancient inſcription quoted by *Spon*, *Vinicius* is called *Venicius* (50).

(48) *Suet. in Calig. c.* 24. (49) *Noris ibid.* (50) *Spon. p.* 34.

incredible addreſs, which he thought it more adviſeable to employ than open force, a leſt *Sejanus*, finding himſelf diſcovered, and thence driven to deſpair, ſhould make a bold puſh and attempt the empire. The firſt ſtep he took was to remove him from *Capreæ*, and in order to this, he declared his intention of taking upon him the conſulate the next year, and named *Sejanus* for his collegue. This the haughty miniſter, not ſuſpecting any ſnare, looked upon as the greateſt mark of diſtinction the emperor could confer upon him. It is not to be doubted, but he created him at the ſame time ſenator; for *Sejanus* five years before, when the emperor removed from *Rome*, was but a knight, and we have not in the whole *Roman* hiſtory an inſtance of a knight being raiſed to the conſular dignity. In the end of the year, *Tiberius* diſpatched *Sejanus* to *Rome* to take poſſeſſion of his new dignity there on the calends b of *January*, which he did accordingly; but the emperor did not remove from his iſland, where he entered upon his fifth conſulſhip, and held it to the fifteenth of *May*, when he reſigned the faſces to *Fauſtus Cornelius Sylla* [u] (O). As *Tiberius* continued to ſhew the ſame affection to *Sejanus*, the ſenate was for the greateſt part of the year wholly taken up in decreeing him new honours. His name was added to that of *Tiberius* in all inſcriptions; new ſtatues were erected to him, and victims ſlain before them: a decree paſſed confirming the conſulate to him and *Tiberius* for the term of five years; his houſe was crouded from morning to night with perſons of all ranks; nay, the greateſt men in *Rome* were not aſhamed to court, with the meaneſt ſubmiſſions, the favour of his ſlaves and freedmen. In ſhort, one would have taken *Tiberius*, c as *Dion Caſſius* obſerves, for the prince of his ſmall iſland, and *Sejanus* for the ſovereign of *Rome*. However, ſeveral prodigies are ſaid to have happened at this time, which ſeemed to forbode the downfall of the favourite miniſter; but if any deity, ſays our hiſtorian, had revealed what happened ſoon after, no one would have believed him [w]. In the mean time, *Tiberius*, to ſound the diſpoſition of the ſenate and people, and diſcover the partizans of *Sejanus*, wrote frequent letters, acquainting the fathers at one time, that he was greatly indiſpoſed; at another, that he was perfectly recovered, and deſigned in a ſhort time to return to *Rome*: in ſome of his letters he blamed, in others he commended *Sejanus*. This conduct ſurpriſed the miniſter and his friends, who inſenſibly began to abandon him, ſeeing his authority d with the prince ſomewhat diminiſhed. The ſenate, however, conferred on him the proconſular power on his reſigning the conſulſhip; which he did, according to ſome, on the eighth, according to others, on the fifteenth, of *May*, to *Sextidius Catullinus*. At the ſame time *Tiberius* honoured both him and his ſon with a place amongſt the pontiffs; but could not by any intreaties be prevailed upon to give him permiſſion to return to *Capreæ*. The pretence *Sejanus* alledged for ſuch a permiſſion was, ſays *Dion Caſſius*, to viſit his future ſpouſe, probably *Livilla* the widow of *Druſus*, who was indiſpoſed; but his real deſign was, to ſecure the perſon of the prince, whoſe guards were all at his devotion. *Tiberius*, to keep both him and the ſenate in ſuſpenſe, returned no other anſwer to his earneſt and repeated intreaties, than that he e deſigned to come himſelf very ſoon to *Rome* [x].

He names him his collegue in the conſulſhip.

New honours conferred on Sejanus.

Is forſaken by ſome of his friends.

Tiberius *refuſes him leave to return to* Capreæ.

In the mean time, he began to heap honours on *Caius*, ſurnamed *Caligula*, the only ſurviving ſon of *Germanicus* and *Agrippina*. He had accompanied his grandfather to *Capreæ*, and artfully concealed under a deceitful appearance of modeſty his ſavage and inhuman temper. He had ſo well learnt to hide his heart, that when his mother and both his brothers were condemned, not a word, not a groan, eſcaped him, though all arts were uſed to draw words and reſentment from him. Young as he was, he ſmothered with the deepeſt diſſimulation all ſymptoms of tenderneſs and ſorrow. He was ſo obſervant of *Tiberius*, that he made it his whole buſineſs to ſtudy the bent of his temper, and to ſecond it in all things. He imitated his looks, affected his f words and manner of expreſſion, and conformed even to the change and faſhion of

The character of Caius Caligula.

[u] Suet. ibid. c. 26. Noris ep. conſ. p. 13. Grut. inſcrip. p. 1087. [w] Dio, ibid. p. 623, 624. [x] Idem, ibid. 625.

(O) As the name of *Sejanus* was razed out of the conſular tables, ſeveral writers of chronicles mark the name of *Tiberius* alone this year. Both he and *Sejanus* reſigned the faſces, before the conſular year expired, the one to *Fauſtus Cornelius Sylla*, the other to *Sextidius Catullinus* (51). *L. Fulcinius Trio* and *L. Pomponius Secundus* were ſubſtituted to them; the former held the conſulate to the end of the year, but *Pomponius* reſigned it on the calends of *October* to *P. Maximus Regulus* (52).

(51) *Grut. p.* 1087. (52) *Vide Pagi, an.* 30.

of his dreſs. Hence the obſervation of the orator *Paſſienus*, that *never lived a better ſlave, nor a worſe maſter.* *Tiberius* made him this year augur, in the room of his brother *Druſus*, and raiſed him, before he had entered upon that office, to the dignity of pontiff of *Auguſtus*, beſtowing upon him the higheſt encomiums, as if he deſigned to appoint him his heir and ſucceſſor. This awaked the rage and jealouſy of *Sejanus*, who now could not forgive himſelf his paſſed indolence. In the tranſports of his paſſion he condemned himſelf for not having taken arms, and openly revolted, when he was veſted with the conſular authority: he reflected with the utmoſt anguiſh on the many favourable opportunities he had neglected, to ſecure the perſon of the prince, and ſeize the empire; but the great joy the people teſtified at the preferments of *Caius*, deterred him at preſent from any attempts of that nature. At the ſame time, he had the mortification to ſee ſome of his friends turned out of their employments, and his enemies placed in their room. But nothing mortified him ſo much as a letter from *Tiberius* to the ſenate concerning the death of *Nero*; wherein he named *Sejanus*, without the uſual encomiums and commendations which he beſtowed on him in all his letters. Neither did he doubt, but the emperor had him chiefly in view, when he wrote to the ſenate, deſiring them to renew and put in execution the decree, forbidding divine worſhip to be paid to any mortal man; for vows were every-where made, and victims ſlain, before the ſtatues of *Sejanus*; nay, he was arrived at ſuch a height of arrogance, that he joined his adorers, and, with an impudence hardly to be matched, offered ſacrifices to himſelf[y]. After ſo many tokens of coolneſs in the emperor towards his favourite miniſter, many, who had profeſſed an inviolable friendſhip for him, began to withdraw through fear of being involved in the calamities, which they apprehended would ſoon overtake them, if they did not, by abandoning him, in time conſult their own ſafety. The crouds, which daily frequented his houſe, inſenſibly diminiſhed: few perſons, and thoſe not of the firſt quality, attended him abroad; no farther mention was made of him in the ſenate *&c.* This encouraged *Tiberius*, who had hitherto doubted of the diſpoſition of the ſenate and people, to come to a final reſolution; which was to ſecure himſelf, without further delay, againſt the dangers that threatened him, by the utter deſtruction of *Sejanus* and his friends. However, to proceed in ſo nice an affair with all poſſible caution, and to prevent *Sejanus* from putting himſelf upon his defence, or taking any deſperate meaſures, he gave out, that he deſigned to inveſt him with the tribunitial power. But, in the mean time, he privately gave the command of the prætorian guards to *Nervius Sertorius Macro*, one in whom he knew he could confide; and diſpatched him to *Rome* with a letter to the ſenate, after having communicated to him the contents of it, and carefully inſtructed him how to behave, with reſpect both to *Sejanus* and the ſenate. *Macro* entered *Rome* late in the night, and immediately imparted his orders to the conſul *P. Memmius Regulus*, who had been ſubſtituted to *L. Pomponius Secundus*; for the other conſul, *L. Fulcinius Trio*, was a friend to *Sejanus*. *Regulus* early next morning ſummoned the ſenate to aſſemble in the palace, whither *Sejanus* conveyed himſelf, attended, according to his cuſtom, by a detachment of the prætorian guards. As he was entering the palace, he was greatly ſurprized to ſee *Macro*, the more, becauſe he had brought no letters for him from the emperor; but *Macro* accoſting him, whiſpered him in the ear, that he had brought letters to the ſenate, wherein the emperor beſought them to confer upon him the tribunitial power. *Sejanus*, overjoyed at this news, entered the palace, and there took his place in the temple of *Apollo*, where moſt of the fathers were already met. In the mean time, *Macro*, having firſt ſhewn to the ſoldiers of the prætorian guard his commiſſion from the emperor, appointing him to command them in the room of *Sejanus*, and aſſured them, that *Tiberius* had ordered a very conſiderable ſum to be diſtributed among them, took poſſeſſion of his new office, by remanding them to their camp without the walls of the city. In their ſtead *Gracinus Laco*, who was privy to the ſecret and commanded the *vigiles*, that is, the troops appointed to watch all night and prevent diſturbances, placed a ſtrong detachment of his men at the gates of the temple. And now the fathers being aſſembled, *Macro* appeared before them with the emperor's letter in his hand; which he had no ſooner preſented to the conſuls, than he withdrew, haſtening to the camp in order to prevent any diſturbance that might happen there. In the mean time, *Regulus* read aloud the emperor's letter, which was very long, and

Honours beſtowed on him by Tiberius.

The power of Sejanus *inſenſibly leſſened.*

Tiberius *reſolves upon his deſtruction.*

He writes to the ſenate.

The caution uſed by Tiberius *on this occaſion.*

[y] Idem, p. 625, 626.

and wrote with great craft and addreſs. For, after a long preamble upon other matters, a
came ſome complaints againſt *Sejanus*, which were immediately interrupted by quite
different affairs: then followed other complaints, but without any bitterneſs of expreſ-
ſion; ſo that *Sejanus* hitherto betrayed no great concern. But when at length the em-
peror's orders were read touching the execution of two of his moſt intimate friends,
who were privy to his ambitious and treacherous deſigns, he was ſtruck with ſuch
terror, that he could not utter a ſingle word in their favour. Before he recovered
from the conſternation, into which thoſe fatal orders had thrown him, he heard to his
Tiberius orders him to be ſecured. great ſurpriſe another article relating to himſelf, wherein the emperor, in an angry
ſtyle, injoined the fathers to ſecure his perſon. Hereupon the tribunes and prætors,
quitting their ſeats, placed themſelves by him, to prevent him from making his eſcape b
and raiſing diſturbances [z]. *Suetonius* tells us, that in this letter *Tiberius* betrayed a
meaneſs of ſpirit altogether unworthy of a prince, begging, amongſt other things, of
the ſenate, that they would ſend one of the conſuls with a convoy of ſoldiers to con-
duct to *Rome* a poor old man forſaken by all. The ſame author adds, that he was
under ſuch apprehenſions, that he had given private orders to *Macro* to ſet *Druſus*, in
caſe of any diſturbance, at liberty, to preſent him to the ſenate and people, and even
to declare him emperor. He had ſeveral ſhips ready to put to ſea, and convey him
to ſome of his legions, if his affairs at *Rome* ſhould not take a good turn. He kept
himſelf the whole time upon the top of a high rock, to know by certain ſignals agreed
on what paſſed in the capital, fearing the meſſengers might betray him, or not bring c
him the news with the neceſſary expedition [a]. *Seneca* tells us, that while the conſul
was reading the emperor's letter, a huge globe of fire appeared in the air, and ſoon
after vaniſhed [b]; a true ſymbol of what paſſed in the ſenate. For the ſenators at firſt,
not doubting but the emperor demanded in his letter the tribunitial power for *Sejanus*,
crouded round him, each ſtriving to be the foremoſt in congratulating him with flat-
tering ſpeeches upon his new dignity. But they no ſooner learnt the real contents of
the fatal letter, than they all to a man forſook him, not one perſon in ſo numerous an
aſſembly daring to utter one word in his favour. Even thoſe who happened to ſit by
He is abandoned by all; him, abandoning their places, ſeated themſelves elſewhere, fearing they might be
looked upon as his friends, if they continued near him. The laſt article was no d
ſooner read, than the whole temple reſounded with curſes and moſt bitter invectives,
againſt the very perſon, on whom they had a few minutes before beſtowed the higheſt
commendations. Some inveighed againſt him out of the hatred they bore him, and
others through fear of being reckoned amongſt his friends. Though all the ſenators
declared againſt him, nevertheleſs, as he had many friends and relations among them,
the conſul *Regulus* thought it adviſeable not to propoſe condemning him to death,
nor even to gather the ſuffrages of the whole aſſembly. He therefore only aſked
the opinions of ſome, whom he looked upon as the moſt impartial and unprejudiced;
and finding they were for committing him to priſon, he conducted him thither
himſelf, attended by *Gracinus Laco* and all the magiſtrates. A memorable inſtance e
this of the viciſſitude of fortune, and the inſtability of all human grandeur! How
different was *Sejanus* ruling the univerſe with an abſolute ſway, raiſing to the
higheſt honours, or dooming to death whom he pleaſed, from himſelf loaded with
And committed to priſon; chains, and dragged like a common malefactor to the public priſon! Had he ſucceeded
in his attempts, and entailed the *Roman* empire upon his race, there would not have
been wanting flattering poets and hiſtorians, who would have echoed his praiſes, his
liberality, his politics, with all the other topics which are urged in commendation of
Julius Cæſar and *Auguſtus*. But *Sejanus* failed, and is owned to have been a traytor;
Cæſar's iniquity and that of *Auguſtus* were triumphant, and ſo were their names.
Iniquity unproſperous or puniſhed no man praiſes; but ſucceſsful iniquity never wants f
flatterers. But to return to *Sejanus*; he was followed from the palace to the priſon
by immenſe crouds, the populace all the way loading him with curſes, upbraiding
Inſulted by the people. him with the many murders he had committed, and inſulting him with bitter ſarcaſms
upon his tribunitial power. His confuſion was ſo great, that, not able to bear it, he
threw his robe over his head, in order to cover his face; but the guards, who attended
him, obliged him to ſhew himſelf to the multitude, eager to ſee him humbled, and to
inſult one who had ſo long rid upon their necks. At the ſame time, the populace in
a ſudden tranſport overturned and broke in pieces all his ſtatues, thoſe very ſtatues
which

[z] Idem, p. 626, 627. Juvenal. ſatyr. 10. v. 71. 95. [a] Suet. ibid. c. 65. [b] Senec. nat. quæſtion. l. i. c. 1.

a which a few hours before they had adored. The ſame day, the ſenate aſſembled the ſecond time in the temple of *Concord*, near the priſon, when the fathers, finding all quiet in the city, by the care and vigilance of *Macro*, *Gracinus*, and the conſul *Regulus*, pronounced, without heſitation, no one daring to ſpeak in favour of the criminal, ſentence of death againſt *Ælius Sejanus*, accuſed and found guilty of high treaſon. *Condemned and executed.* The ſentence was put in execution the ſame day, that is, the ſeventeenth of *October*, notwithſtanding the late law, indulging ten days reſpite to every criminal after condemnation. His body was expoſed, like thoſe of other malefactors, on the *ſcalæ Gemoniæ*, and afterwards abandoned to the rage of the populace, who dragged it for three days together through the ſtreets of *Rome*, and mangled it to ſuch a degree b that the executioner could ſcarce find a limb intire to throw, according to cuſtom, into the *Tiber*[d]. (P).

THE death of *Sejanus* was followed by a general ſlaughter of all his friends and relations. *The general ſlaughter of Sejanus's friends.* *Tiberius*, after having for a courſe of years deſtroyed every man who was obnoxious to this execrable favourite of his, deſtroyed every man who had been well with his favourite. He ſpared none who were accuſed of any intelligence with *Sejanus*, and any thing upon earth, the moſt fortuitous, the moſt ſlight or fooliſh, ſerved for proof of ſuch intelligence. All the ſtreets of *Rome* were covered with ſingle carcaſſes, or filled with carcaſſes in piles; perſons of all ranks, without diſtinction of ſex or age, were promiſcuouſly butchered, and their bodies caſt into the public ſtreets; neither c their acquaintance nor kindred were allowed to approach them, or bewail them, nor even at laſt to behold them: ſpies were placed every-where to watch countenances and the ſigns of ſorrow; and when they putrified, and became noiſome, and were thrown into the *Tiber*, whether they floated in the ſtream, or were caſt upon the banks, no one ventured to touch them, no one dared to bury or burn them. Among the many who periſhed on this occaſion, *Junius Blæſus*, uncle to *Sejanus*, of whom we have often ſpoken above, ſeems not to have eſcaped the common ſlaughter, being loaded with many odious imputations[e]. *Publius Vitellius* being charged with offering the public treaſure, which was committed to his care, towards compaſſing a revolution, was nevertheleſs only delivered into the hands of his brother *Lucius*, father to *Aulus Vitel-* d *lius*, who was afterwards emperor. *Publius* being ſoon weary of his confinement, and finding his trial put off from day to day, called for a penknife under pretence of writing, and pricked his veins with it, but timorouſly and without effect. However, he died, before his trial, of grief, and by his death ſaved both his eſtate and the reputation of his family[f]. He left, it ſeems, ſome writings behind him; for we find him quoted by *Tertullian*[g]. *Pomponius Secundus*, who had a little before reſigned the faſces to *P. Memmius Regulus*, was likewiſe accuſed of treaſon, becauſe *Ælius Gallus*, who was a friend to *Sejanus*, had, after the execution of that traytor, fled to the gardens of *Pomponius*, as to a place of ſafety. However, he was not committed to the public priſon, but conſigned to the cuſtody of his brother *Quintus Pomponius*, who generouſly became his ſurety. As *Pomponius* was a man of a gay temper, he bore his e diſgrace with great conſtancy and reſolution; ſo that he outlived *Tiberius*, and was ſet at liberty by his ſucceſſor *Caius*. This is the ſame *Pomponius*, according to *Voſſius*[h], whoſe victories over the *Catti* we ſhall ſee in the following reign honoured with a triumph. If *Pomponius* was kept confined ſo long as *Tiberius* lived after the death of *Sejanus*, that is, ſeven years, only for ſome ſigns, not ſhewn by him neither, of friendſhip between him and a friend of *Sejanus*, we may judge from thence with how much ſeverity his relations were treated, and his avowed partizans, who had been privy to his ambitious deſigns[h].

Junius Blæſus *put to death.* Publius Vitellius *arraigned;* *And* Pomponius Secundus

AND now the chief friends and favourites of *Sejanus*, who could give any umbrage, being all to a man maſſacred, the ſenate ordered the two remaining children of the f wicked miniſter to be executed, in order to cut off the whole family root and branch. *The execution of* Sejanus's *children.* *Sejanus* had three children, of whom the eldeſt ſon was already put to death, as *Tacitus* ſeems to inſinuate; but we are quite in the dark as to the circumſtances of his execution,

[d] DIO, ibid. p. 627, 629. SENEC. de tranq. c. 11. JUVENAL. ſatyr. 10 [e] TACIT. annal. v. c. 7.
[f] TACIT. ibid. c. 8. SUET. in Vitell. c. 2 and 3. DIO. l. lix. p. 644. [g] TERTULL. in apologet. [h] TACIT. ibid. &

(P) The mighty power of *Sejanus*, his diſgrace and downfal, the inconſtancy of the multitude, and inſtability of all human grandeur, are, with great elegance and no leſs humour, deſcribed by *Juvenal* in his tenth ſatire, to which we refer the reader.

tion, by reaſon of the lamentable chaſm in *Tacitus*'s annals, which has robbed us of the detail of many remarkable incidents. There ſtill remained of that unhappy and generally abhorred family a ſon and a daughter, who were by a decree of the ſenate both ſentenced to death, notwithſtanding the tenderneſs of their age, and carried to priſon; the boy, ſenſible of his impending death; but the girl ſo ignorant of it, that ſhe often aſked whither they dragged her, and for what fault? adding, that if ſhe had done any thing amiſs, they might take the rod and whip her, and that ſhe would do ſo no more. But the ſenate had no regard either to her age or innocence; ſhe was by the common executioner ſtrangled in priſon with her brother, and the tender bodies of both firſt expoſed on the *ſcalæ Gemoniæ*, and thence dragged with an iron hook through the city, and thrown into the *Tiber*. We are told by ſome writers of that time, that as it was a thing unheard-of to puniſh a virgin with death, the executioner deflowered her juſt before he tied the rope (Q)[i].

Tiberius *more cruel than ever.*

Every one hoped, that, after the execution of *Sejanus* and his accomplices, the reign of *Tiberius* would prove more mild, ſince to that powerful and cruel favourite they chiefly imputed the many executions, which had occaſioned ſuch a dreadful havock of their beſt citizens. But, when they expected ſome alleviation of their evils, they found themſelves involved in greater calamities than ever, the emperor waxing daily more cruel, and from this time commencing, as it were, an open enemy to his people, and delivering himſelf up to cruelty without reſtraint, and to every abomination, even to rapaciouſneſs and plunder, a vice to which he hitherto ſeemed to have no biaſs. No perſon, however virtuous and cautious, could be ſafe; for it was not enough for them to be upon their guard againſt the ſnares of the accuſers, and the falſe reports of informers; but they were liable to be ſacrificed to the jealouſy and conjectures of the emperor, when they thought themſelves ſecure by the innocence, not only of their actions, but even of their thoughts. He was under perpetual apprehenſions of the great lords of the ſenate, and making daily victims of them: their wealth and race, nay, their poverty, names, and quality, gave him umbrage: he was almoſt equally jealous of friends and enemies. Thoſe who adviſed him in council, thoſe who diverted him at his leiſure hours, fell all at length victims to his furious and diſtruſtful temper. He was ſo afraid of conſiderable men, and ſo unwilling to give them employments that made them ſo, that ſome, who were appointed governors of provinces, were never allowed to go thither; inſomuch, that great provinces for a courſe of years were left deſtitute of their governors, and abandoned to the mercy of barbarous nations, *Tiberius* chuſing rather to ſuffer the inſults and invaſion of the enemy, than truſt any one with the power of avenging the ſtate and repulſing the public foe. This year *Apicata*, whom *Sejanus* had divorced, as we have related above, in hopes of marrying *Livia* or *Livilla* the widow of *Druſus*, ſeeing the bodies of her children publicly expoſed among thoſe of the other criminals, wrote a letter to *Tiberius*, acquainting him with the manner of his ſon *Druſus*'s death, with no other view but to torment him, and then laid violent hands on herſelf. *Tiberius*, who had aſcribed his ſon's death to his own intemperance and irregular life, was ſo tranſported with rage, when he underſtood he had been poiſoned by a conſpiracy of *Livilla* and *Sejanus*, that he reſolved to exterminate all thoſe who had ever ſhewn the leaſt token of friendſhip to either[k], *Suetonius* tells us, that he applied himſelf to the examination of that affair ſo ſeriouſly, that word being brought him, while he was receiving the depoſitions of ſome witneſſes, that an inhabitant of *Rhodes* was arrived, at whoſe houſe he had lodged, and whom he had invited by many kind letters, he immediately ordered him to be put to the rack, having at that time nothing in his thoughts, but blood, torments, and revenge. The ſame writer adds, that afterwards, when he came to himſelf, and was ſenſible of his miſtake, he commanded the innocent *Rhodian* to be privately

Spares nobody.

Is informed of the ſecret of Druſus's *death.*

[i] Idem ibid. c. 9.

[k] Dio, ibid. p, 628.

(Q) The word *virgo*, in the law forbidding a virgin to be put to death, ſignified a girl, or a young woman under ſuch an age, whether ſhe was a virgin or no; but the grave ſenators with a chicane worthy only of ſuch mean, crouching ſlaves, took it in a ſenſe quite different from that of the law, which they pretended to obſerve, by cauſing the innocent girl to be deflowered by the executioner before ſhe was put to death. With a like cavil the triumvirs, as we read in *Dion Caſſius*, that they might not ſeem to tranſgreſs the law forbidding children to be put to death, cauſed one, whom they had condemned, to put on the manly robe before he was executed (53).

(53) *Dio, l.* xlvii.

privately murdered, leſt he ſhould divulge the injury he had received [l]. Such as he
a condemned in the iſland of *Capreæ* were from a rock thrown headlong into the ſea, where numbers of ſeamen were diſpoſed beforehand with their oars and long pòles to diſpatch them. He ſuffered none to be executed, till they had undergone the moſt exquiſite torments cruelty itſelf could invent: for he looked upon death as ſo ſlight a puniſhment, that when he heard one of his priſoners, named *Carnulius*, had laid violent hands on himſelf, he cried out, *Carnulius has eſcaped me.* One of his priſoners begging him to haſten his execution, *No*, anſwered *Tiberius*, *You and I are not yet ſo good friends* [m]. But notwithſtanding the ſeverity with which he puniſhed others, *Dion Caſſius* tells us, that he was inclined to pardon *Livilla* his daughter-in-law, in regard of her mother *Antonia*; but that *Antonia* herſelf oppoſed ſuch an unſeaſonable inſtance
b of mercy; ſo that *Livilla* was this year by *Tiberius*'s orders ſtarved to death [n].

Various inſtances of his cruelty.

Livilla *put to death.*

The following year, *Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus* and *Furius Camillus Scribonianus* being conſuls (R), furious orders were paſſed againſt the ſtatues and memory of *Livilla*, and likewiſe a decree of the ſenate, commanding the effects of *Sejanus* to be taken out of the public treaſury, and placed in that of the emperor. This was the motion of *Scipio*, *Silanus*, and *Caſſius*, the principal men in the ſenate, who all urged it almoſt in the ſame words, and with great zeal and eagerneſs. *Tagonius Gallus* moved, that *Tiberius* ſhould chuſe twenty ſenators to wait upon him under arms, and defend his perſon as often as he entered the ſenate. The emperor, who was too wiſe to allow the ſenators arms, returned them thanks for ſuch an inſtance of affection; but rejected,
c and even turned into ridicule, the motion, as well as the author of it, adding in his letter, that he did not think his life of ſuch importance to have it thus protracted. *Junius Gallio* moved, that the prætorian ſoldiers, after their term of ſervice, ſhould have the privilege of ſitting in the theatre among the *Roman* knights. This propoſal was highly reſented by *Tiberius*, who in his letter to the ſenate fell upon *Gallio* with great warmth, demanding, as if he had been preſent, what buſineſs had *Gallio* with the ſoldiers, whoſe duty it was to obſerve only the orders of the emperor, and from the emperor alone to receive their rewards? *Gallio* indeed meant to flatter, but *Tiberius* highly reſenting that motion, which he ſaid tended to corrupt the military diſcipline and debauch the minds of the ſoldiers, he was inſtantly expelled the ſenate, and baniſhed
d *Italy*. He choſe the iſland of *Leſbos* for the place of his baniſhment; but the ſenate, thinking his exile would be too eaſy there, recalled him, and put him under cloſe confinement in the houſe of a magiſtrate. Such was the reward of his ſtudied flattery. In the ſame letter the emperor demanded the death of *Sextus Paconianus*, who had conſpired with *Sejanus* to compaſs the ruin of *Caligula*; but he eſcaped for the preſent by making an ample diſcovery of the plot, and naming all who were concerned in it. Among theſe was *Latinius Latiaris*, of whoſe deteſtable character we have ſpoken above. He was one of the moſt miſchievous informers in *Rome*, and had procured the deſtruction of many illuſtrious citizens; but now met his juſt doom, being to the great joy of the whole city condemned and executed. The next accuſed was *Cotta*
e *Meſſalinus*, the moſt forward man in the ſenate to gratify on all occaſions the cruelty of *Tiberius*, and therefore univerſally hated. He was charged with having ſpoken contemptuouſly of *Caligula*, *Livia Auguſta*, and of *Tiberius* himſelf (S); and the charge was

Several flattering motions in the ſenate.

The motion of Gallio *reſented by* Tiberius

How his flattery was rewarded.

(R) *Domitius*, the ſame who married *Agrippina* the daughter of *Germanicus*, continued in the conſulſhip the whole year; *Aulus Vitellius*, uncle to the emperor of the ſame name, was his collegue from the firſt of *July* to his death; for *Vitellius* died in his conſulate (54). We find the name of *Cneius Domitius Ahenobarbus* in an ancient inſcription quoted by *Gruter*, (55), where he is ſaid to have been conſul the year after the fifth conſulſhip of *Tiberius*; but the name of his collegue is razed both out of this, and out of another made this year at *Terni*, which inclines us to believe that he was the ſame *Furius Camillus*, who afterwards rebelled againſt the emperor *Claudius*, as we read in *Suetonius* (56).

(S) He had traduced *Caligula* as guilty of the moſt ſcandalous debaucheries, as a pathic, as one deſtitute of all ſhame and modeſty; in celebrating among the prieſts the birth-day of *Livia*, the emperor's mother, he had ſpoken of her with diſreſpect without ſparing *Tiberius* himſelf: in complaining of the great ſway which *Manius Lepidus* and *Lucius Arruntius*, with whom he had a ſuit about money, bore in the ſenate, he had ſaid, *They indeed will be ſupported by the ſenate, but I by my little* Tiberius. Theſe were the crimes alledged againſt him; and to any other the charge would have proved fatal; but as he ſtudied in every thing to gratify the cruel temper of *Tiberius*, and was the author, as our hiſtorian tells us, of every moſt bloody counſel, the emperor took him under his protection, and ſhewed that mercy to him, which he would have denied the moſt worthy man in the ſenate.

(54) *Suet. in vit. c. 2. Noris. ep. con. p. 15.* (55) *Gruter. p. 2087.* (56) *Suet. in Claud. c. 13.*

Cotta Meſſalinus *accuſed and by the favour of* Tiberius *diſcharged.*

was proved by men of the firſt rank in *Rome*. But *Cotta* appealing to *Tiberius*, a letter was ſoon after brought from him in behalf of the criminal, wherein, after relating the beginning of his friendſhip with *Cotta*, and his many good ſervices to himſelf, he beſought the fathers not to wreſt into crimes words perverſely conſtrued, and humorous tales told at an entertainment (T). Hereupon the fathers not only diſcharged *Cotta*, but inflicted on *Cæcilianus* the ſenator, who was the chief evidence againſt him, the ſame puniſhment which had been formerly decreed againſt the accuſers of *Lucius Arruntius*, one of the moſt virtuous men in *Rome*; but what this puniſhment was, we find no-where recorded. Afterwards, *Quintus Servæus* and *Minutius Thermus* were arraigned, *Tiberius* charging them as principals in the treaſon of *Sejanus*, and ordering *Caius Ceſtius*, a ſenator, to report to the ſenate what he had written to him. Thus *Seſtius* undertook the accuſation; for in thoſe calamitous times the moſt illuſtrious chiefs of the ſenate were not aſhamed, as *Tacitus* obſerves, to degrade themſelves to the mean office of informers, ſome openly, ſome ſecretly, but both without regard to the ties of blood or friendſhip; no diſtinction of kinſmen from ſtrangers; for words ſpoken in the forum, or in private converſation, upon what ſubject ſoever ſpoken, thoſe who uttered them were accuſed, every one ſtriving to get the ſtart of another, ſome for their own ſafety, others as it were infected with the common contagion of informing. *Mutius* and *Servæus* were condemned, but ſaved themſelves by becoming evidence againſt others, namely *Julius Africanus* and *Seius Quadratus*. While all men elſe were affecting to renounce the character of friends to *Sejanus*, a *Roman* knight, by name *Marcus Terentius*, being accuſed on this very account, owned the charge before the ſenate in the following ſpeech, which well deſerves to be recorded: "It would "perhaps be more wiſe in me, conſcript fathers, to deny than to acknowledge the "crime with which I am charged. But whatever be the reſult, I cannot, I will not, "deny it. I therefore own, and publicly declare, that I was one of *Sejanus*'s friends, "that I courted and ſought his friendſhip, that I gloried in it, after I had gained it. "And what wonder that I did ſo? I ſaw *Sejanus* joined with his father in the com-"mand of the prætorian guards, and next governing the ſtate and the ſoldiery, both "as a miniſter and a general: his kinſmen and friends were raiſed to the firſt em-"ployments; as every man was in credit with *Sejanus*, he was favoured by *Tiberius*; "ſuch on the contrary as incurred his diſpleaſure, were perſecuted without mercy. Of "this I need give no inſtances. *Sejanus* therefore the *Vulſinian* was not the man we "courted; but *Sejanus* ingrafted by alliance into the *Claudian* and *Julian* families; "*Sejanus*, your ſon-in-law, O *Cæſar*, your collegue in the conſulſhip, your favourite, "and under you charged with the adminiſtration of the empire. It does not belong "to us to judge who he is, whom you think fit to raiſe above the reſt, nor on what "conſiderations you have raiſed him. To you the gods have left the ſupreme diſpo-"ſal of all things, and to us the glory of obedience. We only behold the outward "appearance of things; we perceive upon whom you beſtow wealth and honours, to "whom you truſt the greateſt power of relieving or oppreſſing us, which no man "can deny *Sejanus* to have had. But to pry into the ſecret thoughts of the prince, "and the deſigns which he induſtriouſly conceals, is both unlawful and dangerous. "Let us not, conſcript fathers, fix our thoughts on the laſt day of *Sejanus*; but "remember him for the ſpace of ſixteen years, during which time we adored ſuch of "his retainers as *Satrius* and *Pomponius*, and reckoned it a great honour to be ac-"quainted with his porters and freedmen. I ſpeak here of thoſe only who were guilt-"leſs of his laſt deſigns. Let thoſe be puniſhed who conſpired with him againſt the "ſtate, who were privy to his wicked attempts upon the life of the prince; nothing can

Other perſons of diſtinction arraigned.

The noble defence of Marcus Terentius

[i] Suet. ibid. c. 62. [m] Idem ibid. [n] Dio, ibid. p. 621.

(T) The beginning of his letter was very remarkable; for he introduced it with the following words: *What to write to you, conſcript fathers, or in what manner to write to you at this time, if I know, may all the gods doom me to greater agonies, than thoſe under which I feel myſelf daily periſhing.* Such were the horrors that haunted him even among the rocks of *Capreæ*; though hardly acceſſible to men, yet they could not keep off the avenging furies that purſued him, nor inſure his tranquillity. This great prince, this ſovereign of *Rome*, with his numerous armies, with his prætorian bands, and his unlimited power, was in hourly fear of ſecret aſſaſſins, inceſſantly racked by his own apprehenſions; and conſequently with all the eclat of empire, the moſt miſerable being in his dominions. His power indeed was unlimited; but ſo was his miſery: the more he made others ſuffer, the faſter he multiplied his own torments. All the pleaſures and debaucheries in which he wallowed without controul, had not ſufficient charms to allay or mitigate his dreadful apprehenſions, and the anguiſh under which he felt himſelf daily periſhing. Private perſons, however obnoxious and threatened, had but ſome things and ſome perſons to fear; whereas *Tiberius* dreaded all men, and every thing but to do evil, which yet was the ſole cauſe of his fears. Such was his ſituation and life, and ſuch are the natural conſequences of the abuſe of power.

a " can be more juſt. But as for us, who are charged only with offices of friendſhip " and inſtances of benevolence towards *Sejanus*, you cannot condemn us, O *Cæſar*, " without condemning at the ſame time yourſelf." The liberty of this ſpeech, and the joy that one was at laſt found, who had courage enough to ſpeak aloud what they all thought in their hearts, had ſuch a powerful effect upon the minds of the fathers, that *Terentius* was abſolved, and his accuſers for this and other crimes condemned, ſome to baniſhment, others to death [o]. *Tiberius* himſelf approved of the proceedings of the ſenate on this occaſion, probably not daring to oppoſe a truth ſpoken with ſuch liberty, and ſo generally applauded. But what induced him to diſſemble an affront offered him at this time by *L. Sejanus* the prætor, probably one of the diſgraced b miniſter's kinſmen, 'tis no eaſy matter to gueſs. For the prætor in the ſhews, which he exhibited in virtue of his office, employed ſuch only as were bald, and diſpoſed five thouſand boys all ſhaved with torches in their hands to light the ſpectators home. No-body doubted, but this was done to deride *Tiberius*, who was bald; but nevertheleſs, he took no more notice of it, than if he had never known it [p]. *Who is abſolved.*

NEXT came letters from *Tiberius* againſt *Sextus Veſtilius*, formerly prætor, one whom *Tiberius* had long ſince admitted into the number of his friends in regard of his brother *Druſus*, to whom *Veſtilius* was exceeding dear. He was accuſed of having compoſed a ſatyr againſt *Caligula*, reproaching him with the lewdneſs of his life. *Tiberius* forbad him his table, which ſo grieved him, that he reſolved to lay violent c hands on himſelf. Accordingly, having, with a trembling and feeble hand, as he was very old, opened his veins, he bound them up, and wrote a letter to the prince, imploring his mercy; but *Tiberius* returning him an angry anſwer, he opened them again, and died. Not even women eſcaped the fury of accuſers: as they could not be charged with deſigns of uſurping the ſovereign power, their tears were made treaſonable; and *Vitia*, the mother of *C. Fuſius Geminus* conſul three years before, was condemned and executed in her old age, for bewailing the death of her ſon condemned by the ſenate. Neither did *Tiberius* ſpare his own friends; for by him were this year doomed to die *Veſcularius Flaccus* and *Julius Marinus*, two of his oldeſt friends, who had followed him to *Rhodes*, and not forſaken him at *Capreæ*. The former d had acted a chief part in the trial and condemnation of *Libo Druſus*, and the latter had been employed by *Sejanus* to procure the ruin of *Curtius Atticus*, of whom we have ſpoken above. This year died *Lucius Piſo*, who being ſubſtituted to *Taurus Statilius* in the government of *Rome*, diſcharged that important office with ſuch credit, that by a decree of the ſenate he was diſtinguiſhed with a public funeral. He had obtained for his warlike exploits in *Thrace* a triumph, was univerſally eſteemed and beloved, and nevertheleſs died in the eighthieth year of his age by the courſe of nature, a rare thing, as our hiſtorian obſerves, in a man of great parts and of ſuch an illuſtrious deſcent (U) [q]. A motion was afterwards made in the ſenate by *Quinctilianus*, tribune of the people, concerning a book of the ſibyl, which *Caninius Gallus*, one e of the college of fifteen, had begged might be received by a decree amongſt the reſt of that propheteſs. The decree paſſed without oppoſition; but *Tiberius* in a letter to the ſenate deſired, that the book might firſt be examined by the quindecemvirs (W). *Tiberius ſacrifices his own friends.* *Lucius Piſo dies.*

THIS

[o] TACIT. ibid. c. 7, 8. [p] DIO, l. lviii. p. 633. [q] Idem, c. 10, 11.

(U) We read in *Tacitus*, that *Piſo* governed *Rome* twenty years: if ſo, he muſt have been raiſed to that dignity by *Auguſtus*; for he died in the eighteenth year of *Tiberius*'s reign. But, on the other hand, both *Pliny* (57) and *Suetonius* (58) tell us in expreſs terms, that he was created governor of *Rome* by *Tiberius*, for having continued drinking with him a night and two days, or two days and two nights, as *Pliny* will have it, after he was emperor. We therefore conclude with *Lipſius*, that ſome miſtake has crept into the text of *Tacitus*. That writer thinks, that we ought to read *ten* inſtead of *twenty*, becauſe *Pomponius Flaccus*, who was with *Piſo* at that famous debauch, was on that ſcore raiſed to the government of *Syria*, which at the time of *Piſo*'s death he had held ten years (59).

(W) In his letter he gently chid *Quinctilianus* as young, and therefore not well acquainted with the ancient cuſtoms; but fell upon *Gallus* with ſome bitterneſs, for propoſing to a thin ſenate the receiving of a book, whereof the author was unknown, among the prophetic books of the ſibyl: he told him, that he, who was ſo well ſkilled in the ſcience of ſacred ceremonies, ought not to have taken ſuch a ſtep without hearing the opinion of his own college, and without the uſual reading and deliberation with the other prieſts. He alſo put the ſenators in mind of the conduct of *Auguſtus*, who, to ſuppreſs the many fictitious predictions, every-where publiſhed under the name of the ſibyl, had ordered, that within a fixed day they ſhould be carried to the prætor, and declared it unlawful for any private perſon to keep them. Upon the receipt of this letter, the ſenate, notwithſtanding their decree, ordered the book

(57) *Plin. l.* xiv. (58) *Suet. ibid. c.* 42. (59) *Vide Lipſ. in hunc locum Tacit.*

This year the dearth of corn occaſioned ſome diſturbances in the city, the people urging their wants in the theatre with great freedom, or rather licentiouſneſs. *Tiberius*, alarmed at their boldneſs, cenſured in his letter to the ſenate both them and the magiſtrates, for not quelling by their authority the mutinous populace. This encouraged the fathers to paſs a ſevere edict againſt rioters and ſuch as diſturbed the public tranquillity, which reſtored peace and quiet to the city. In the end of the year, *Geminus*, *Pompeius*, and *Julius Celſus*, all *Roman* knights, were arraigned of treaſon and condemned. *Geminus* was indeed one of *Sejanus*'s friends, but had never been truſted by him with his private deſigns. However, he was executed with *Pompeius*; but *Celſus*, by ſtretching his chain over his head, and ſtraining with great violence againſt it, broke his neck, and eſcaped the infamy of a public execution [r]. This year *Tiberius*, having croſſed the channel between *Capreæ* and *Surrentum*, ſailed along the coaſt of *Campania*, and entering the *Tiber*, as if he deſigned to proceed to *Rome*, came as far as the gardens on that river, having firſt poſted guards all along the banks to keep off the multitude. But he advanced no farther, being aſhamed of his cruelties and abominable luſts, and impatient to return to his gloomy rocks, and beloved ſolitude, where he rioted without check or controul in the moſt infamous and unnatural debaucheries [s].

Other arraignments and executions

The next conſuls were *Servius Sulpicius Galba* (X) and *L. Cornelius Sylla Felix*. This year *Tiberius* diſpoſed of his two grand-daughters, who were now of age, beſtowing *Druſilla* on *Lucius Caſſius*, and *Julia* on *Marcus Vinicius*, as we have related above. On this occaſion he wrote to the ſenate with a ſhort commendation of the young men; then touching upon the cauſes of his abſence, and the hatred and ill-will he had drawn upon himſelf by his zeal for the republic, he deſired, that *Macro*, commander of the prætorian guards, with ſome few tribunes and centurions, might always attend him into the ſenate. The fathers readily granted him his requeſt, without any limitation either to the number or condition of the guards who were to accompany him [t]: nay, they paſſed a decree, ordering, that whenever the prince came to the ſenate, all the ſenators ſhould be ſearched to prevent their carrying arms under their robes [u]. But for all this, *Tiberius* never appeared in the ſenate, nor entered the walls of *Rome*, though he came ſometimes to the very gates, for the moſt part by ſolitary and by-ways, and flying back with great precipitation. This year great diſturbances being raiſed by the debtors, the emperor, to adminiſter ſome relief, declared, that he would lend a hundred thouſand great ſeſterces for the term of three years without intereſt, provided each borrower mortgaged in land double the value of what he borrowed. But this generoſity did not in the leaſt allay the public hatred which the emperor drew upon himſelf with his cruelties, many illuſtrious perſons being this year condemned and executed, and many others baniſhed upon the moſt groundleſs ſuſpicions. Among theſe, *Conſidius Proculus*, while, void of all apprehenſion, he was celebrating his birth-day, was ſuddenly accuſed of treaſon, hurried to the ſenate, condemned, and executed. *Pompeia Macrina* was ſentenced to exile; her huſband and his father, two men of great diſtinction among the *Greeks*, were both executed; but her father, an illuſtrious *Roman* knight, and her brother, once prætor, prevented their execution by a voluntary death. The crime laid to their charge was, that *Macrina*'s huſband being deſcended from *Theophanes*, who had been one of the confidents of *Pompey the Great*, they had all paid divine honours to that illuſtrious

The daughters of Druſus *married.*

Tiberius *demands a guard*

Further inſtances of his cruelty.

[r] Idem, c. 13, 14. [s] Idem annal. 6. c. 1. Suet. in Tib. c. 72. [t] Tacit. c. 15. [u] Dio, l. lviii. p. 633.

book to be examined by the college of the quindecemvirs. Whether the book was admitted amongſt the authentic prophecies of the ſibyl, we are nowhere told. *Auguſtus*, as we have obſerved in his reign, having gathered together a great number of prophecies and books of predictions written by unknown authors, whether in *Greek* or *Latin*, he cauſed them all to be burnt, to the number of two thouſand and upwards, reſerving only ſome ſelect pieces, which he depoſited under the pedeſtal of *Apollo Palatinus* (60).

(X) *Servius Sulpicius Galba* was afterwards raiſed to the empire: *Suetonius* obſerves, that he ſucceeded in the conſulſhip *Cn. Domitius* the father of *Nero*, and was ſucceeded by *Salvius Otho*, the father of the emperor of the ſame name. As the name of *Otho* is not marked in the conſular tables, *Onuphrius*, *Caſſiodorus*, and the learned cardinal *Noris* conclude, that he was ſubſtituted to *Galba*. *Lucius Vitellius*, one of the following year's conſul's, was father to *Aulus Vitellius*, who was likewiſe emperor, and ſucceeded *Otho*. *Tacitus* tells us, that *Tiberius* having ſent for *Galba*, during his conſulſhip, and ſifted him upon ſeveral ſubjects, he at laſt told him in *Greek*, that one day he ſhould taſte of empire, ſignifying thereby his ſhort ſovereignty (61).

(60) *Vide Suet. in Aug. c.* 31. (61) *Tacit. c.* 20.

illuſtrious *Greek*. The death of *Sextus Marius*, the moſt wealthy man in *Spain*, re-
a flected great diſgrace upon *Tiberius*; for though he was accuſed of inceſt with his daughter, and for that crime, as was pretended, thrown headlong from the *Tarpeian* rock, yet it was commonly believed, that his immenſe riches had occaſioned his ruin; and indeed not without good grounds; *Tiberius* having, after his condemnation, appropriated to himſelf his mines of gold, though forfeited to the public. So many bloody executions, inſtead of ſatiating, ſerved only to whet and inflame, *Tiberius*'s cruelty. For this year he commanded all thoſe to be put to death without diſtinction of ſex or age, who were kept in priſon under accuſation of any attachment to *Sejanus*[w]. Inſomuch, that twenty were executed on one day, and among them ſeveral women
b and children; their bodies were expoſed on the *ſcalæ Gemoniæ*, from thence with iron hooks dragged through the city, and then thrown into the *Tiber*. The butchery, ſays *Tacitus*, was dreadful and general; expoſed to the ſun lay the carcaſſes of the noble and ignoble; thoſe of every ſex and age ſcattered up and down, or ignominiouſly thrown together in heaps: their ſurviving friends were not allowed to approach them, to bewail them, or even behold them; but round the dead, guards were placed to watch countenances, and obſerve the ſigns of ſorrow: when the bodies began to putrify, they were dragged to the *Tiber*, where they floated, or were driven upon the banks, no man daring to burn or touch them, the force of fear having cut off all intercourſe of humanity, and baniſhed every ſymptom of pity and tenderneſs. Among
c the reſt periſhed this year three of the moſt illuſtrious perſons of the empire, *Aſinius Gallus*, *Druſus* the ſon of *Germanicus*, and the celebrated *Agrippina*. Of *Aſinius Gallus* we have ſpoken above[x] (Y). He was the ſon of the famous *Aſinius Pollio*, one of *Auguſtus*'s chief favourites, and married *Vipſania* the daughter of *Agrippa*, after *Tiberius* had divorced her to marry *Julia*: ſo that his children were brothers to *Druſus*, whom *Tiberius* had by *Vipſania*, nephews to *Agrippina*, and nearly related to the *Cæſars*. *Tiberius* had long hated him on account of his marrying *Vipſania*, but with his uſual diſſimulation concealed his hatred till this year, when *Gallus* being, we know not about what buſineſs, diſpatched to him by the ſenate, he received him in a moſt obliging manner, but at the ſame time wrote to the ſenate, requiring his condemna-
d tion; ſo that the very day he was entertained as a familiar friend at the emperor's table in *Capreæ*, he was condemned as a traytor to *Rome*, and a prætor was ſent to ſee the ſentence put in execution. However, the inhuman tyrant would not allow him to be immediately diſpatched; but cauſed him to be kept under cloſe confinement, no one being ſuffered to come near him, except ſuch as were charged to watch, leſt he ſhould by a voluntary death put an end to his miſeries. He periſhed at length, after three years painful confinement, through famine; but whether of his own accord, or ſtarved by *Tiberius*'s orders, was never known. The pleaſure of the emperor being conſulted, whether he would ſuffer him to be buried, he was not aſhamed to reckon his allowing the laſt offices to be paid to him as a particular favour[y]. As for *Druſus*,
e he was condemned by the emperor to be ſtarved; but protracted his life nine days by feeding, for want of other ſuſtenance, on the flocks of his bed. The inhuman monſter, not ſatiated with the death of his grandſon, purſued him even beyond the grave with cruel invectives, and in a letter to the ſenate charged him with many heinous crimes, ordering at the ſame time the minutes of his words and actions to be read, which had long and daily been regiſtered by perſons expreſsly appointed to obſerve his looks, to watch all his actions, and note down every word, every complaint he uttered. The recital of this journal filled all who heard it with horror; and indeed, that a grandfather ſhould appoint perſons to watch all the actions, ſhould have all the weakneſſes or crimes of his grandſon regiſtered by ſecret ſpies, and thus expoſed to the world,
f ſeems ſuch a ſeries of treachery and meanneſs, as would hardly be credited, were it not atteſted by the moſt eminent writers of antiquity. *Tacitus* quotes the letters of *Actius* the centurion and *Didymus* the freedman, declaring particularly the names of the ſlaves ſet purpoſely to abuſe and provoke *Druſus*, with the ſeveral parts they acted, in order to draw from him complaints againſt *Tiberius*. The centurion, to whoſe cuſtody

A general maſſacre of Sejanus's *friends.*

Tiberius's *diſſimulation.*

The death of Aſinius Gallus.

The death of Druſus.

The mean and ſcandalous behaviour of Tiberius *towards him.*

[w] Idem, c. 19. [x] Vide p. 414. not. N. [y] TACIT. c. 23. DIO, l. lviii. p. 622.

(Y) *Lipſius* takes this *Aſinius Gallus* to be the ſon of *Aſinius Pollio*, who was ſurnamed *Saloninus*, and upon whoſe birth *Virgil* compoſed the famous eclogue *Sicelides Muſæ*, &c. He owns, that no hiſtorian gives *Aſinius* the ſurname of *Saloninus*, but founds his opinion intirely upon the authority of *Servius*; which is very ſurpriſing in ſo wary a critic, ſince *Servius* tells us in expreſs terms, that *Saloninus* died ſoon after he was born; *nam ipſum puerum inter ipſa primordia periiſſe manifeſtum eſt*, ſays that commentator.

cuſtody he was committed, being introduced to the ſenate, repeated in the preſence of the fathers, as matter of glory, his outrageous language to the young prince, with the words uttered by him under the agonies of hunger. He told them, that *Druſus* at firſt pretending to be diſtracted, vented in the ſtyle of a madman diſmal imprecations againſt *Tiberius*; but afterwards, finding his doom inevitable, he invoked with great deliberation and ſedateneſs the vengeance of the gods, beſeeching them, that as *Tiberius* had ſlaughtered his daughter-in-law, his nephew, his grandchildren, and filled with ſlaughters his whole houſe, ſo they would in juſtice to the anceſtors of the ſlain, in juſtice to their poſterity, avenge on this man of blood ſo many cruel and barbarous murders. The ſenators, in hearing the centurion, raiſed a mighty noiſe, as if they deteſted thoſe imprecations; but they were ſtruck with amazement in hearing the detail of the barbarities practiſed by the emperor's orders upon his grandſon[a]. The death of the ſon was followed by that of the mother, which happened on the ſeventeenth of *October*. *Agrippina* had been confined before the diſgrace of *Sejanus*, upon whoſe execution ſhe hoped *Tiberius* would uſe her and her ſon *Druſus* with more humanity. But finding him no leſs implacable than before, ſhe put an end to her miſeries by abſtaining from all food. *Suetonius* tells us, that after ſhe had taken a reſolution to ſtarve herſelf, *Tiberius* cauſed her mouth to be opened, and nouriſhment crammed down her throat by force[a]. But *Tacitus* queſtions whether ſhe abſtained voluntarily from all food, or was denied it by *Tiberius*'s orders; and a report was afterwards ſpread, that death had been her own choice. Be that as it will, her death did not put an end to the malice and cruelty of the outrageous tyrant, who charged her with ſeveral abominable crimes, eſpecially with adultery, as if ſhe had maintained a criminal correſpondence with *Aſinius Gallus*, and upon his death become weary of life. But *Agrippina*'s character and known chaſtity ſufficiently cleared her from all imputations of that nature; for ſhe had ſacrificed, as *Tacitus* obſerves, to a manly ambition all the paſſions and vices of her ſex. The emperor in his letter to the ſenate obſerved, that ſhe died the ſame day on which *Sejanus* had been executed two years before, adding, that ſuch a day ought to be particularly diſtinguiſhed; nay, he boaſted of his clemency, ſince he had not cauſed her to be ſtrangled, and her body to be expoſed on the *ſcalæ Gemoniæ*, and thence dragged to the *Tiber*. For this inſtance of mock-mercy the ſenate ſolemnly thanked him, and decreed, that on the ſeventeenth of *October*, the day of the death of *Agrippina* and *Sejanus*, a yearly offering ſhould be conſecrated to *Jupiter Capitolinus* for ever[b]. The death of *Agrippina* procured that of her declared enemy *Plancina*, the widow of *Cneius Piſo*. She was guilty of many other crimes, beſides that which was laid to her charge of poiſoning *Germanicus*. When her huſband fell, ſhe was protected by the ſolicitations of *Livia*, and alſo by the animoſity of *Agrippina*, whom the ſpiteful *Tiberius*, could not find in his heart to gratify with the death of a perſon, whom ſhe abhorred. But as there was now no farther room for favour or hatred, juſtice prevailed; and *Plancina*, being accuſed of crimes long ſince ſufficiently proved, executed with her own hand that vengeance which was rather too late than too ſevere. Notwithſtanding the pleaſure *Tiberius* took in deſtroying the moſt illuſtrious families in *Rome*, yet he was ſenſibly affected with the death of *Cocceius Nerva*, though it was intirely owing to his cruelty. He was one of the moſt learned civilians in *Rome*, had been conſul twelve years before, had attended *Tiberius* to *Capreæ*, and was in high favour with him, ſo that he had no reaſon to be weary of life. But though thus in full proſperity of fortune, in perfect vigor of body, he reſolved to die, and accordingly refuſed all nouriſhment. *Tiberius*, having learnt his deſign, did all that lay in his power to diſſuade him from putting it in execution; examined his motives, and deſcended even to intreaties, declaring, that it would be a great affliction to him, that it would reflect diſgrace upon him, and tarniſh his reputation, if one of his moſt intimate friends, his inſeparable companion, ſhould thus ſhew himſelf weary of life. But notwithſtanding the remonſtrances and reaſoning of *Tiberius*, *Nerva* perſiſted in his purpoſe, and ended his life by abſtinence. Towards the end of this year died three illuſtrious citizens, *Ælius Lamia*, *Manius Lepidus*, and *Pomponius Flaccus*. *Lamia* had for ſeveral years held the government of *Syria*, but had never been allowed to viſit his province. Upon the death of *L. Piſo*, which happened the preceding year, *Tiberius* diſcharged him from the mock-adminiſtration of *Syria*, and appointed him governor of *Rome*. A public funeral was decreed him by

His imprecations againſt Tiberius.

The death of Agrippina.

Tiberius *endeavours to blacken her reputation.*

Plancina *lays violent hands on herſelf.*

The death of Cocceius Nerva.

Of Ælius Lamia, M. Lepidus, *&c.*

[a] Idem, c. 23, 24. [a] Suet. ibid. c. 53. [b] Tacit. c. 25. 26. Suet. ibid. c. 53.

by the ſenate [c]. He was ſucceeded in his laſt employment by *C. Coſſus*, who, though a famous drunkard, was never known, as *Seneca* informs us [d], to diſcloſe a ſecret; whence *Tiberius* truſted him with his moſt private counſels. *Lepidus* was one of the moſt worthy men in *Rome*; we have already given various inſtances of his wiſdom and moderation: as to his abilities, he was in the opinion of *Auguſtus*, as we have obſerved in the beginning of this reign, well qualified for the ſovereign power, but not fond of it. *Pomponius Flaccus* was by *Tiberius* firſt raiſed to the government of *Mœſia*, where he betrayed and ſeized *Rheſcuporis*, as we have related above. He was afterwards made proprætor of *Syria*, either for this piece of treachery, or upon the merit of his famous debauch with *L. Piſo* and *Tiberius*. This year, *Claudia* daughter to *Marcus Silanus*, a ſenator diſtinguiſhed by his illuſtrious birth and great eloquence, was married to *Caius Caligula*, the only ſurviving ſon of *Germanicus*. The people were no leſs pleaſed with this match, than diſſatisfied with that of *Julia*, the daughter of *Druſus* and widow of *Nero*, who debaſed herſelf to marry *Rubellius Blandus*, whoſe grandfather was a native of *Tybur*, and only a *Roman* knight [e].

THIS year, the thirty-third of the common æra and nineteenth of *Tiberius*'s reign, our Saviour was crucified, according to the opinion of the beſt chronologers; *Phlegon*, the emperor *Adrian*'s freedman, who wrote ſixteen books of the olympiads, ſeems to ſpeak of the darkneſs which happened at his death: his words are; *There happened the greateſt and moſt remarkable eclipſe that ever had been known; at the ſixth hour the day was ſuddenly turned into night, inſomuch, that the ſtars were ſeen: at the ſame time, an earthquake in* Bithynia *overturned many houſes in the city of* Nice. This darkneſs, which *Phlegon* calls an eclipſe, happened, according to him, in the fourth year of the two hundred and ſecond olympiad, which ended about the middle of the preſent year [f]. *Chriſt crucified.*

THE following year, when *Paulus Fabius Perſicus*, or, as ſome call him, *Priſcus*, and *L. Vitellius* were conſuls, many eminent perſons fell, either by their own hands, or thoſe of the public executioner, among the reſt *Pomponius Labeo* and *Marcus Æmilius Scaurus*; the former, once governor of *Mœſia*, being charged with male-adminiſtration, and other crimes, prevented condemnation by opening his veins, his wife *Paxea* following his example. The latter, a noble orator, a man of an illuſtrious deſcent, but a profeſſed debauchee, was accuſed by *Servilius* and *Cornelius* of adultery with *Livia* the widow of *Druſus*, and of offering magical ſacrifices; but his true crime was the hatred *Macro* bore him; for *Macro*, who was at this time as much in favour with *Tiberius*, and no leſs miſchievous than *Sejanus* had ever been, prejudiced the emperor againſt him, by perſuading him, that *Scaurus*, in a tragedy which he had compoſed, deſcribed him, and diſplayed his cruelties under the name of *Atreus*. But the pretended criminal, before ſentence was awarded againſt him, laid violent hands on himſelf, being encouraged thereto by his wife, who died with him [g]. *Servilius* and *Cornelius*, his accuſers, were ſoon after baniſhed into ſeveral iſlands for accepting a bribe to drop the proſecution, which they had begun againſt *Varius Ligur*. *Abudius Ruſo* likewiſe, once ædile, was himſelf condemned and driven out of *Rome*, while he attempted to get *Lentulus Getulicus*, under whom he had commanded a legion, condemned, becauſe he had eſpouſed his daughter to a ſon of *Sejanus*. *Getulicus* was at this time commander of the legions in *Upper Germany*, and by them extremely beloved on account of his great mildneſs and clemency. He was likewiſe acceptable to the legions of *Lower Germany* in conſideration of their general *Apronius*, his father-in-law. Hence he was generally believed to have written to *Tiberius*, that not by his own inclination, but by his advice, he had ſought the alliance of *Sejanus*; that he had been as liable to be deceived as *Tiberius*, and that it was not reaſonable a fault common to both ſhould paſs unblamed in one, and be puniſhed in another: he added, that he had hitherto inviolably maintained the allegiance he owed him, and that he would continue unſhaken in his fidelity to the laſt, provided no dark plots were framed againſt him; but that he would look upon a ſucceſſor as the meſſenger of death; and therefore, that they ſhould, as it were, ſtrike up an agreement between them, by which the prince ſhould enjoy the reſt of the empire, and he always retain his province. This proceeding, however ſurprizing, was believed, becauſe of all thoſe who were allied to *Sejanus*, *Getulicus* alone eſcaped unhurt, and continued in high favour to the laſt. *Tiberius*, ſenſible that he was univerſally hated, and that his authority

Several perſons arraigned.

Lentulus Getulicus accuſed.

His bold letter to Tiberius.

[c] Idem, c. 27. [d] SENEC. epiſt. 87. [e] TACIT. c. 27. [f] ORIG. contra Celſum, p. 89. & 99. edit. Græc. [g] TACIT. c. 29.

authority was ſupported more by reputation than by force, did not care to attack a man, who had both ſufficient power and courage to defend himſelf [f]. This year, as *Dion Caſſius* will have it, or four years before, while *Druſus* was yet living, as *Tacitus* relates it, a young man gave out, that he was *Druſus* the ſon of *Germanicus*. He was firſt ſeen in the *Cyclades*, and ſoon after on the continent, attended by ſome of the emperor's freedmen, and by great crouds of people, who flocked to him from all parts. But in the mean time, *Poppæus Sabinus*, governor of *Greece* and alſo of *Macedon*, where he was at that time, hearing the ſtory, haſtened to *Nicopolis*, a *Roman* colony, to obviate the evil conſequences of ſuch a report. There he learnt, that this counterfeit *Druſus*, being artfully examined, had declared himſelf to be the ſon of *Marcus Silanus*, and that many of his followers falling off, he had imbarqued, as if he deſigned to ſail to *Italy*. Further than this, ſays *Tacitus*, we have found nothing concerning the origin or iſſue of that affair [g]. But *Dion Caſſius* adds, that the impoſtor being received by many cities, and ſtrengthened with vaſt numbers of followers, would have reached *Syria*, and probably been acknowledged there by the armies of his pretended father, had he not been diſcovered by ſome who knew, ſeized, and ſent him to *Tiberius* [h]. The ſame writer tells us, that this year, the twentieth of *Tiberius*'s reign, ending on the nineteenth of *Auguſt*, the conſuls ſolemnized it with public vows and ſacrifices; which the emperor highly reſenting, as if they had taken upon them to confirm to him the ſovereign power for a further term of ten years, cauſed them both to be arraigned, condemned, and executed [i]. What *Dion* ſays of the conſuls of this year is not to be underſtood of thoſe we have named, but of others, who were ſubſtituted in their room, it being evident both from *Tacitus* and *Suetonius*, that *L. Vitellius*, the father of the emperor *Aulus Vitellius*, was ſent the year following into *Syria* to govern that province. We ſhall have frequent occaſion to mention him in the following reign (Z).

A counterfeit Druſus.

Two conſuls of this year put to death.

In the following conſulſhip of *Ceſtius Gallus* and *M. Servilius Nonianus*, the domeſtic evils continued, *Tiberius*, though now three years ſince the execution of *Sejanus*, being no ways appeaſed, either by time or the innumerable victims he had already ſacrificed to his jealouſy. He ſtill purſued with freſh rage ſtale and dubious imputations, puniſhing them as recent, heinous, and proved crimes. The moſt diſtinguiſhed perſons, who periſhed this year, were *Fulcinius Trio*, *Granius Martianus*, *Tatius Gratianus*, *Trebellienus Rufus*, and *Sextius Paconianus*. *Trio*, who was conſul the year *Sejanus* was executed, being accuſed of having been privy to the treacherous deſigns of that miniſter, made his laſt will, in which he compiled a long charge of iniquities and dreadful invectives againſt *Macro* and the emperor's chief freedmen, not ſparing the prince himſelf, whom he ſtyled an old dotard, and, on account of his long abſence, a deſpicable exile. Theſe invectives were ſuppreſſed by the heirs of *Trio*; but *Tiberius*, not aſhamed to publiſh his own infamy, ordered them to be read in the ſenate, either to ſhew that he could bear ſuch liberties, or becauſe he was willing, ſince he had been ſo long ignorant of the black enormities of *Sejanus*, that whatever was ſaid, and however ſaid, concerning him and his adminiſtration, ſhould be divulged, that he

The deaths of ſeveral perſons of diſtinction.

[f] Idem, c, 30. [g] Tacit. annal. 5. c. 10. [h] Dio, l. lviii. c. 637. [i] Idem ibid. p. 656.

(Z) *Tacitus* tells us, that in the conſulſhip of *Fabius* and *Vitellius*, after many ages the phœnix appeared in *Egypt*, and furniſhed the learned, both of that country and of *Greece*, with matter for various obſervations concerning that miraculous bird. On this occaſion he acquaints us with the opinions of ſuch as have written on that ſubject, and tells, that they all agree in this, *viz.* that it is a creature ſacred to the ſun, and that as to its beak and feathers it differs from all other birds; but as to the length of its life relations vary: the common opinion is, ſays our hiſtorian, that it lives five hundred years; but there are not wanting ſome who extend its life to 1461, and affirm, that the three former phœnixes appeared in reigns greatly diſtant, the firſt under *Seſoſtris*, the next under *Amaſis*, and that the laſt was ſeen under *Ptolemy*, the third king of the *Macedonian* race, and flew to the city of *Helioplis*, accompanied by a vaſt number of other birds wondering at her ſtrange ſhape. But the accounts of antiquity, ſays *Tacitus*, are obſcure: between *Ptolemy* and *Tiberius*, ſcarce paſſed two hundred and fifty years; whence ſome thought that this was no true phœnix, nor come from *Arabia*, and that it had nothing of the inſtinct which ancient tradition aſcribes to the genuine; according to which tradition the true phœnix, having completed a certain courſe of years, builds juſt before its death a neſt in its native land, upon which it ſheds a generative power, whence ſprings up a young one, whoſe firſt care, when grown up, is to bury its father: this it does not undertake unadviſedly; but firſt tries its ſtrength by gathering and carrying a great way loads of myrrh: when it finds itſelf equal to the burden, and fit for a long flight, it takes upon its back its father's body, carries it to the altar of the ſun, and there burns it (62). Such were the opinions of the ancients, touching this miraculous, or rather fabulous, bird.

(62) *Tacit. c.* 28.

he might at leaſt learn from the reproaches uttered againſt him, the truths which flattery ſtudied to diſguiſe. *Granius Martianus*, the ſenator, being charged with treaſon by *Caius Gracchus*, laid violent hands on himſelf (A). *Tatius Gratianus*, who had been prætor, was for the ſame charge ſentenced to death; and alſo *Trebellienus Rufus*, who had been likewiſe prætor, and formerly appointed by the ſenate guardian to the ſons of *Cotys*, king of *Thrace*; but he prevented condemnation by a voluntary death. *Paconianus*, who had been choſen by *Sejanus* to plot the overthrow of *Caligula*, as we have related above, was after three years confinement ſtrangled in priſon for verſes made there againſt *Tiberius* [k]. In the end of the year, died *Poppæus Sabinus*, who had been conſul under *Auguſtus*, had acquired triumphal honours, and governed for the
b ſpace of twenty-four years the two *Mæſias*, to which *Tiberius* had added in the ſecond year of his reign *Macedon* and *Achaia* [l]. *Tacitus* tells us, that he was not diſtinguiſhed either by his birth or abilities; but was nevertheleſs raiſed and favoured by the princes, becauſe he had talents equal to the employments given him, and not above them [m]. He was ſucceeded in the government of the above-mentioned provinces by *C. Memmius Regulus* [n]. As for the diſturbances which happened this year in *Armenia*, *Parthia*, and *Cilicia*, the reader will find them deſcribed by us at length in the hiſtories of thoſe kingdoms.

THE following year, *Q. Plautius* and *Sextus Papinius Allenius* being conſuls, the ſame courſe of ſlaughter continued unrelenting. *Lucius Aruſeius* and ſeveral others were condemned and executed. Such executions were now become ſo frequent and
c familiar, that they were hardly taken notice of; but that of *Vibulenus Agrippa*, a *Roman* knight, ſtruck all with terror and amazement. After his accuſers had finiſhed their pleadings againſt him, he pulled out poiſon, which he had concealed under his gown, and ſwallowed it in open ſenate. He immediately fell, ſo potent was the poiſon; but nevertheleſs was haſtily dragged by the lictors to the dungeon, where, though ready to expire, he was ſtrangled by the common executioner [o]. *Caius Galba*, a conſular and brother to the emperor of this name, with the two *Blæſi*, fell by their own hands; *Galba*, upon the receipt of a letter from the emperor, forbidding him to caſt lots for the government of a province; and the *Blæſi*, becauſe *Tiberius* be-
d ſtowed their prieſthoods, as vacant dignities, upon others; this they took as a ſignal of death, and obeyed it. *Tigranes*, grandſon to *Herod* king of *Judæa* by his father *Alexander*, and to *Archelaus* king of *Cappadocia* by his mother *Glaphyra* [p], and who had himſelf reigned ſome time in *Armenia*, was accuſed like a private citizen, and, without any regard to the royal dignity, condemned and executed with the other pre- *Tigranes put to death.*
tended criminals [q]. This prince and his elder brother *Alexander* had renounced the *Jewiſh*, and embraced the *Pagan*, religion out of complaiſance to their grandfather *Archelaus*. *Agrippa* their couſin german was in the month of *September* dragged to priſon loaded with chains, and kept there under cloſe confinement till the death of *Tiberius*, as we have related in the hiſtory of the *Jews*. The ſame year, the city ſuf-
e fered greatly by an inundation of the *Tiber* [r], and by fire, which burnt down that part of the circus which was contiguous to mount *Aventine*, and all the buildings on the mount itſelf. This misfortune turned to the glory of the prince, for he paid the *The generoſity of* Tiberius *on occaſion of a fire.*
value of the houſes deſtroyed, and expended in this bounty a hundred thouſand great ſeſterces; which proved the more acceptable to the people, ſays *Tacitus*, as he had ever been ſparing in private buildings (B). To make an eſtimate of every man's loſs, he appointed

[k] Idem, c. 38, 39. DIO, p. 626. [l] TACIT. ibid. DIO, p. 637. [m] TACIT. ibid. [n] DIO, ibid. [o] TACIT. c. 40. DIO, p. 634. SUET. in Tib. c. 61. [p] JOSEPH. antiq. l. xviii. c. 7. [q] TACIT. c. 40. [r] DIO, p. 638.

(A) No wonder, that voluntary deaths ſhould be ſo common at *Rome*, not yet illuminated with the light of the goſpel. For thoſe, who fell by the hand of the executioner, forfeited their eſtates with their lives, and were debarred the honour of burial. Their bodies were publicly expoſed to the inſults of the populace, dragged through the ſtreets with iron hooks, and thrown into the *Tiber*. No criminal, of what rank ſoever, nay not even women, were exempted from this baſe treatment. On the other hand, the bodies of ſuch, as by a voluntary death prevented condemnation, were interred; their wills remained in force, and their eſtates devolved to their children (63).

(B) *Tacitus* tells us, that this bounty proved the more grateful to the people, as he was ever ſparing in private buildings; and adds, that his public works never exceeded two, *viz.* the temple of *Auguſtus*, and the ſcene of *Pompey*'s theatre: nor, when he had finiſhed both, did he conſecrate either, whether prevented by old age, or deſpiſing popularity, is uncertain. Thus *Tacitus* (64), with whom *Suetonius* does not intirely agree. During the whole time he was emperor, ſays that writer, he built nothing that was

(63) *Tacit. c. 29. Dio, l. lviii. p. 630. Suet, in Tib. c. 53.* (64) *Tacit. c. 45.*

pointed his four ſons-in-law, *Cneius Domitius*, *Caſſius Longinus*, *Marcus Vinicius*, and *Rubellius Blandus*, aſſiſted by *Publius Petronius*, nominated by the conſuls [r]. The eccleſiaſtic writers tell us, that in this or the preceding year, *Pontius Pilate* wrote to *Tiberius* on account of the paſſion, reſurrection, and miracles of our Saviour, adding, that the number of his followers daily increaſed, and that he was accounted a God. Hereupon the emperor, ſay they, made a report of the whole matter to the ſenate, with this favourable ſuffrage, that Chriſt might be reckoned among the gods: the ſenate oppoſed this motion, and even by an edict commanded all chriſtians to be baniſhed the city. But *Tiberius* by another edict threatening their accuſers with death, the perſecution ceaſed, and the number of the believers daily increaſed both in *Judæa* and at *Rome* [s]. Whether this account is conſiſtent with the ſervile ſpirit of the ſenate, and the dread they were all under of oppoſing any motion made by the emperor, is what we refer to the judment of every impartial reader.

The next conſuls, and the laſt under *Tiberius*, were *Cneius Acerronius Proculus* and *Caius Pontius Nigrinus*, or, as *Suetonius* calls him, *Niger*. The emperor was now in the ſeventy-eighth year of his age, without having been ever once indiſpoſed ſince he came to the empire, though he neglected, and was even wont to ridicule, the rules and preſcriptions of phyſicians, and ſuch as after the age of thirty wanted to be informed by them, what helped or hurt their conſtitutions. At length he was taken ill at *Aſtura* between *Antium* and *Circei*, as he was returning to *Capreæ* from the neighbourhood of *Rome* (C). However, he went forward, and reached *Circei*, where, to diſſemble his indiſpoſition, he not only aſſiſted at the military games exhibited there, but threw darts himſelf at a boar, and killed him. From *Circei* he advanced to *Miſenum*, and finding his ſtrength began to fail him, he ſettled in a villa near the promontory, which once belonged to the celebrated *Lucullus*. Already his ſtrength, already his ſpirits failed him; but his diſſimulation failed him not. To hide his declenſion now very viſible, he exerted the ſame vigor of mind, the ſame energy in his diſcourſe, and even affected ſometimes to be gay. In the mean time, the courſe of executions was not interrupted at *Rome* by the emperor's illneſs. *Acutia*, once the wife of *Publius Vitellius*, being charged with treaſon by *Lælius Balbus*, was condemned. Afterwards *Albucilla*, who had been married to *Satrius Secundus*, and was infamous for her amours and debaucheries, was accuſed of deviſing charms againſt the life of *Tiberius*. In the ſame charge were involved, as her accomplices and adulterers, *Cneius Domitius*, *Vibius Marſus*, and *Lucius Arruntius*, all three perſons diſtinguiſhed by their birth and employments. But as the minutes tranſmitted to the ſenate imported, that *Macro* had preſided in the examination of the witneſſes, and torture of the ſlaves, and the minutes were not accompanied by any letter from *Tiberius* againſt the accuſed, the fathers ſuſpected, that while he was ill, the accuſations were in great meaſure forged, perhaps without his privacy, by *Macro*, an irreconcileable enemy to *Arruntius*. However, that brave *Roman* choſe to die, and to his friends attempting to divert him from that reſolution, by repreſenting to him, that news of the emperor's death, which would deliver him from the preſent danger, was daily expected, he anſwered in the following manner: "The ſame meaſures are not alike honourable to all men: I "have lived long enough, and have not wherewithal to reproach myſelf, ſave that I "have ſubmitted to bear thus far an old age expoſed to ſo many dangers, long hated "as I was by *Sejanus*, and am now by *Macro*, always obnoxious to ſome reigning "miniſter,

Tiberius is taken ill.

Lucius Arruntius accuſed.

His fine and affecting reaſoning.

[r] Tacit. c. 45. [s] Tertull. in apol. c. 5. & 21. Euseb. in chron. & hiſt. eccleſ. l. ii. c. 2. Gildas.

was great and magnificent: the temple of *Auguſtus*, and the reparation of *Pompey*'s theatre, the only public works he ever undertook, he left unfiniſhed after ſo many years (65). And in the life of *Caligula*, he finiſhed the temple of *Auguſtus*, ſays he, and the amphitheatre of *Pompey*, which *Tiberius* had begun, but not completed (66): So that, according to *Tacitus*, he finiſhed theſe buildings; but left them imperfect according to *Suetonius*.

(C) About the end of the preceding year, *Tiberius*, leaving his iſland, approached *Rome*, and having ſtaid ſome time at *Tuſculum*, he came within ſix miles of the city, and thence beheld his metropolis floating, as it were, in blood. On his return to *Campania*, he was taken ill at *Aſtura*. *Suetonius* tells us, that he removed from the neighbourhood of *Rome*, being frightened with a kind of prodigy: for being wont to feed with his own hand a dragon, in which he took great pleaſure, he found it one morning killed and half devoured by a ſwarm of ants. Hereupon, being warned by the ſoothſayers to avoid the multitude, he haſtened back to *Campania*. We find no accounts of this nature in *Tacitus*, who only tells us, that *Tiberius*, after much ſhifting of places, ſettled in the end at the promontory of *Miſenum* in a villa, which once belonged to *Lucullus*.

(65) *Suet. ibid. c.* 47. (66) *Idem in Calig. c.* 21

a "minister, through no fault of mine, but because I am irreconcileable to the wicked.
"'Tis true, I may outlive, and escape, the few and last days of *Tiberius*: but how shall
"I escape the young prince, his heir? If *Tiberius*, at such an age, and after so long
"experience, has been intirely changed by the spirit of an uncontrouled power, is it to
"be hoped, that *Caligula*, who is yet scarce out of his childhood, unexperienced in
"affairs, and brought up in the worst of principles, will pursue a better course, having
"*Macro* for his guide? that *Macro*, who, being chosen to oppress *Sejanus* as the more
"wicked of the two, has since afflicted the republic with more mischiefs and cruelties.
"I foresee a servitude yet more dreadful, and therefore will fly both from the present
"and the impending calamities." Having uttered these words, as if he had been
b inspired by the gods, he opened his veins, and bled to death [h]. Such was the end of *His death.*
Lucius Arruntius, a man of a most illustrious descent, of great fortune, and extraordinary accomplishments, for which he was accounted by *Augustus*, as we have observed in the beginning of this reign, equal to the sovereignty. *Domitius*, by pretending to prepare for his defence, and *Marsus*, by seeming resolved to end his life by abstinence, outlived *Tiberius*, and escaped the present danger. As for *Albucilla*, she attempted to lay violent hands on herself; but the blow proving ineffectual, she was by order of the senate dragged to prison, and there executed. Against the accomplices of her debaucheries, it was decreed, that *Grasidius Sacerdos*, formerly prætor, should be banished to an island; and that *Pontius Fregallanus* and *Lælius Balbus*, both senators,
c should be degraded. About the same time, *Sextus Papinius*, of a consular family, probably the son of *Sextus Papinius*, who was consul the foregoing year, ended his life, by throwing himself headlong from a high place, to avoid the impure solicitations of his own mother, who was thereupon accused, but only banished *Rome* for ten years, till her younger son had passed the dangers of youth [i].

In the mean time, *Tiberius*, having read in the journal of the senate, that some prisoners had been discharged, because he had only writ that informations were lodged against them without mentioning witnesses, transported with rage, resolved to return at all adventures to *Capreæ*, and there, as in a place of safety, revenge the affront offered him; but the bad weather and his distemper kept him against his will at *Mi-*
d *senum* [k]. However, he still hoped to overcome his present indisposition, depending *His indisposition prevents his return to* Capreæ.
upon the predictions of *Thrasyllus*, which he esteemed as so many oracles (D), that famous astrologer having assured him, that he was to live ten years longer, either deceived himself, or with a design to deceive *Tiberius*, that he might not hasten the execution of those who were in prison. However that be, many were indebted to *Thrasyllus*'s prediction for their lives [l]. *Tiberius*, relying upon this, pursued his former course of life, without so much as relinquishing his shameful debaucheries, or mentioning his distemper to any physician. However, *Charicles*, an eminent man in that profession, who always attended him, as if he were departing upon some private affair, under the appearance of kissing his hand as he went out of the room,
e touched his pulse. *Tiberius*, suspecting the artifice, instantly ordered the entertainment *Endeavours to hide his distemper.* to

h Idem, c. 48. i Idem, c. 49. k Suet. in Tib. c. 73. l Dio. l. lviii. p. 638.

(D) *Tiberius*, during his retirement at *Rhodes*, applied himself chiefly to the study of judicial astrology under the direction of *Thrasyllus*, whose skill in that art he proved by the following trial. He led him to a house built on the top of a steep rock by the sea-side, and there minutely consulted him about various events. *Thrasyllus* gave satisfactory answers to all his questions, assured him, that he should be soon raised to the empire, and foretold many revolutions, which afterwards happened as they had been predicted. *Tiberius*, struck with amazement, asked him, whether he had calculated his own nativity, and could thence foresee what was to befal him the same year, nay, that very day? The reader is to know, that the way to the abovementioned house lay cross solitary rocks and dreadful precipices; and that *Tiberius*, if he suspected the predictions of the astrologer, whose art he meant to try, to be vain, used on his return to cast him headlong into the sea. This had been the fate of several, who, unskilled in the art they professed, had attempted to impose upon him with false predictions. *Thrasyllus* therefore, when the abovementioned question was put to him, surveying the position of the stars and calculating their aspects, began at first to hesitate, then to tremble, and the more he meditated, the more he appeared dismayed with wonder and dread; at last he cried out, that just then he was threatened with a danger very near fatal. At these words *Tiberius* embracing him, congratulated him upon his foresight of dangers and his security from them; and thenceforth, esteeming his predictions as so many oracles, held him in the rank of his most intimate friends (67). *Tiberius* himself is said to have been skilled in astrology, but nevertheless died, if *Dion Cassius* is to be credited (68), ten years sooner than he expected; which discovers, to use the expression of *Tacitus*, the short bounds between the art and the falshood of the art.

(67) *Tacit. annal.* 6. *c.* 20. (68) *Dio, l.* lviii. *f.* 635.

to be ſerved up, perſuaded *Charicles* to ſit down again, and continued himſelf at table longer than uſual, as if he meant that honour only for a farewell to his friend, but in reality to feign health and hide his weakneſs. When the entertainment was over, he did not forget his old cuſtom; but ſtanding in the middle of the room with an officer by him, he called them all by their names, and took his leave of each of the gueſts in particular, as if he had been in perfect health. But for all this, *Charicles* aſſured *Macro*, that the emperor declined apace, and that he could not laſt two days longer. Hence the whole court was filled with cloſe conſultations, and expreſſes were ſent to the generals and armies [m].

Tiberius had no ſurviving children of his own; he had indeed a grandſon, the ſon of *Druſus*, named *Tiberius Nero*, and ſurnamed *Gemellus*, or the *Twin*, becauſe born at a birth with another, who died in his infancy. *Caius*, ſurnamed *Caligula*, was his grandſon too, but only by adoption, he being the ſon of his nephew *Germanicus*, whom he had adopted by order of *Auguſtus*. Hence he was at a loſs to which of the two he ſhould bequeath the empire. The ſon of *Druſus* was nearer in blood, and far more dear to him, but too young to govern ſuch a mighty empire; being at this time but in the ſeventeenth year of his age. *Caius* was in the flower and vigor of youth, but greatly beloved by the people, which was a ſufficient motive for his grandfather to hate him. In this perplexity the emperor thought even of *Claudius*, who was his nephew and brother to *Germanicus*; but the weakneſs of his underſtanding prevented the choice: for he had been hitherto reckoned incapable of any public employment. To ſeek a ſucceſſor out of his own family was diſgracing, and in a manner inſulting, the name of the *Cæſars* and the memory of *Auguſtus*. For he had more at heart the grandeur of his race, than the welfare and ſecurity of the *Roman* ſtate. So that, his mind ſtill wavering and his ſtrength decaying, he left to the deciſion of fate a deliberation, to which he was now unequal [u]. Thus *Tacitus*. But *Dion Caſſius* tell us, that he bequeathed the empire to *Caius*, whom he knew to be naturally cruel, arrogant, and tyrannical, hoping that his vices would efface the memory of his own wickedneſs, and that he would complete the deſtruction of the *Roman* nobility, being often heard to ſay, that *Priam* was a happy prince, who had the pleaſure to outlive all his ſubjects, and ſee his kingdom with his whole race periſh with him; and that in *Caligula* he had brought up a ſerpent for the people of *Rome*, and a *Phaeton* for the reſt of the world [o]. But with *Dion Caſſius*'s leave, we cannot perſuade ourſelves, that ſuch horrible thoughts ſhould have ever entered into the mind even of *Tiberius*; and if they had, we may boldly affirm, that he was not ſo impolitic as ever to have uttered them. *Suetonius* aſſures us, that two years before his death he made his will, of which there were three copies, one under his own hand, the other written by one of his freedmen, but both to the ſame purpoſe, and witneſſed by perſons of no rank or diſtinction. By that will he left coheirs, *Caius* his grandſon by *Germanicus* and *Tiberius* by *Druſus*, both in equal portions, and ſubſtituting them ſucceſſively [p]. This, in the opinion of a modern critic of no mean character [q], did not ſo much regard the emperor's private eſtate, as the empire; for *Dion Caſſius* tells us in expreſs terms, that the prince left the empire by his laſt will to young *Tiberius* too, that he took care to make this his laſt diſpoſition well known, and even cauſed it to be read by *Macro* in the ſenate [r]. *Suetonius* likewiſe in his life of *Caligula* writes, that the ſenate and people unanimouſly declared *Caligula* ſole emperor, contrary to the expreſs will of *Tiberius*, who had left him but his coheir with another of his grandchildren, who was then under age, and ſtill in his *prætexta* [s]. *Philo* likewiſe the *Jew* aſſures us, that young *Tiberius* was left coheir of *Caius*, and his collegue in the ſovereignty; and adds, that *Tiberius*, if he had lived a little longer, would have cut off *Caius*, and left the empire to his grandſon without either a partner or a rival [t]. *Agrippa*, who was afterwards king of *Judeæ*, being come to wait on *Tiberius*, while he ſtill reſided in his iſland, the emperor recommended to him his grandſon *Tiberius*, and highly reſented his paying more court to *Caius* than to him; nay, he cauſed him ſix months after to be dragged to priſon, though he had received him on his arrival with the greateſt marks of friendſhip and affection, becauſe in a private converſation with *Caius* he had wiſhed young *Tiberius* might ſoon die, and ſurrender the empire to him [u]. *Caius* therefore, doubting of the inclination of *Tiberius*, left no ſtone

Is puzzled about ſettling the ſucceſſion.

Various opinions of writers about his laſt will.

According to ſome Caius *and young* Tiberius *left partners in the empire.*

[m] Tacit. c. 50. Suet. in Tib. c. 72, 73. Dio, l. lviii. p. 638. [n] Tacit. c. 46. [o] Dio, ibid. p. 636. [p] Suet. ibid. c. 76. [q] Casaubon. p. 433. [r] Dio, l. lix. p. 640. [s] Suet. in Calig. c. 14. [t] Phil. legat. p. 1002, 1004. [u] Joseph. antiq. l. xviii. c. 7.

a ſtone unturned to ſecure the empire by other means. He even debaſed himſelf ſo far as to court the favour of *Ennia Nævia*, the wife of *Macro*, with the promiſe of marriage, as ſoon as he attained the ſovereign power. His view in this was to engage in his intereſt her huſband, whoſe credit with the emperor was known to be great[w]. *Tacitus* and *Dion Caſſius* tell us, that after the death of *Claudia*, who had been eſpouſed to *Caligula*, *Macro* himſelf, to make his court to him, obliged his wife to ſacrifice her honour to his ambitious views, and to ſecure the young prince by a promiſe of marriage[x]. But *Philo* ſays, that *Macro* was altogether a ſtranger to the infamy of his wife, and ſuſpected nothing diſhonourable in the affection ſhe ſhewed for *Caius*. The ſame writer adds, that *Tiberius*, whom no prince ever ſurpaſſed in
b ſagacity and penetration, looking upon *Caius* as incapable of the government of ſuch a vaſt empire, and at the ſame time ſuſpecting him an enemy in his heart to the whole race of the *Claudii*, that is, to all his relations on the father's ſide, and conſequently to young *Tiberius*, would have cut him off, inſtead of naming him for his ſucceſſor, had not *Macro* diverted him from this deſign, by excuſing the faults of the young prince, by aſcribing to modeſty his ſeeming want of parts, and aſſuring the emperor, that he had a great reſpect and affection for his grandſon *Tiberius*[y]. *Macro*'s partiality for *Caius* was not unknown to *Tiberius*, who upbraided his miniſter with it, telling him, that he *neglected the ſetting ſun, and courted the riſing*. On ſeveral other occaſions he dropt certain words, which plainly ſhewed, that he foreſaw what would
c happen after his death (E). As one day *Caius* ridiculed *Sylla* upon ſome occaſional diſcourſe, *Tiberius* told him, that he would have all the vices of *Sylla*, and none of his virtues. At another time, a debate ariſing between the two young princes, the emperor embraced with many tears his little grandſon; and addreſſing himſelf to *Caius*, who at this demonſtration of kindneſs betrayed great ſternneſs in his countenance, *Thou*, ſaid he, *wilt one day murder him, and another wilt murder thee*[z]. This he foretold, not from his ſkill in aſtrology, as *Dion* imagines[a], but from his ſagacity and thorough knowledge of mankind.

Caius *ſaved by* Macro.

His death foretold by Tiberius.

In the mean time, the emperor's ſtrength failing him more and more, on the ſixteenth of *March* ſo deep a ſwoon ſeized him, that he was believed to have finiſhed his courſe. Hereupon *Caius*, quitting in haſte the palace to take poſſeſſion of the empire, ſhewed himſelf abroad in the midſt of a great throng of perſons of all ranks, paying him their congratulations upon his acceſſion to the throne. But in the height of his joy, ſudden notice was brought him, that *Tiberius* had recovered his ſight and voice, and had called for ſome refreſhment to ſtrengthen his fainting ſpirits. This unexpected news ſtruck all with dread and horror; the croud about *Caligula* diſperſed in a trice, every one reſuming falſe ſorrow, or pretending ignorance, and the young prince himſelf, trembling, ſpeechleſs, and not able to ſtir from his place, expected there immediate death inſtead of the empire. *Macro* alone continued undiſturbed, and, ordering the apartment to be cleared, cauſed the weak old man to be ſmothered with a weight of coverings under colour of keeping him warm[b].

Is too haſty to take poſſeſſion of the empire.

Seneca, as quoted by

[w] Suet. in Calig. c. 12. [x] Tacit. c. 45. Dio, l. lviii. p. 639. [y] Philo legat. c. 4. p. 997, 998.
[z] Tacit. c. 46. Dio, l. lviii. p. 636. [a] Dio, p. 636. [b] Tacit. c. 50. Dio, l. lviii. p. 639.

(E) *Joſephus* writes, that *Tiberius*, deſirous to know by ſome prognoſtic to which of his grandchildren the gods reſerved the empire, told *Evodus*, one of his freedmen, that he had a mind to ſee *Caius* and young *Tiberius* early next morning. As he was perſuaded no doubt from his ſkill in aſtrology, that he, who came firſt, ſhould ſucceed him, he charged *Tiberius*'s governor to bring his grandſon to him next morning by break of day, ordering at the ſame time *Evodus* to introduce to him immediately the young prince, who ſhould arrive firſt. Accordingly, as ſoon as day appeared, the freedman, purſuant to his orders, went to wait at the door of the emperor's chamber the arrival of the princes, not doubting, but *Tiberius*, upon the warning he had had, would get the ſtart of *Caius*. But it happened quite otherwiſe; *Caius* was already there, and immediately introduced by *Evodus* to the emperor, who in ſeeing him burſt into tears, but ſoon reſtrained them, to acquaint *Caius* that the gods reſerved the empire for him, and to recommend to him his grandſon, whom they debarred from the power and authority which was due to him by right of ſucceſſion. *Caius* made many fine promiſes, though he meant nothing leſs than to perform them; and the emperor, having named him for his ſucceſſor, died a few days after (69). According to this account, which in our opinion favours of the fable, *Tiberius* left the empire to *Caius* alone; according to *Dion Caſſius* and *Suetonius*, to *Caius* and *Tiberius* jointly; and according to *Tacitus*, to neither, but to the deciſion of fate, that is, to the perſon for whom fate or deſtiny reſerved it. The authority of *Tacitus* is of great weight with us, eſpecially in what he relates here, ſince all authors agree in deſcribing *Tiberius* as a fataliſt, or one who was perſuaded that all things were governed by fate.

(69) *Joſeph. antiq. l.* xviii. *c.* 8.

by *Suetonius*, tells us, that *Tiberius*, finding his end approached, pulled off his ring, a and held it a conſiderable time in his hand, as if he deſigned to give it to ſome body; that he put it upon his finger again, and that after having continued a long time motionleſs with his left hand ſhut cloſe, all of a ſudden he called one of his attendants, and no one anſwering, he roſe up; but his ſtrength failing him, he fell down by the bed-ſide, and died [e]. Others write, that *Caius* not only gave him a ſlow working poiſon, which conſumed him by degrees, but that having commanded his ring to be taken off of his finger, and obſerving *Tiberius* to make ſome reſiſtance, he immediately ſmothered him with a pillow; they add, that this action ſeemed ſo cruel to one of his freedmen, that he could not forbear crying out; which ſo provoked *Caius*, that he cauſed him to be immediately apprehended and crucified. This does not at all ſeem b incredible, ſays *Suetonius*, ſince there are authors, who affirm, that he bragged of having attempted to diſpatch the old emperor on another occaſion, publicly owning, that, to revenge the death of his mother and brothers, he went with a dagger in his hand into *Tiberius*'s chamber, while he was aſleep; but being touched with compaſſion, he threw away the weapon, and retired; that *Tiberius* ſaw him, but thought it adviſeable to take no notice of what he had obſerved. This circumſtance inclines us to believe the whole account fabulous, and invented either by *Caius* himſelf, or by thoſe who relate it. He did not indeed want cruelty for ſuch an attempt, but courage and reſolution, if we may depend upon the character which *Tacitus* and moſt writers give him. *Tiberius* died, according to *Tacitus* [f] and *Suetonius* [g], on the ſixteenth, according to *Dion* c *Caſſius* [h], on the twenty-ſixth of *March*; ſo that he reigned from the death of *Auguſtus*, twenty-two years, ſix months, and twenty-ſix days, or ten days more, as *Dion* will have it. He was at his death in the ſeventy-eighth year of his age, which he had entered four months, and nine, or at moſt nineteen, days before [i]. Though he had the preceding year highly obliged the city by a generous bounty on occaſion of a fire, yet the news of his death was received with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy, the populace running up and down the ſtreets in great crouds, and crying, *Throw the tyrant into the* Tiber, or beſeeching their mother *earth* and the infernal gods to vouchſafe him no place but among the impious: ſome threatened to drag his vile carcaſe to the *Gemoniæ*, and there expoſe it to the rage and fury of the multitude, provoked not only by his paſt cruelties, but by a new piece of inhumanity, even after his death. d For whereas, by the decree we have ſpoken of above, it was provided, that no criminal whatſoever ſhould be executed till the tenth day after ſentence pronounced, that term happening to expire with reſpect to ſeveral perſons on the ſame day the news of *Tiberius*'s death reached *Rome*, they earneſtly begged for a farther reprieve, not doubting, but *Caius* would grant them their lives and liberty. But as he was abſent, and no one elſe at *Rome*, to whom any petition in their behalf could be addreſſed, the keepers of the priſon ſtrangled them of their own accord, and expoſed their bodies to public view; which cruel action increaſed the hatred of the people againſt *Tiberius*, as if his cruelty had outlived him [k]. Several others, however, were ſaved; for the emperor dying before the term of their reprieve expired, they had time to apply to his ſucceſſor, e who ſet them at liberty [l]. The body of the deceaſed emperor was by the ſoldiers, without doubt of the prætorian guards, carried from *Miſenum* to *Rome*, where it was burnt with the uſual ſolemnity, *Caius*, who had never abandoned the body, pronouncing the funeral oration, in which he ſpoke little of *Tiberius*, but greatly extolled *Auguſtus* and *Germanicus*, without forgetting himſelf. He had written to the ſenate before, acquainting them with the death of the emperor, and his acceſſion to the empire, and requiring them at the ſame time to decree thoſe honours to *Tiberius* which they had formerly beſtowed on *Auguſtus*. But the ſenate, not yet acquainted with the humour of the new emperor, poſtponed the affair till his arrival, when he took no farther notice of what he had written; but cauſing the body to be brought f into the city in the night-time, expoſed it the next day, and then ordered it to be burnt without any extraordinary pomp or honours [m]. As for his character, every reader may draw it to himſelf after the detail we have given of the moſt remarkable actions of his life. However, to what we have already ſaid, we ſhall ſubjoin the words with which *Tacitus* cloſes the hiſtory of his reign. *Tiberius*, ſays he, was deſervedly eſteemed by all while he was a private man, or commanded under *Auguſtus*: with great cunning and addreſs he feigned virtue, while *Germanicus* and *Druſus* lived: he bore

The death of Tiberius. *Year after the flood* 3036. *Of Chriſt* 37. *Of* Rome 785

The joy of the Roman *people at the news of his death.*

His body conveyed to Rome, *and there burnt.*

[e] Suet. ibid. c 73. [f] Tacit. c. 50. [g] Suet. c. 73. [h] Dio, l. lviii. p. 639. [i] Tacit. c. 51. Dio, ibid. p. 630. [k] Suet. ibid. c. 75. [l] Dio, l. lviii. p. 633. [m] Idem, l. lix. p. 642.

a bore a mixt character of good and evil till the death of his mother; he did not diſ- *His character from* Tacitus
guiſe his execrable cruelty, but concealed his lewdneſs, while he loved and feared *Sejanus*: at laſt he abandoned himſelf at once to all wickedneſs, being no longer reſtrained either by ſhame or fear, but following the bent of his own diſpoſition and nature [m] (F). Many eminent writers flouriſhed in his reign, of whom we ſhall give a ſuccinct account, not to interrupt the thread of our hiſtory, in our notes (G), to which we refer our readers.

As

[m] Tacit. c. 51.

(F) We ſhall ſubjoin here ſome obſervations on *Tiberius*, which we have found in the ancients; but for brevity's ſake avoided inſerting in our text. He was, as *Suetonius* informs us, a great lover of the liberal arts: he was an eloquent and ready ſpeaker, and in his writings imitated *Meſſala Corvinus*, a famous orator; but his too great niceneſs, or rather affectation, rendered his ſtyle perplexed and obſcure; whence he was eſteemed a better ſpeaker without, than upon, premeditation and ſtudy. He wrote a *lyric* poem, intitled, *A compleint on the death of* Lucius Cæſar, which was greatly eſteemed; and ſeveral *Greek* pieces in imitation of *Euphorion*, *Rhianus* and *Parthenius*, poets whom he admired above the reſt, and whoſe ſtatues he cauſed to be dedicated in the public libraries amongſt thoſe of the moſt celebrated writers. He took great delight in the fables of the poets, with which he was thoroughly acquainted, and uſed to puzzle the grammarians with the following and ſuch-like queſtions; Who was *Hecuba*'s mother? What was the name of *Achilles* amongſt the maids at the court of *Lycomedes*? What ſongs the *Sirens* were ſaid to ſing? *&c.* The *Greek* tongue he ſpoke with great readineſs and eaſe, but uſed it very ſeldom. In his ſpeeches to the ſenate he took care to avoid *Greek* words; inſomuch, that the *Latin* tongue ſupplying him with no word to expreſs *monopoly*, he begged leave to uſe a foreign one. Having read in a decree of the ſenate the word *emblema*, he deſired the ſenators to alter it, and either put a *Latin* word in its room, or expreſs the meaning of it by circumlocution (70). He betrayed even from his infancy manifeſt tokens of a cruel, ſavage, and untractable temper; whence *Theodorus Gadareus*, who taught him the firſt rudiments of learning, uſed to call him, *A maſs of clay tempered with blood* (71). Moſt of the ancients, who ſpeak of him, obſerve, that though he could brook no oppoſition, yet he abhorred flattery, as ſuiting only with the ſpirit of ſlaves, and was even aſhamed of the mean and ſlaviſh ſubmiſſions of the ſenate. He never forgave free ſpeakers, never could endure men of a bold ſpirit, whom firſt or laſt he purſued to deſtruction: but at the ſame time he abominated flattery, when he knew it to be ſo; whence it was dangerous, ſays *Tacitus*, to practice no flattery, and dangerous to practiſe too much, *adulatione, quæ proinde anceps ſi nulla, & ubi nimia eſt*: and elſewhere; *libertatem metuebat, adulationem oderat*. As he was a man of great penetration, and endowed with extraordinary talents both for civil and military employments, he would have made a great figure in the times of the republic, well ſupported the dignity of a ſenator, diſcharged with credit the firſt offices of ſtate, and in all likelihood died in renown, and left behind him a high reputation. But being, unhappily for himſelf and his country, inveſted with an uncontrouled power, he let looſe all his paſſions; ſo that he, who might have proved an excellent and uſeful member of a free ſtate, became a prince altogether mercileſs, nay a deſtructive and inſupportable tyrant. What is not to be apprehended from power without controul? and who is to be truſted with it, when a man of ſuch great parts and ſo long experience, as *Tiberius*, was ſo intirely maſtered and intoxicated with it?

(G) Theſe were, *Velleius Paterculus*, of whoſe hiſtory the far greater part is loſt; what ſtill remains of it comprehends the ancient hiſtory of the *Greeks* and that of the *Romans*, from the defeat of *Perſes* to the ſeventeenth year of *Tiberius*'s reign. He is thought to have written with candor and impartiality till the times of the *Cæſars*, in whoſe favour he miſerably perverts truth, or utterly ſuppreſſes it. What he writes of *Tiberius* ought rather to be ſtyled a fulſom panegyric, than a hiſtory. *Semper magnæ fortunæ comes eſt adulatio*, ſays he; *Flattery is a conſtant attendant upon greatneſs:* and indeed he is himſelf a remarkable inſtance of the truth of this ſaying, as muſt evidently appear to every impartial reader in the peruſal of the account he has left us of *Tiberius*'s reign. He accuſes *Germanicus* of cowardice, while he repreſents others as conſummate heroes, who were no-ways to compare with that brave prince, either in courage or conduct. His chief hero, after *Tiberius*, was the favourite miniſter *Sejanus*, on whom he beſtows the higheſt encomiums, not foreſeeing the doom that hung over his head, and ſoon after overtook him. Some writers think, that *Velleius* himſelf fell with *Sejanus*, as a friend, if not an accomplice, of the traitor whom he ſo undeſervedly commended. He put the laſt hand to his work in the conſulſhip of *M. Vinicius*, to whom he inſcribed it; that is, in the ſeventeenth year of *Tiberius*'s reign, as he himſelf informs us (72), and twenty-ſeven after he had been adopted by *Auguſtus*. He was of an equeſtrian family, come originally from *Campania*, and deſcended by the mother from the celebrated *Decius Magius*, who, being condemned by the ſenate of *Capua* to be delivered up to *Hannibal*, for his ſteady adherence to the *Roman* intereſt, was ſent away for *Carthage*, but driven by a ſtorm to the dominions of *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt*, who took him under his protection. His paternal grandfather was likewiſe a native of *Campania*, but raiſed to great preferments, firſt by *Pompey the great*, and afterwards by *Brutus*, under whom he ſerved. He himſelf ſerved nine years under *Tiberius*, firſt as military tribune in *Thrace* and *Macedon*, and afterwards in quality of commander of the legionary horſe in *Germany*. As to his civil employments, he was honoured with the quæſtorſhip, the prætorſhip, and, as ſome writers conjecture, with the conſulate; which is not improbable, ſince he was in great favour both with *Tiberius* and *Sejanus* (73).

Valerius Maximus, who left behind him a collection of the memorable actions and ſayings of the ancients, wrote about the latter end of *Tiberius*'s reign, after the fall of *Sejanus*, as is manifeſt from his own words, and from thoſe of the ancients who quote him. His ſtyle, which has nothing of the purity of the age he is ſuppoſed to have lived in, has prompted ſome to imagine, that his writings are of a much later date. Theſe take it for granted, that all thoſe who

(70) *Suet. ibid.* c. 70. (71) *Idem*, c. 57. (72) *Vell. Paterc. l. ii. c.* 126. (73) *Vide Voſſ. Hiſt. Lat. l. i. c.* 24.

who wrote in the golden age, wrote well, which others deny. *Voſſius* takes the work, which paſſes under the name of *Valerius Maximus*, to be only an abridgment of what he wrote, done by one *Julius Paris*. In what age the ſuppoſed author of this epitome lived, we are no-where told; but to him is generally aſcribed the treatiſe of *Roman* names, which is ſubjoined to the nine books of *Valerius Maximus* (74).

Strabo, whoſe ſeventeen books of geography are ſo much and ſo deſervedly admired by the learned, obſerves in his ſixteenth book, that the kingdom of *Comagene* had been but very lately reduced to a *Roman* province. This happened, according to the opinion of the beſt chronologers, the eighteenth year of the chriſtian æra and the fifth of *Tiberius*'s reign; ſo that we reaſonably ſuppoſe *Strabo*, who was then very old, to have ended both his work and his life before the death of *Tiberius*. He wrote other books, but none of them have reached us.

Dionyſius the geographer, who wrote a deſcription of the earth in *Greek* verſe, died, according to *Voſſius*, in the reign of *Tiberius*. For that writer takes this to be the *Dionyſius* who was ſent into the eaſt by *Auguſtus*, as we read in *Pliny* (75), to ſurvey thoſe countries, and make an exact deſcription of them for the uſe of *Caius Cæſar*, who was to be ſent thither. The *Dionyſius*, whom *Auguſtus* employed, was a native of *Corax*, called alſo *Alexandria* and *Antioch*, and ſituated between the *Tigris* and *Eulæus*. He was the laſt, ſays *Pliny*, who wrote a deſcription of the whole earth. *Scaliger* will not allow the deſcription of the earth, which has reached us, to be the work of that *Dionyſius*, but of another, who flouriſhed under the emperor *Severus*. *Salmaſius* on the other hand aſcribes it to one of the ſame name, who wrote in the reign of *M Aurelius*; and in his notes on the *Auguſtean* hiſtorians (76), promiſes to ſupport this opinion with unanſwerable arguments in a new edition, which he then deſigned, of *Dionyſius*. This promiſe he made in 1620. But in his notes upon *Solinus* publiſhed in 1629, ſpeaking occaſionally of *Dionyſius* the geographer, he ſays, that he lived under the emperor *Severus*, without taking the leaſt notice of his invincible arguments, or ſo much as deigning to acquaint us with the reaſons which prompted him to change his opinion (77). He ſpeaks of him in another place (78); but there endeavours only to prove, that he did not flouriſh in the reign of *Auguſtus*. *Suidas* mentions three geographers, all bearing the name of *Dionyſius*; one a native of *Corinth*, another of *Miletus*, and the third either of *Rhodes* or *Samos* (79). In ſuch variety of opinions, we will not take upon us to aſcertain the time, in which flouriſhed the author of the deſcription of the earth that has reached us: all we can ſay is, that *Euſtathius*, *Voſſius*, father *Pagi*, and cardinal *Noris* were certainly miſtaken in ſuppoſing him to have lived in the time of *Auguſtus*, ſince he mentions ſome events, as *Salmaſius* rightly obſerves (80), which happened in the reign of *Domitian*.

Phædrus, who tranſlated into *Latin* verſe the fables of *Æſop*, was, according to *Voſſius* (81), a native of *Thrace*, and one of *Auguſtus*'s freedmen, and died in the reign of *Tiberius*.

Thraſyllus the aſtrologer, of whom we have ſpoken above, was well verſed in ſeveral other ſciences, eſpecially in *Plato*'s philoſophy. *Jonſſius* takes him to be the author of a work quoted by ſome of the ancients, on *the genealogy of* Plato (82). To him are likewiſe aſcribed ſome books of phyſic quoted by *Pliny*. The emperor *Julian* aſſures us, that *Thraſyllus* acquired more fame by the books he left behind him, than by his mighty credit with *Tiberius* (83). *Jonſſius* tells us, that he was put to death by *Tiberius* in the ſixteenth year of the chriſtian æra, that is, in the ſecond year of *Tiberius*'s reign (84). But it is manifeſt from *Dion Caſſius*, that *Thraſyllus* died by the courſe of nature in the thirty ſixth year of the chriſtian æra, that is, a year before *Tiberius* (85).

L. Feneſtella, the poet and hiſtorian, died towards the latter end of *Tiberius*'s reign. He ſeems to have been greatly eſteemed by the ancients (86); but ſome are of opinion, that none of his works have reached our times. The treatiſe of the *Roman* magiſtrates, which goes under his name, is of a later date, and generally aſcribed to *Andrea Domenico Flocco*, a native of *Florence*.

Verrius Flaccus, a celebrated grammarian and preceptor to *Caius* and *Lucius Cæſars*, died in the reign of *Tiberius*, extremely old (87). He wrote, according to *Aulus Gellius* (88), ſeveral books of *memorable things*, and a book of the ſignification of words, which that writer ſometimes quotes (89). We have ſtill ſome fragments of ſeveral of his works, quoted ſometimes by *Macrobius*, and frequently by *Pliny*. He wrote a book of *Faſti*, and a catalogue of all the *Roman* conſuls to his time, which was engraved on marble, and ſet up in the forum of *Præneſte* (90). Moſt writers take the fragments of the *Faſti*, which are ſtill to be ſeen in the capitol at *Rome*, to be the ſame that were ſet up at *Præneſte*; but they can alledge nothing in proof of their opinion, except mere conjectures, ſince others, as well as *Verrius*, might have undertaken a work of the ſame nature. The *Faſti Capitolini*, beſides the names of the conſuls, mark the triumphs, ſeveral incidents relating to hiſtory, and alſo the years of *Rome*; but are always a year behind *Varro*, whom moſt authors follow. To theſe we might add many other writers, who flouriſhed under *Tiberius*, according to *Voſſius* and *Jonſſius*; but, as their works are long ſince loſt, we ſhall not detain our readers with a detail, from which they can reap no profit.

As the reverend fathers, *Catrou* and *Rouillé*, have not yet carried their *Roman* hiſtory beyond this period, the death of *Tiberius*, we think ourſelves bound both in juſtice and gratitude to acknowledge in this place the aſſiſtance we have received from their labours. The copious materials, which they have collected with incredible pains from almoſt innumerable authors, have been we muſt own, a great help to us, though we have never made uſe of them without conſulting the originals, a caution, we are ſorry to ſay it, which we have found too often neceſſary. But of their moſt material and remarkable miſtakes notice has been occaſionally taken in the courſe of the preſent hiſtory; and in this place we are only to return them thanks, which we do accordingly, for the aſſiſtance they have lent us. We might juſtly be taxed with ingratitude, if we did not at the ſame time diſcharge another obligation, and own ourſelves greatly indebted to a writer of our own nation; we mean the ingenious Mr. *Hooke*, whoſe excellent performance has proved more ſerviceable to us, than the numerous volumes of the jeſuits. As we are obliged, both by the nature of our undertaking and our engagement with the public, to have immediate recourſe to the ancient writers, it is our conſtant cuſtom to compare with them ſuch of the moderns of any repute as have handled the ſame ſubjects with us. Upon this collation, we muſt do Mr. *Hooke* the juſtice to own, that he has with a ſcru-

(74) *Idem ibid. c.* 24. (75) *Plin. l.* vi. *c.* 27. (76) *Spart. p.* 138. (77) *Salmaſ. in Solin. p.* 628. (78) *Ibid. p.* 411. (79) *Suid. p.* 747. (80) *Salmaſ. ubi ſupra.* (81) *Voſſ. poet. Latin. c.* 2. (82) *Joann. Jonſſ. de ſcriptor. hiſtoriæ philoſophicæ, l.* xviii. *Genevæ, anno* 1634. (83) *Julian. Auguſt. ad Themiſt.* (84) *Jonſſ. ibid. l* iii. *c.* 3. (85) *Dio, l.* lviii. *p.* 638. (86) *Plin. l.* xxxiii. *c.* 11. *Hier. in chron.* (87) *Suet. gramm. c.* 17. (88) *Aul. Gell. l.* iv. *c.* 5. (89) *Idem, l.* v. *c.* 17, 18. & *l.* xvi. *c.* 14. (90) *Suet. ibid.*

Caius Caligula Cæsar *declared emperor with full power.*

As *Caius*, surnamed *Caligula* (H), was greatly beloved both by the senate and people, on account of the extraordinary merit of his father *Germanicus*, and the injuries done to him and his family, news was no sooner brought that he was advancing from *Misenum* with the corps of the deceased emperor, than persons of all ranks and ages crouded out to meet him. At his entrance into the city he was received with new names of honour and all possible demonstrations of real affection. The senate immediately

a scrupulous exactness adhered all along to his authors; which is more than we can say of the Jesuits, of monsieur *Vertot*, or monsieur *Rollin*, who, like most writers of their nation, seem to take delight in embellishing their narrations with circumstances unknown to the ancients, which, in other words, is adulterating truth with romance, and passing fables upon the readers for history; since there are but few who have either the leisure or convenience of undeceiving themselves by recurring to the originals. Thus much we have thought ourselves obliged to say in commendation of a writer, who deserves so well of the public and of us in particular, tho' the favourable reception, which his undertaking has already met with, may seem to have rendered our testimony in some degree useless.

(H) *Caius*, says *Tacitus*, was born in the camp, nursed in the arms of the legions, and by them named *Caligula*, a military name from the boots, which, of the same fashion with their own, in compliment to them and to win their affections, he frequently wore (20). The surname of *Caligula*, says *Suetonius* (21), was given him in the camp by the legions, because he was brought up amongst them in the habit of a common soldier; in virtue of which education, he was to such a degree beloved by them, that upon a mutiny after the death of *Augustus*, his presence appeased them, when in the height of their fury. Thus *Tacitus* and *Suetonius* agree as to the origin of the surname of *Caligula*; but they differ as to the place of his birth. *Caius Cæsar*, says *Suetonius* (22), was born the last day of *August*, his father and *C. Fonteius Capito* being consuls, that is, the twelfth year of the common christian æra. As to the place of his birth, continues the same writer, the diversity of reports hath rendered it uncertain: *Cn. Lentulus Getulicus* writes, that he was born at *Tibur*, now *Tivoli*; *Pliny* in the country of the *Treviri* in a town called *Ambitarinum*, at the confluence of the *Rhine* and the *Mosselle*; and, to confirm his opinion, he adds, that there are still altars to be seen there with this inscription; OB AGRIPPINÆ PUERPERIUM, *for the delivery of* Agrippina: the following verses likewise enforce the common opinion, that he was born in the place where the legions were at that time in their winter-quarters:

In castris natus, patriis nutritus in armis,
Jam designati principis omen erat.

But I find amongst the public records, that he was born at *Antium*. *Pliny* refutes *Getulicus* as one who did not scruple to depart from truth, that he might flatter a young and ambitious prince by assigning him for his birth-place, a town which was consecrated to *Hercules*. This he could do the more boldly, as *Agrippina* had been delivered of a son at *Tibur* but a year before, whose name was likewise *Caius Cæsar*. As for *Pliny*, he is sufficiently confuted by the computation of times: for those who have written the history of *Augustus* assure us, that *Caius* was born before his father *Germanicus* was sent into *Gaul*, after his consulship was expired. Neither is the inscription upon the altars of any weight, seeing *Agrippina* was delivered of two daughters in that country; and the word *Puerperium* may be understood of either sex. Besides, in former times, girls were called *Pueræ*, and boys *Puelli*. There is also still extant an epistle from *Augustus* to his granddaughter *Agrippina*, written not many months before his death concerning this *Caius*, for there was no other child then of this name, in these words: *Yesterday I ordered* Talarius *and* Asellus *to bring little* Caius *hither, if it pleased the gods, on the seventeenth of* May. *I send with him one of my physicians, whom, as I have written to* Germanicus, *he may keep with him, if he thinks good. Farewel, my dear* Agrippina; *take care of your health, that you may be well when you meet your husband.* From this letter it is evident, that *Caius* was at this time in *Italy*; and he could not be born in a country, into which he was conveyed from *Rome*, when he was near two years old. This evidence confutes also the verses, the more because the author was never known. It therefore remains, that we acquiesce in the testimony of the public records; the rather because *Caius* preferred *Antium* to all other places, nay, being weary of *Rome*, he is said to have resolved to remove his imperial seat thither. Thus far *Suetonius* (23), whose arguments, in the opinion of *Lipsius*, carry no great weight with them. Were *Tacitus* and *Pliny* ignorant of what was contained in the public acts? Can we suppose, that such an accurate writer as *Tacitus* would have positively affirmed, without consulting the public records, that *Caius* was born in the camp? *Germanicus*, as it is agreed on all hands, was sent into *Germany* immediately after the slaughter of *Varus* and his legions, and continued there till his consulship, when he left *Germany* and returned to *Rome*; but we are no-where told, that his wife *Agrippina* accompanied him in that journey. She was perhaps then big with *Caius*, remained on that account in *Germany*, and was there delivered of him, during her husband's consulship. There appears at least in this no incongruity no improbability. As to the public registers, perhaps another son, bearing the same name, was born to them at *Antium*; for they had in all nine children, of whom three died infants. The surname of *Caligula*, which was given to this *Caius* by the legions some time after his birth, was not, we imagine, added to his name in the registers: *Suetonius* therefore might have mistaken another *Caius* for this. But he could not be born in a country, into which he was conveyed from *Rome*, when he was two years old. Why not? Might not *Agrippina* have been delivered of *Caius* in *Germany*, then come to *Rome*, and afterwards return to *Germany*? We are surprised that *Suetonius* should lay any stress on so weak an argument. *Caius*, 'tis true, preferred *Antium* to all other places, as *Tiberius* did *Capreæ*, and *Augustus Tibur* and *Lanuvium*; but no one ever pretended to infer from thence, that they were born in either of these places. Whoever was the author of the above-mentioned verses, they were published upon *Caius*'s accession to the empire; and we can hardly persuade ourselves, that the place of his nativity was not then known at least to every *Roman*. Upon the whole, we cannot help preferring to the authority of *Suetonius* that of *Tacitus*, supported by the testimonies of *Pliny*, *Athenæus*, and *Sextus Victor* (24).

(20) *Tacit. annal. l.* i. *c.* 41. (21) *Suet. c.* 9. (22) *Idem, c.* 8. (23) *Idem, c.* 8.
(24) *Vide Lip. in excur. in lib.* i. *annal.*

diately assembled, and, the people thronging into the hall with the senators, he was by universal consent declared emperor with full power, contrary to the express will of *Tiberius*, who had left him coheir with his grandson *Tiberius*, then under age and in his pretexta. The joy for his accession to the imperial throne was not confined to the narrow bounds of *Rome* and *Italy*, but reached the most distant provinces; insomuch, that in the space of three months a hundred and sixty thousand victims were slain on that occasion within the limits of the empire [n]. He had no sooner paid his last duty to the remains of his grandfather, than he hastened into the islands of *Pandataria* and *Pontia*, where he gathered with great reverence the bones and ashes of his mother and brother *Nero*, brought them to *Rome*, and caused them to be deposited with extraordinary pomp in the mausoleum of *Augustus* [o]. The inscriptions which he placed over them are still to be seen [p]; and from the medals of *Agrippina*, which have reached us [q], it appears, that he distinguished her with the title of *Augusta*. All the decrees of the senate enacted against them, and against *Drusus*, who died at *Rome*, were annulled [r]; nay, a stately villa, on the sea-side, where *Agrippina* had for some time been kept under confinement, was levelled with the ground, that no monuments might remain of her misfortunes [s]. Public sacrifices were at his motion appointed by the senate to be yearly offered to perpetuate their memory; solemn games in the circus, and chariot-races, were instituted in honour of his mother, in which her image was to be carried amongst those of the gods; and the month of *September* was by a decree of the senate to be thenceforth called by the name of his father *Germanicus*. Having thus signalized his piety towards his father, his mother, and his brothers, he honoured his grandmother *Antonia* with the name of *Augusta*, appointed her priestess of *Augustus*, granted her all the privileges enjoyed by the vestals, and all the marks of distinction which had ever been conferred upon *Livia*, either by *Augustus* or *Tiberius* [t]. The privileges of the vestals he likewise granted to his sisters, *Agrippina*, *Drusilla*, and *Livilla* or *Julia* (I), and ordained that their names should be added to his in all solemn oaths, with this clause; *Neither am I dearer to myself, nor are my children dearer to me, than* Caius Cæsar *and his sisters*; and to all the public acts the following form was ordered to be prefixed; *May it prove fortunate and happy to* Caius Cæsar *and his sisters* [u]. All the papers, registers, and records, which *Tiberius* had left relating to the proceedings against his mother and brothers, he caused to be brought publicly into the forum, and there to be committed to the flames in his presence, after having solemnly called the gods to witness, that he had never read, nor even opened, them. This he did, as he then declared, that no room might be left for fear or apprehensions in those who had been the occasion of the misfortunes which befel them [w]. However, as they were all afterwards to a man cut off under the imputation of various crimes, it was commonly believed, that he had burnt only the copies, and preserved the originals [x]. The very day he made his entry into *Rome*, he was for setting at liberty *Agrippa*, the grandson of king *Herod*, whom *Tiberius* had confined six months before. But his grandmother *Antonia*, though a great friend to *Agrippa*, advised him to suspend for some time the effects of his good-nature, lest he should seem to insult the memory of his grandfather [y]. However, he was released a few days after, as were likewise all the other state prisoners, and among the rest *L. Pomponius Secundus*, of whom we have spoken above, after seven years close confinement. Such as had been banished by *Tiberius* were all recalled home, which occasioned an universal joy in the city. But nothing gave greater satisfaction both to the nobility and people, than his solemnly declaring, that he would not suffer any one to be accused of treason, since under the appearance of that crime so many illustrious citizens, so many ancient and noble families, had been involved in endless calamities. Of this his resolution he gave soon after a remarkable instance; for a note being offered him tending to the discovery of a conspiracy against his life, he rejected it,

Honours the memory of his mother and brothers.

His love to his grandmother and sisters.

Sets at liberty Agrippa, *and all state-prisoners.*

Discourages informers.

[n] Dio, l. lix. p. 640—644. Suet. in Calig. c. 14. [o] Dio, p. 642. Suet. c. 14. [p] Gruter. p. 237. [q] Spanh. l. vii. p. 612. [r] Dio, ibid. [s] Senec. de ira, l. iv. c. 21. [t] Dio, p. 641, 646. Suet. c. 15. [u] Suet. c. 15. Dio, ibid. [w] Idem ibid. [x] Dio, ibid. p. 641, 642. [y] Joseph. antiq. l. xviii. c. 8.

(I) *Caius* had, according to *Suetonius*, but three sisters, *Agrippina*, *Drusilla*, and *Livilla*; so that *Livilla* and *Julia* must be one and the same person. *Julia* was the youngest of *Germanicus*'s daughters, born in the seventeenth year of the christian æra, and in the thirty-third married to *Marcus Vinicius* (25).

(25) *Tacit annal. l.* ii. *c.* 54. *& l.* vi. *c.* 15.

a it, saying, *I am not conscious to myself of any action that can deserve the hatred of any man, and therefore have no ears for informers* [z]. Though the will of *Tiberius* had been declared null by the senate, yet he executed every article of it with great punctuality, except that which related to the deceased emperor's grandson; the same regard he paid to the testament of *Livia*, which had been suppressed by *Tiberius*, causing their legacies to be discharged forthwith, and adding to them large sums of his own to be divided among the *Roman* people and the soldiery [a]. In his first speech to the senate he promised to govern with justice and moderation, to do nothing without their advice, and to follow their directions, as their child and pupil. Pursuant to his protestations, he caused the famous institutions of *Augustus* to be revived and pub-
b lished, though they had been long neglected and disused by *Tiberius*; he gave free jurisdiction to the magistrates, without reserving any appeal to himself, and even attempted to restore the antient method of elections by the suffrages of the people. The senate were for declaring him consul, as soon as the funeral ceremonies, performed in honour of his grandfather, were over; but he could not be prevailed upon to accept that dignity, till *Proculus* and *Nigrinus* had ended their year, which expired in the month of *July* [b]. In the mean time, he applied himself with the consuls and senate to the reformation of many abuses, which had crept into the state. He reviewed the *Roman* knights, and publicly took away the rings and horses of such as he found guilty of any notorious crime; smaller offences he thought sufficiently
c punished by passing over the names of the offenders, as he read the roll. He was for casting the *spintriæ*, or inventors of abominable lewdness, into the sea; but being dissuaded from that severity, he banished them from *Rome*. He allowed every one to keep and peruse the books of *Titus Labienus*, *Cremutius Cordus*, and *Cassius Severus*, which, in the reign of *Tiberius*, had been by order of the senate prohibited and suppressed, saying, it nearly concerned him, that all the actions of *Tiberius* should be transmitted to posterity. He likewise remitted several impositions, which had been exacted with great severity during the whole reign of his predecessor [c]. Thus did *Caligula* happily begin his reign; and of him it may be truly said, that no prince came ever to a throne with greater advantages, or more to the satisfaction of his people.

His seeming moderation.

d In the month of *July*, *Caius* entered upon his first consulship, and chose for his collegue his uncle *Claudius*, then in the forty-sixth year of his age; who till that time had continued in the equestrian order, being judged unequal to any public employment, on account of the weakness both of his body and mind [d]. We are told, that when he first entered the forum with the fasces, an eagle perched upon his shoulder, which was looked upon as a prognostic of his future grandeur [e]. The same day, *Caius*, in a speech which he made to the senate, spoke with great vehemence against the disorders of the late administration, promised to avoid them as much as lay in his power, and solemnly protested, that he had nothing so much at heart, as to render the people happy, whom the gods had committed to his care. The senate decreed, that his
c speech should be publicly read every year, without all doubt to remind him of the promises he had made them, and lay him under some obligation of performing them [f]. On the last day of *August*, which was his birth-day, he entertained the people with the most magnificent shews that had ever been seen in *Rome*; and on this occasion cushions were first laid on the seats of the senators, who till that time had sat both in the senate and theatre on bare benches [g]. Thenceforth no day passed without some shew or other, the emperor taking great pleasure in such diversions, and expending on such occasions immense sums. During his consulship, he restored the kingdom of *Comagene*, which had been reduced to a *Roman* province eighteen years before, to *Antiochus*, the son of that *Antiochus* who had been driven out by *Tiberius*, ordering at the same time a
f hundred millions of sesterces, that is, about a million of our money, to be paid to him by way of restitution for the revenues of his kingdom, which *Rome* had so long enjoyed without any just title [h]. *Antiochus*, out of gratitude to so generous a benefactor, gave two of his names to a town of *Comagene*, calling it, *Cesarea Germanica*, which were afterwards changed into that of *Germanicia* [i]. Of his generosity to *Agrippa* we spoke in the history of the *Jews*; and therefore shall only observe here, that he bestowed on him the tetrarchy of his uncle *Philip*, with the title of king; but reserved for

Caius *takes upon him the consulship.*

His speech to the senate.

His generosity to Antiochus *king of* Comagene.

[z] Dio, p. 642—644. Suet. c. 15. [a] Idem, c. 16, Dio, p. 640. [b] Dio, ibid. p. 644. [c] Suet. ibid c. 16. [d] Dio, ibid. p. 644. & Suet. in Claud. c. 7. [e] Suet. ibid. [f] Dio, ibid. [g] Idem, p. 645. [h] Dio, ibid. Suet. ibid. c. 16. [i] Noris de epochis Macedonum, p. 476.

for himſelf the reſt of *Judæa*, whither he diſpatched this year *Marcellus* in quality of a governor in the room of *Pontius Pilate*, whom *Lucius Vitellius*, governor of *Syria*, had ſent to *Rome*, to anſwer the many grievous complaints of the *Jewiſh* people, whom he had oppreſſed in a moſt tyrannical manner [k]. His generoſity to ſeveral private perſons was no leſs remarkable; for a fire happening in the firſt months of his reign, he made good the loſſes which every particular had ſuſtained. To a freedwoman, who had endured moſt exquiſite torments, without diſcovering the crime of a patron, he gave eighty thouſand ſeſterces. For theſe and other bounties a ſhield of gold with his image was decreed to him, which by order of the ſenate was to be carried annually on a certain day, by the colleges of prieſts, to the capitol, the ſenators following it, and the noblemens children of both ſexes ſinging hymns in praiſe of his virtues. b Beſides, it was ordained, that the day of his acceſſion to the empire ſhould be called *Palilia*, as if *Rome* had been founded anew on that day [l]. *Caius* having held the conſulate two months and twelve days, that is, to the twelfth of *September*, reſigned the faſces to thoſe who had been appointed by *Tiberius* for the reſt of the year [m]; but their names we find no-where recorded.

Aid to others.

It was probably about this time, that *Caius* wrote to *Lucius Vitellius*, governor of *Syria*, to conclude a peace with *Artabanus* king of the *Parthians*. *Suetonius* tells us in one place, that *Vitellius* uſed all manner of artifice to draw *Artabanus* to a conference [n]; and in another, that the *Parthian* king, who had always ſhewn the utmoſt c contempt and an irreconcileable hatred to *Tiberius*, ſought of his own accord the friendſhip of *Caius* [o]. According to *Dion Caſſius*, that prince had already paſſed the *Euphrates*, and was upon the point of invading *Syria*, when *Vitellius*, coming unexpectedly upon him, obliged him to agree to a treaty [p]. Be that as it will, *Artabanus* and *Vitellius* came to an interview on a bridge which they cauſed to be laid over the *Euphrates*, each attended by a certain number of guards; and concluded a treaty, the conditions of which were very advantagious to the *Romans* [q]. The *Parthian* even condeſcended to give by way of hoſtage one of his own ſons [r], or at leaſt a noble youth of great diſtinction, named *Darius* [s], probably of the race of the *Arſacidæ*, whom he ſent ſome time after to *Rome*, with a *Jew*, by name *Eleazar*, ſeven d cubits high [t]. When the treaty was concluded, *Herod Antipas*, tetrarch of *Galilee*, gave a magnificent entertainment to *Artabanus* and *Vitellius*, under a rich pavilion raiſed upon boats in the middle of the river [u]. *Suetonius* [w] and *Dion Caſſius* [x] tell us, that *Artabanus* paſſed the *Euphrates*, adored the eagles and enſigns of the legions, and kiſſed the images of *Auguſtus* and *Caius Cæſar*. *Herod* immediately diſpatched meſſengers to *Rome* with a minute account of what had paſſed, who arriving before the meſſengers of *Vitellius*, the emperor received the latter coldly, telling them, that *Herod* had already tranſmitted to him a detail of all that had been tranſacted on the *Euphrates*; which occaſioned a miſunderſtanding between the tetrarch of *Galilee* and *Vitellius* [y].

He is taken ill.

After *Caius* had thus happily reigned about eight months, he was ſeized with a violent fit of illneſs, occaſioned by his intemperance and debaucheries; for while *Tiberius* lived, he was mighty temperate in his diet; but upon his death he forſook his antient way of living, and gave himſelf intirely up to all manner of diſorders; which ſo affected his conſtitution, that towards the end of *October* he fell dangerouſly ill. As that was the time of the year, in which thoſe who traded to foreign countries returned home, news of the emperor's indiſpoſition was immediately carried to all the provinces of the empire, and every-where received with the greateſt tokens of ſorrow imaginable [z]. At *Rome* his palace was conſtantly crouded with multitudes of people of all ranks inquiring about his health; many paſſed whole nights at his gate, and ſome, devoting their lives for his, promiſed to fight amongſt the gladiators for his ſafety, and ſet up bills of this their reſolution in the ſtreets. At length he recovered, and with his recovery reſtored happineſs to the whole empire: innumerable victims were ſlain, and ſacrifices offered in the moſt diſtant provinces ſubject to *Rome*, by way of thankſgiving to the gods for ſo ſignal a favour. But how blind is man in his imagination! how vain in his hope, and ignorant of what is moſt to his advantage! This

The grief of the people on this occaſion, and joy for his recovery.

[k] Joseph. antiq. l. xviii. c. 5. [l] Suet. ibid c. 16. [m] Dio, l. lix. p. 645. [n] Suet. in Vitell c. 2. [o] Suet. in Calig. c. 14. [p] Dio, l. lix. p. 661. [q] Joseph. antiq. l. xviii. c. 6. [r] Dio, ibid. [s] Joseph. ibid. [t] Idem ibid. [u] Idem ibid. [w] Suet. in Calig. c 14. & in Vitell. c. 2. [x] Dio, ibid. p. 661. [y] Joseph. l. xviii. c. 6. [z] Philo legat. ad Caium, p. 994—995.

a This prince ſo much beloved, and univerſally looked upon as the author of all public and private happineſs, either changed all on a ſudden his nature, or diſcovered that which he had ſome time artfully diſguiſed. Some writers think, that this diſtemper affected his brain; for ever after he was much troubled for want of ſleep, never reſting above three hours in a night, and that never quietly, but conſtantly frightened with ſtrange dreams and dreadful imaginations; ſo that he paſſed great part of the night, either ſitting up in his bed, or wandering about the galleries of his palace, longing for day. He was himſelf, ſays *Suetonius* [a], ſo ſenſible of the infirmity of his mind, that he once reſolved to retire in order to purge his brain. He was ſubject, when a child, to the falling ſickneſs; and in his youth, though patient of labour and hard-
b ſhips, ſubject to fainting fits. Others aſcribe this odd and unaccountable conduct to a philtre, or love-potion, which was afterwards given him by his wife *Cæſonia*, and impaired his underſtanding. But, whatever was the cauſe of this change, it is certain, that from the time of his malady to the hour of his death he acted more like a madman than a prince; ſo that for the reſt of his reign the reader is to expect nothing but an uninterrupted train of execrable vices, monſtrous extravagancies, and ſuch ridiculous inconſiſtencies, as cannot well be related with that gravity and decency which becomes an hiſtorian. On his acceſſion to the throne, he would admit of no titles of honour; but ſoon after his recovery he aſſumed them all in one day, though *Au-*
guſtus had taken them ſeparately, and *Tiberius* had to the laſt declined ſeveral of
c them [b]. Theſe were probably the titles of *Auguſtus*, of *emperor*, of *high pontiff*, of *perpetual tribune*. From ſeveral medals which have reached our times [c], it appears, that he bore all theſe titles before his ſecond conſulate; but that of father of his country he did not aſſume, till the third year of his tribunitial power [d]. To the above-mentioned titles he added the following ſurnames, ſtyling himſelf, *the moſt pious*, *the ſon of the camp*, *the father of the armies*, *the moſt gracious*, *the moſt mighty*, Cæſar [e]. This year, *Tiberius* the ſon of *Druſus*, being eighteen complete, took the manly robe; on which occaſion *Caius*, after many proteſtations of kindneſs and ſincere affection for the young prince, firſt adopted him, and then declared him prince of the *Roman* youth. But theſe honours the unfortunate *Tiberius* enjoyed a very ſhort time, *Caius*
d not being aſhamed to put him to death a few days after he had ſolemnly declared, that his life was as dear to him as his own, and that he would ever cheriſh him as his own child. *Philo* tells us, that he adopted him with no other view, but to acquire that abſolute power over him, which the *Roman* laws gave to every parent over his children [f]. Be that as it will, he had no ſooner adopted him, than he charged ſome tribunes and centurions of his guards to acquaint the young prince, that he muſt with his own hand put an end to his life, thinking it unlawful for any inferior perſon to imbrue his hands in the blood of one of the imperial family. The innocent youth expected nothing leſs, and therefore was, as we may well imagine, ſtruck with ſurprize and amazement, when the officers denounced to him the emperor's orders. As
e he was of a mild temper, and had ever avoided aſſiſting at executions, and even at the combats of gladiators, he preſented his throat firſt to the officer who ſtood next to him, and then to all the reſt, begging them with many tears to execute the cruel order they had brought him. But as they all declined that office, purſuant to the emperor's orders, ſtrictly forbidding them to be any ways aiding and aſſiſting to his death, the young prince drew at length his ſword; but not knowing where to ſtrike, he begged they would at leaſt ſhew him where the wound might prove mortal, and ſoon put an end to his life and miſery. So far they complied with his requeſt, and then the unfortunate youth ſtabbed himſelf in their preſence [g]. *Caius*, to excuſe this firſt act of cruelty, which was ſoon followed by many others, pretended, that *Tiberius* had,
f during his illneſs, wiſhed him dead [h]; and that, through fear of being poiſoned, he had taken an antidote, which when he diſcovered, he cried out, *What! an antidote againſt* Cæſar? But this pretended antidote was only a remedy he had taken for a cough, with which he had been long troubled [i]. Thus he rid himſelf of the only prince, to whom thoſe could apply, who might in proceſs of time be diſſatisfied with his government. As for his uncle *Claudius*, he looked upon him as a perſon utterly unfit for any office in the empire, or in private life, as he really was; and therefore ſaved him, as he openly declared, for a laughing-ſtock. Being thus by the death of

He is ſtrangely altered.

Aſſumes ſeveral titles of honour.

He orders young Tiberius *to put himſelf to death.*

[a] Suet. ibid. c. 50. [b] Dio, p. 641. [c] Goltz. p. 38. [d] Idem, p. 39. [e] Suet. c. 22. [f] Philo legat. p. 995. [g] Idem ibid. p 996. Suet. c. 23. Dio, l. lix. p. 645. [h] Dio, ibid. p. 646. [i] Suet. c. 23.

of *Tiberius* delivered from all reſtraint and controul, he gave a full looſe to his furious paſſions, and commenced an open enemy to mankind, a complete tyrant, or rather, as *Suetonius* ſtyles him[k], an outrageous monſter. Soon after his recovery, he obliged all thoſe, who, during his malady, had devoted their lives for his, and promiſed to fight amongſt the gladiators, to fulfil their promiſe; and becauſe one was ſomewhat backward in the accompliſhment of his vow, he cauſed him to be adorned like a victim, and delivered to a company of rude and mercileſs boys, who, after abuſing him in a moſt cruel and inhuman manner, dragged him through the ſtreets, requiring the accompliſhment of his vow, and at laſt threw him down a precipice, and put an end to his life[l]. His grandmother *Antonia*, venerable for her age and no leſs illuſtrious for quality, for ſhe was the daughter of *Marc Antony*, the niece of *Auguſtus*, ſiſter-in-law of *Tiberius*, and mother of *Druſus*, having taken upon her to admoniſh him, he reſented that freedom to ſuch a degree, that he reduced her to the neceſſity of laying violent hands on herſelf[m]; whether by an expreſs order, or only by the unbecoming manner with which he treated her, we are not told. That illuſtrious princeſs having one day begged to ſpeak with him in private, he refuſed her that favour, and ordered *Macro* to be preſent the whole time ſhe continued with him. On another occaſion, as ſhe offered to adviſe him, he immediately interrupted her in a violent rage, bidding her remember, that *he could do what he pleaſed, with whom he pleaſed.* With theſe indignities and affronts, 'tis moſt probable, he haſtened her death. Some indeed have written, that he cauſed her to be poiſoned[n], which, if true, *Philo* would never have paſſed over in ſilence. He beſtowed no honours upon her after her death, and from one of the windows of his palace beheld the funeral pomp quite unconcerned[o]. *Dion Caſſius* fixes the death of *Silanus*, the emperor's father-in-law, to this year; but, according to *Philo*, it happened after that of *Macro*, of which we ſhall ſpeak, the following year. In this or the foregoing year, was born on the fifteenth of *December* the emperor *Nero*, and much about the ſame time *Joſephus* the hiſtorian.

He abandons himſelf to all wickedneſs.

The death of his grandmother Antonia.

THE next conſuls were *M. Aquilius Julianus* and *P. Nonius Aſprenas*[p], appointed by *Tiberius*, whoſe appointment *Caius* did not think fit to alter[q]. In the beginning of the year the ſenate and conſuls bound themſelves by a ſolemn oath to obſerve all the laws and conſtitutions of *Auguſtus* and *Caius*, without mentioning thoſe of *Tiberius*; and this omiſſion paſſed into a cuſtom, which ever after obtained. At the ſame time, vows were made for the ſafety of *Caius* and his ſiſters. *Dion Caſſius* obſerves, that on the ſame day, a ſlave, named *Macaon*, placing himſelf upon the bed of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, foretold many dreadful calamities; and when he had done, killed firſt a ſmall dog, which he had brought with him, and then himſelf. This year, *Caius* appointed *Soemus* prince of the *Iturean Arabs*; gave *Armenia Minor*, and ſoon after part of *Arabia*, to *Cotys* king of *Thrace*; and to his couſin *Rhemetalces* that part of *Thrace* which *Cotys* had held; to *Polemon* he gave the territories of *Pontus*, which his father *Polemon* had poſſeſſed[r]. *Suetonius* tells us, that *Caius*, having advanced this year *Flavius Veſpaſianus* to the ædileſhip, and being one day angry with him for his remiſsneſs in ſeeing the ſtreets kept clean, which was part of his province, he commanded his guards to take ſome of the dirt, and beſmear with it the ædile's embroidered robe. This ſome interpreted as a preſage of *Veſpaſian*'s future grandeur[s]; no doubt when they ſaw him already poſſeſſed of the empire. *Dion Caſſius* and *Suetonius* give us diſmal accounts of the many cruelties practiſed by this bloody idiot, in the ſecond year of his reign. Among the reſt he tells us, that one day, finding there were no criminals condemned to fight with the wild beaſts, according to the barbarous cuſtom which obtained at *Rome*, he commanded ſuch of the people as were already come to ſee the ſhews, to be thrown to them, having firſt ordered their tongues to be cut out, that they might not diſturb with their cries and complaints his inhuman diverſion. Finding it very chargeable to maintain the wild beaſts, which were kept for ſuch entertainments, he often viſited the priſons in perſon; and, ordering all the priſoners to be ranged in a gallery before him, ſentenced many of them to be thrown to the wild beaſts, without examining whether they were guilty or innocent. Once in particular, as they ſtood drawn up before him, he commanded all to be taken away to feed his beaſts, *a calvo ad calvum*, that is, from ſuch a bald head, whom he pointed out, to another. Great numbers of old men, of infirm perſons, and of ſuch as were reduced to poverty, met with the ſame cruel fate, the inhuman tyrant pretending, that by ſuch unheard-

Impending calamities foretold by a ſlave.

Various inſtances of Caius's *cruelty.*

[k] Idem, c. 43. [l] Idem, c. 27. Dio, p. 645. [m] Dio, ibid. [n] Suet. c. 23. [o] Idem ibid.
[p] Dio, p. 646. Noris ep. con. [q] Noris ibid. [r] Dio, ibid. p. 649. [s] Suet. in Veſp. c. 5.

a unheard-of barbarities he conſulted the public welfare, ſince he delivered the ſtate from perſons who were but ſo many burdens to it. A *Roman* knight whom he had cauſed to be caſt to the wild beaſts, crying out that he was innocent, he ordered him to be taken up, his tongue to be cut out, and then to be thrown in again. It was his conſtant cuſtom to oblige parents, though free from all guilt, to aſſiſt at the execution of their children, and often ordered them to be aſſaſſinated the following night in their houſes. To one of them, who pretended ſickneſs and begged to be excuſed, he ſent his own litter [t]. Having cauſed the ſon of an illuſtrious *Roman* knight, named *Paſtor*, to be dragged to priſon, for no other reaſon, but becauſe he was remarkable for his comelineſs and the tallneſs of his ſtature, the unhappy father went b immediately to intercede for his child. But the cruel monſter, inſtead of hearkening to his tears and intreaties, commanded the innocent youth to be executed without delay; and when the news of his death was brought, to inſult nature itſelf, he invited the diſtreſſed parent to dine with him that very day, and forced him, by threatening to treat in the like manner his other ſon, if he betrayed any ſymptoms of grief, to drink to exceſs, and in the height of his affliction to ſhew ſuch outward ſigns of joy, as would have been at any time altogether unbecoming a perſon of his rank and age [u]. One *Caninius Iulus* having in a private converſation adviſed *Caius* with great liberty to alter his conduct, as he was withdrawing, *That you may not flatter yourſelf*, Caninius, *with vain hopes*, ſaid the emperor, *I have already ſigned the warrant for your* c *death*. At theſe words *Caninius*, without ſhewing the leaſt concern, turning about, *I return you thanks*, ſaid he, *moſt gracious prince, for this favour*. As the decree of the ſenate, granting to condemned perſons ten days reſpite, was in this inſtance obſerved by *Caius*, the undaunted *Caninius* during that interval never betrayed the leaſt uneaſineſs; inſomuch, that the centurion, who came, when the ten days were expired, to ſee the ſentence put in execution, found him playing, with his uſual calmneſs, at cheſs. When the executioner appeared, he ſtarted up with a chearful countenance, embraced his friends, and, taking his leave of them, told them, that he ſhould ſoon know whether or no the ſoul was immortal; that in the very article of his death he would particu- d larly mind in what manner it abandoned the body, and after his death return to acquaint his friends with the ſtate of ſouls after their ſeparation. He then offered his neck to the executioner, with the intrepidity of a true hero [w]. The emperor, if ſuch an inhuman madman deſerves that name, aſſiſted in perſon at moſt executions; ſo great was the delight he took in cruelty and bloodſhed; but always cauſed the mouths of thoſe, who ſuffered in public, to be ſtopt, either with their cloaths or a ſponge, leſt they ſhould upbraid him with his wickedneſs [x]. He ſeldom ſuffered them to be diſpatched at once, deſiring they might *feel themſelves dying*, which was his uſual expreſſion. While he was at table, he often cauſed criminals, and ſometimes innocent perſons, to be racked in his preſence, nay, and their heads to be cut off by a ſoldier, who did it with great ſkill and dexterity. Being once miſtaken e in the name of a perſon, and cauſing him to be executed inſtead of another, when he underſtood his error, *'Tis no matter*, ſaid he, *he deſerved it as well as the other*. Five of the gladiators, called *retiarii*, becauſe they uſed in fighting certain nets, having yielded to the like number of *ſecutores*, who were their antagoniſts, he commanded them to be ſlain; but one of the five, ſnatching up his arms, killed all the conquerors. This action *Caligula* looked upon as cruel, lamented it in public, and loaded all thoſe with curſes who were ſo hard-hearted as to behold it. As he pretended to great ſkill in fencing, a famous gladiator, with whom he often fought in jeſt, pretending to be conquered, fell down at his feet, as the gladiators, who were overcome, uſed to do. But his flattery coſt him dear; for *Caius*, taking advantage of f his fall, ſtabbed him with a dagger; then with a branch of palm-tree, the ſymbol of victory, in his hand, he ran up and down triumphing, as if he had fairly overcome him. As one night at ſupper he burſt ſuddenly into a loud laughter, and the conſuls, who ſat near him, deſired with great reſpect to know the cauſe of his mirth: *What makes me ſo merry*, ſaid he, *is, that I can have both your throats cut with the leaſt nod of my head*. A victim being brought to the altar and ready to be offered, he appeared unexpectedly among the reſt in the habit of a prieſt, and, lifting up the ax, as if he deſigned to kill the victim, he knocked out the brains of the prieſt who ſtood by him. Having demanded of one, who had been baniſhed by *Tiberius*, and

The conſtancy and intrepidity of Caninius Iulus.

[t] Suet. c. 26, 27. Dio, p. 647. [u] Senec. de ira, l. ii. c. 33. [w] Idem ibid. c. 14. [x] Idem ibid. c. 19.

and recalled by him, how he employed himſelf in his exile, upon his anſwering, that he had conſtantly prayed for the death of *Tiberius*, that he might come to the empire, he immediately concluded, that thoſe, whom he had baniſhed, prayed likewiſe for his death; and upon that preſumption diſpatched officers to the iſlands, with orders to put them all to the ſword without mercy [i]. To theſe and innumerable other acts of cruelty, related at length by *Suetonius* and *Dion Caſſius*, the latter adds the death of *Macro* and his wife, whom *Caius* with the utmoſt ingratitude cauſed to be put to death this year. To *Macro* he was indebted both for his life and empire, and had promiſed him the government of *Egypt*, the higheſt poſt to which a knight could aſpire. But, inſtead of the promiſed reward, he ordered both him and his wife, as ſome hiſtorians have written [k], to diſpatch themſelves with their own hands. With them were put to death all their children, nay, and their ſlaves, ſo that not one of the whole family was left alive. *Macro* indeed, according to the character *Tacitus* gives us of him, deſerved ſo tragical an end, but not at *Caius*'s hands. The true cauſe of his death was, if *Philo* is to be credited, his uſing with more liberty, than the tyrant could endure, the authority which his eminent ſervices gave him; but *Caius* charged him with other crimes, and pretended, that, unmindful of his condition, he had even challenged an equal ſhare in the ſovereign power [l]. The next perſon he ſacrificed to his cruelty was *M. Silanus*, whoſe daughter he had married in *Tiberius*'s reign, a man of a moſt illuſtrious deſcent, and highly eſteemed by all on account of his great experience in affairs, his prudence, and eminent probity. He took upon him to diſapprove *Caius*'s wild meaſures, and ſuggeſt others to him, by which, if followed, he would have anſwered the expectation the public had entertained of him. But the jealous idiot, having a mighty opinion of his own abilities, and looking upon thoſe as his enemies who found fault with his meaſures, reſolved to lay hold of the firſt opportunity to rid himſelf of ſo troubleſome a counſellor; which he did accordingly on the following occaſion. One day all on a ſudden he took it into his head to divert himſelf on the ſea, *Silanus*, who could not endure the agitation of the ſhip, begged to be excuſed from attending him: this *Caius* imputed to him as a great crime, pretending, that he remained aſhore with a deſign to ſeize on the empire, in caſe any misfortune had happened to him; and upon this groundleſs pretext he obliged him to cut his own throat with a razor [m] (K). The death of *Silanus* was followed by that of many other perſons of great diſtinction, whom he condemned, under pretence that they had been acceſſory to the death of his mother or brothers; though his real motive was to ſeize on their eſtates; for he had already ſquandered away great part of the immenſe treaſure left him by *Tiberius*. This year about the month of *July* died his ſiſter *Druſilla*. She had been given by *Tiberius* five years before to *L. Caſſius Longinus*, and taken from him ſoon after by *Caius*, who lived publicly with her, as if ſhe had been his own wife, and had, during his ſickneſs, appointed her to ſucceed him in the empire [n]. He had maintained with her, as well as with his other ſiſters, if *Suetonius* is to be credited, a criminal converſation, even before ſhe was married. When ſhe died, ſhe was, according to *Dion Caſſius* [o], the wife of *M. Lepidus*. That writer gives us a very particular account of the extraordinary honours conferred upon her by *Caius* after her death. She was immediately ranked amongſt the gods, and thenceforth ſtyled the goddeſs *Druſilla*, which impious title the proſtitute bears on ſome *Greek* medals,

The death of Macro *and his wife.*

M. Silanus *put to death.*

Druſilla *dies, and is honoured as a goddeſs.*

[i] Suet. c. 30—34. [k] Philo legat. p. 1000. [l] Idem, 1001. Dio, p. 647. [m] Dio, p. 646. Suet. c 23. [n] Suet. c. 24. [o] Dio, p. 648.

(K) *Julius Grecinus*, father to the famous *Agricola*, had ſome time before been ordered by *Caius* to accuſe *Silanus*, and put to death for declining that infamous office. *Grecinus* was a ſenator, no leſs famous for his eloquence, than his probity (26). *Seneca* often mentions him, and tells us, that not having wherewithal to defray the charges of the public ſhews, which he was obliged to exhibit in virtue of his office, one *Fabius Perſicus*, a man of great wealth, but of an indifferent character, ſent him a very conſiderable ſum; which he refuſed, anſwering his friends, who found fault with his unſeaſonable generoſity; *Would you have me to accept a favour of one with whom I ſhould not care to eat a meal's meat?* *Rubelius*, who had been conſul, but was a man of the ſame ſtamp with *Perſicus*, ſent him a larger ſum than the other, which he likewiſe rejected; but *Rubelius* preſſing him, he begged to be excuſed, ſaying, *Neither have I accepted any thing of* Perſicus (27). The ſame writer tells us elſewhere (28), that he was murdered by *Caius*'s orders, becauſe he was a better man, than was expedient for any one to be under a tyrant. He wrote a book upon agriculture, which is quoted by *Columella* (29). *Pliny* likewiſe ranks him among writers (30).

(26) *Tacit. vit. Agricol. c.* 4. (27) *Senec. de ben. l.* ii. *c.* 21. (28) *Idem epiſt.* 29. (29) *Columell. l.* i. *c.* 1. (30) *Plin. in hiſt. l.* xiv, & xv.

a medals, which have reached our times [p]. A ſenator, by name *Livius Geminus*, declared in full ſenate upon his oath, that he ſaw her carried up to heaven [q]. *Seneca* rallies him with a good deal of humour upon this viſion, but nevertheleſs choſe rather to adore the divinity of *Druſilla*, than incur the diſpleaſure of the prince. The emperor's paſſion for his ſiſter appeared no leſs fooliſh after her death, than it had been infamous during her life. He immediately left *Rome*, and, after having wandered *Caius's grief.* ſome time up and down *Campania*, he paſſed over into *Sicily*, where he exhibited moſt magnificent ſhews, and repaired at a vaſt charge the walls of *Syracuſe*, and ſome temples that were decayed with age. He ridiculed many things, which were looked upon by the *Sicilians* as miracles; but was ſo terrified with the ſmoke and noiſe of b mount *Ætna*, that he fled from *Meſſena* in the night, not having courage enough to wait till day appeared [r]. Upon his return to *Rome*, he purſued the courſe of his cruelties with more barbarity than ever. If any one betrayed joy, it was on account of the death of *Druſilla*; if ſorrow, it was on account of the divine honours that were paid her; and both were crimes againſt the ſtate, and puniſhed with death: inſomuch, that they were all at a loſs how to comport themſelves, it being alike capital to mourn and to rejoice [t].

Caius had continued a widow ever ſince the death of *Junia*, the daughter of *Si- His mariages and divorces.* *lanus*. But *C. Calpurnius Piſo* marrying one *Livia Oreſtilla*, and inviting him to his wedding, when the ſolemnity was over, he commanded the bride to be carried to his c own palace, and there married her; but divorced her a few days after, and in the term of two years, or two months as ſome will have it, baniſhed both her and *Piſo*, under pretence that they had lived together [u]. Not long after he married *Lollia Paulina*, the grand-daughter of *M. Lollius*, whom *Auguſtus*, as we have related elſewhere, had appointed governor of *Caius Cæſar*, when he ſent him into the eaſt. *Lollia* was already married to *C. Memmius Regulus*, governor of *Macedon* and *Achaia*; but *Caius* having heard in a private converſation, that her grandmother had been famous for her beauty, he imediately ſent for her, forced her from her huſband, and married her [w] (L); but in a ſhort time not only put her away, but threatened her with death, if ſhe either returned to her former huſband, or married any other man [x]. d We ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of her in the following reign.

And now the bloody monſter, finding no one dared to oppoſe his ſovereign will *His pride and folly.* and pleaſure, notwithſtanding the many murders he daily committed, began to look upon himſelf as raiſed above the condition of a mortal man. To confirm himſelf in this ridiculous fancy, he is ſaid to have uſed the following no leſs ridiculous argument: As thoſe to whoſe care ſheep, oxen, and other cattle are committed, are themſelves neither ſheep nor oxen, but of a nature infinitely ſuperior to the condition of thoſe animals; ſo thoſe who are ſet over all men and creatures in the world, ought not to be regarded as men, but reverenced like gods [y]. He firſt betrayed this extravagant fancy at an entertainment with ſome foreign kings, who came to pay him homage. e As ſome diſpute aroſe amongſt thoſe princes about the nobility of their extraction, *Caius*, ſtarting up, repeated a verſe of *Homer* in the perſon of *Ulyſſes*; *Let there be but one king, one lord below*; and was for aſſuming immediately the diadem, and changeing the government into a monarchy. But being told, that he was already above all the kings and monarchs of the earth, he began from that time to challenge the honours *Claims divine honours.* paid to the demi-gods, ſuch as *Hercules*, *Bacchus*, *Tryphon*, &c. aſſuming the dreſs in which they were repreſented, and appearing ſometimes with a lion's ſkin about his ſhoulders and a club in his hand, to perſonate *Hercules*; ſometimes with wings at his feet, and a caduceus in his hand, like *Mercury*, &c. But he ſoon thought it beneath him to be honoured only as a demigod, and claimed the ſame worſhip that f was paid to *Apollo*, *Mars*, and *Jupiter* himſelf; nay he cauſed the heads to be taken off their ſtatues, and his own to be put in their room. He often placed himſelf in the temple of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, between the ſtatues of thoſe brothers, to be adored by all

[p] Vide Goltz. c. 39. [q] Dio, ibid. [r] Senec, ibid. Suet. c. 51. [s] Senec. ad Polyb. c. 36. Suet. c. 24. [u] Suet. c. 25. Dio, p. 646. [w] Suet, ibid. Dio, p. 648. Euseb. chron. [x] Suet. & Dio, ibid. [y] Philo ibid. p. 1002.

(L) *Lollia Paulina* was herſelf very remarkable for her beauty. *Pliny* tells us, that he ſaw her adorned with a prodigious quantity of pearls and emeralds, which had formerly belonged to her grand-father *M. Lollius* (31).

(31) *Plin. l.* ix. *c.* 35

all who came to offer their vows to them. He inlarged his palace, and brought one a
wing of it cloſe to the temple of thoſe two fabulous deities, which he altered to the
form of a portico, that the gods themſelves, as he uſed to ſay, might ſerve him in
quality of porters. He frequently changed his godhead, being one day a male deity,
and another a female; ſometimes *Jupiter*, at other times *Mars*; ſometimes *Neptune*
or *Apollo*, and ſometimes *Venus*, &c. But above all, he liked to be called *Jupiter*,
the head and chief of the *Pagan* deities; and that he might be eſteemed a true *Jupiter*,
he had inventions to imitate thunder and lightning; and when the thunder was
His Impiety. ſuppoſed to fall, he uſed to throw a ſtone againſt heaven, with the impious defiance
in *Homer*; *Do you take me from hence, or I'll take you.* He often went to the temple of
Jupiter Capitolinus, and, placing himſelf by his ſtatue, ſometimes whiſpered to it, then b
laid his ear cloſe to it, as it were to receive an anſwer. Sometimes he ſeemed to be
very angry with *Jupiter*, and was once heard to tell him in a threatening ſtyle, that
he would ſend him back into Greece (M). At length being overcome by the importunity
of the gods, as he fooliſhly gave out, who deſired his company, he joined his palace
to the capitol by an arch built over the temple of *Auguſtus*; and ſome time after,
that he might yet be nearer, he laid the foundations of a new houſe in the court of
the capitol [z]. At length his pride, folly, and impiety carried him ſo far, that he
would have a temple for himſelf, which he built at a vaſt charge, and dedicated to
his own divinity, placing in it his ſtatue in gold, done to the life, and every day
Inſtitutes prieſts in honour of his own deity. cloathed in the ſame robes which he himſelf wore. He likewiſe inſtituted prieſts c
and prieſteſſes to officiate in his new temple, the greateſt and richeſt men in *Rome*, ſo
great was their debaſement at this time, purchaſing the infamous prieſthood with vaſt
ſums; for *Caius* ſold it at ſuch an extravagant price, that his uncle *Claudius*, not have-
ing wherewithal to diſcharge the debt, eight millions of ſeſterces, ſays *Suetonius*,
which he contracted on that occaſion, was obliged to ſurrender all his effects to his
Temples built, and ſacrifices offered to him. creditors, who publicly ſold them by auction [a]. The ſacrifices, which his prieſts daily
offered him, were peacocks, pheaſants, *Numidian* hens, *&c.* And as though his other
follies were not ſufficiently extravagant, he became at laſt prieſt to himſelf, and
admitted to the ſame dignity his wife *Cæſonia*, whom he married the year follow-
ing; and alſo his horſe, the moſt proper prieſt of all for ſuch a deity [b]. Beſides the d
temple which he built to himſelf in his palace, the ſenate decreed him another, which
was begun in this, and ended in the following, year [c]. He ordered a temple to be
erected to his godhead at *Miletus*, which might ſerve for all *Aſia*; and becauſe it was
not finiſhed at the time he expected, he commanded a magnificent temple, which
that community was building in honour of *Apollo*, to be conſecrated to himſelf [d].
All nations, people, and cities, erected temples and altars to this new divinity, ſacri-
ficed victims, and ſwore by his name [e]. But none were more forward in paying him
this impious worſhip, than the inhabitants of *Alexandria*. The *Jews* alone, who were
very numerous in that city, refuſed to bend their knees to the new idol, which brought
upon them that cruel perſecution from the *Alexandrians*, which we have deſcribed in e
our hiſtory of that nation. The diſtreſſed *Jews* diſpatched embaſſadors to *Rome* to
lay

[z] Suet. c. 22. & 52. Dio. p. 660, 661. Philo. p. 1003. [a] Suet. in Claud. c. 9. [b] Idem in Calig. c. 22. Dio, p. 660. Senec. de ira, l. iv. c. 22. [c] Dio, in excerpt. Val. p. 673. [d] Idem, ibid. p, 670, 671. [e] Joseph. bell. Judaic. l. ii. c. 17.

(M) *Dion Caſſius* tells us, that a *Gaul*, ſeeing him one day ſitting on a throne in the figure of *Jupiter*, could not help burſting into a loud laugh; which *Caius* hearing, called him to him, and aſked him, *What do you take me for? For a great fool*, anſwered frankly the *Gaul*. This affront, which would have coſt a ſenator or knight his life, *Caius* diſſembled in the *Gaul*, thinking it perhaps below him to exert his vengeance on ſo contemptible a perſon; for he was by profeſſion a ſhoe-maker (32). He cauſed all the temples of *Greece* to be ſtript of their ſtatues, pictures, and other ornaments which he conveyed to *Rome*, crouding with them his own temple, his palace, his villas, and his gardens (33). He ordered the famous ſtatue of *Jupiter Olympius*, done by *Phidias*, and had in great veneration by the *Greeks*, to be tranſported to *Rome*. We are told, that the ſhip, which was building for that purpoſe, was burnt by lightning; and that as often as the work-men attempted to remove the ſtatue, a great noiſe was heard, like that of perſons deriding their at-tempt. *Memmius Regulus*, governor of *Greece*, who was charged to ſee the celebrated ſtatue conveyed to *Rome*, wrote to *Caius*, acquainting him, that he could not obey his commands on account of ſome extraordinary prodigies, and becauſe the workmen aſſured him, that if once removed, it would fall to pieces. Hereupon, in the tranſport of his rage, he abuſed and threatened *Jupiter* for daring to oppoſe his ſovereign will, and would have put to death *Memmius*, had he not been firſt put to death him-ſelf (34).

(32) *Dio, p.* 660, 661. (33) *Philo legat.* 1004. *Joſeph. antiq. l.* xix. *c.* 1. (34) *Dio, p.* 662. *Joſeph. ibid.*

lay their ſufferings before *Caius*, and beg his protection. At the head of this embaſſy was *Philo*, who gives us a very particular account of it, as we ſhall do from him.

THE following year, *Caius* reſumed the faſces, having for his collegue *Lucius Apronius Ceſianus* (N), but held them only thirty days[f]. When he entered upon his conſulſhip, and alſo when he reſigned it, he took the uſual oaths, like a private citizen; but while he thus affected popularity, he filled the city with blood and ſlaughter, cauſing thoſe very perſons, who had been impriſoned by *Tiberius*, and by himſelf ſet at liberty, to be dragged to priſon again, and executed for the pretended crimes with which they had been charged in the former reign[g]. The people not aſſiſting at the ſhews, which he exhibited almoſt every day, with the affiduity he expected, he commanded the public granaries to be ſhut up, with a deſign to ſtarve them, and laid hold of all opportunities that offered to do them what miſchief he could. Once in particular he cauſed them all to be driven by his guards out of the circus, on which occaſion great numbers of the common people were cruſhed to death in the throng, and above twenty knights, and as many women of diſtinction. At another time, becauſe they did not declare for the gladiators whom he favoured, he cauſed the ſails, which covered the amphitheatre, to be taken down; and having thus expoſed them to the ſcorching heat of the ſun, he threatened with preſent death ſuch as ſhould offer to ſtir[h]. Nay, the acclamations of the people in the theatre differing one day from his, he uttered the inhuman wiſh, that *the whole* Roman *people had but one neck*, that he might diſpatch them all at a blow. He often wiſhed for ſome great calamity, as if the monſter himſelf had not been curſe and calamity enough. He envied *Auguſtus* the happineſs of an army maſſacred, and *Tiberius* the ſad diſaſter at *Fidenæ*, where fifty thouſand perſons were maimed, or periſhed, by the fall of an amphitheatre. In ſhort, declaring himſelf an open enemy to his people, he often made uſe of the expreſſion of the old tragedian: *Oderint dum metuant*; *Let them hate me as much as they pleaſe, ſo they do but fear me.* On the other hand, the people conſidering him no longer as their lawful ſovereign, but as their implacable enemy, one day, to be revenged on him, riſing up, abandoned the ſhews, which he was exhibiting at an immenſe charge; which piqued him to ſuch a degree, that he immediately left *Rome* and retired to *Campania*, whence he did not return to the city till the feaſt of his ſiſter *Druſilla*, which he ſolemnized with extraordinary magnificence[i]. Hiſtorians this year take notice of the fooliſh regard he paid to one of his horſes, named *Incitatus*, whom he often invited to his table, fed with gilt oats, and preſented with the moſt delicious wines in cups of gold. His ſtable was all of marble, his manger of ivory, his collar of pearls, and his coverings of rich purple. He appointed him a great number of attendants, and ſupplied him with furniture no leſs magnificent than his own, that he might receive and entertain, in a manner ſuitable to his rank, ſuch as came to wait upon him; for he was a member of the college of *Caius*'s prieſts, and collegue to *Claudius*, to *Cæſonia*, and to the chief nobility of *Rome*; nay the emperor deſigned to raiſe him to the conſulſhip, and would have honoured him, as was commonly believed, with that dignity, if he had lived longer[k].

His ſecond conſulſhip.

His hatred to the Roman *people.*

His inhuman wiſh.

The fooliſh regard he paid to his horſe Incitatus.

Caius had hitherto diſapproved of *Tiberius*'s conduct, and ſeemed to be greatly pleaſed with the invectives that were uttered againſt him. But this year, coming one day to the ſenate, he told the conſcript fathers, that he, who was emperor, might well cenſure the meaſures of his predeceſſor; but that it ſeemed very ſtrange to him, that they ſhould preſume to find fault with one who had governed them as their lord and ſovereign. *You inveigh againſt him*, ſaid he, *as a tyrant, for having put many worthy citizens to death, without reflecting that you yourſelves are involved in the ſame*

[f] DIO, p. 649. SUET. c. 17. TACIT. annal. 6. c. 4. NORIS ep. con. p. 28.
[g] DIO, ibid.
[h] SUET. c. 26.
[i] DIO, p. 650. SUET. c. 30.
[k] DIO, p. 650. SUET. c. 55.

(N) *Ceſianus* held the conſulſhip till *July*, with *Sanvinus*, or rather *Sanquinius Maximus*, governor of *Rome*, who had been ſubſtituted to *Caius*. *Sanquinius* had been likewiſe conſul under *Tiberius*, but in what year we find no-where recorded (58). *Cn. Domitius Corbulo* was alſo conſul at this time, from the firſt of *July*, as is commonly believed (59), to the fourth or ſecond of *September*, when *Caius* ignominiouſly depoſed both conſuls (60). *Corbulo*'s collegue was ſo affected with the affront, that he laid violent hands on himſelf, and *Caius* named in his room *Domitius Afer*, a celebrated orator (61).

(58) *Dio, l.* lix. *p.* 651. (59) *Goltz. faſt. p.* 238. (60) *Dio, ibid. p.* 665. *Suet. c.* 25.
(61) *Goltz. ibid.*

ſame guilt, ſince he cauſed none to be executed, who had not been firſt convicted by your evidence, and condemned by your decrees. Since you honoured him ſo much during his life, it ill becomes you thus to inſult his memory after his death. Your conduct ſhews me what I may expect from you when I am gone. Having ſaid many things to this purpoſe, in the end he upbraided the ſenate as the creatures and dependents of *Sejanus*, as the betrayers of his mother and brothers, as a herd of mean-ſpirited ſlaves and flatterers, and concluded with introducing *Tiberius*, addreſſing him in the following terms: You have ſaid nothing, O *Caius*, but what I have by long experience found to be true; deſpiſe them therefore as unworthy of your eſteem and affection, and uſe them with all the ſeverity they deſerve. They all hate you in their hearts, wiſh for your death, and will aſſaſſinate you, if they can with impunity. Lay aſide therefore all hopes of winning their affections, deſpiſe their impotent rage, and employ all your thoughts about your own ſafety: whatever moſt conduces to that, is moſt juſt and equitable. By this means you will have nothing to fear, you will enjoy your pleaſures in ſafety, and at the ſame time be honoured by them; for they have not the courage to oppoſe you. If you ſtudy to gain their affections, you may perhaps acquire an empty reputation, which will die with you; but muſt reſign your power, which will offer them an opportunity of attempting upon your life, and deſtroying you; for the yoke of ſovereignty is ever grating; a prince is honoured ſo long as he is dreaded; when he is not feared, he is deſpiſed; and woe to that prince, whoſe ſubjects are more powerful than he[l]. *Caius* having thus ſpoke, revived the law of treaſon, and withdrawing from the ſenate, retired forthwith into the country. The ſenators, thunder-ſtruck with ſuch an unexpected ſpeech, and in the utmoſt conſternation on account of the dangers that threatened them; for who had not exclaimed againſt *Tiberius?* were not capable of coming to any reſolution that day; but the following long ſpeeches were made in commendation of ſo merciful, ſo gracious a prince, who after ſuch juſt and well deſerved reproaches, had been ſo generous as not to exert his vengeance: they enacted a decree, ordering the day, on which he made this memorable ſpeech, to be yearly ſolemnized with victims and ſacrifices as a feſtival; and heaped innumerable other honours upon a prince, who had given ſuch glaring inſtances of his clemency and good-nature. One would think that ſuch praiſes muſt have paſſed for ſatire and mockery. But ambition is a credulous paſſion: *Caius* was highly pleaſed with ſuch honours and praiſes; but nevertheleſs put afterwards many of thoſe to death, who had ſpoken ill of *Tiberius*, though he hated all who ſpoke well of him[m].

His odd ſpeech to the ſenate:

Revives the law of majeſty.

The ſlaviſh ſpirit of the ſenate.

THIS year is alſo remarkable for the famous work which *Caius* undertook at *Puteoli*: it is difficult to determine which was greater, the folly or the extravagancy of the attempt. To ſhew his power and greatneſs, and that he was able to walk upon the ſea as well as the land, he cauſed an infinite number of ſhips to be gathered together in all parts, and a great many new ones to be built, which were all brought into the bay of *Baiæ* and *Puteoli* in *Campania*. There from the point of *Baiæ* to the oppoſite ſhore of *Puteoli* they were placed in two rows in the form of a creſcent, being faſtened and moored together with anchors, chains, and cables. So many ſhips were employed in this fooliſh undertaking, that none being left to convey corn to *Rome*, the city was greatly diſtreſſed by famine, which continued to the reign of *Claudius*[n], and, to the great ſatisfaction of *Caius*, ſwept off daily great numbers of the people. *Seneca* tells us, that when *Caius* was killed, there was not ſufficient corn in the public granaries to maintain the people eight days longer[o]. When the ſhips were well faſtened and ſecured, vaſt quantities of large planks and boards were laid over them, and covered with earth. Then to make this ſtupendous work the more magnificent and ſurprizing, he ſent for an infinite number of artificers and workmen, who, at an immenſe charge and with incredible expedition, *Caius* puniſhing the leaſt remiſſneſs with preſent death, built houſes and convenient inns on the bridge for the reception of the emperor and his numerous retinue. Into theſe public houſes was conveyed freſh water in pipes from the land, *Caius* taking delight in ſuch things only, as to others ſeemed impoſſible. When this wonderful work was completed, *Caius* repaired to it with all the great lords of *Rome*, being attended by immenſe crouds of people, who flocked from every quarter to behold this mighty pomp. Upon his arrival at *Baiæ* he offered ſolemn ſacrifices to the gods, eſpecially to *Envy*, leſt the other deities ſhould be touched with jealouſy in ſeeing their glory eclipſed by his. Then

Caius builds a bridge upon the ſea.

The expence and extravagance of this undertaking.

[l] Dio. ibid. p. 652. Suet. c. 30. [m] Dio, ibid. [n] Idem, p. 652. Suet. c. 37. Joseph. antiq. l xix. c. 1. [o] Senec. de brev. vit. c. 18.

a Then proudly adorned with magnificent robes of gold, and armed with the breaſt-plate of *Alexander the Great*, having a civic crown on his head, accompanied with the great officers of his army and all the nobility of *Rome*, he mounted on horſeback, and entering upon the bridge at *Baiæ*, rid with an awful majeſty to *Puteoli*. There he reſided the remaining part of the day, and the following night, when with an infinite number of torches, lanthorns, and other lights placed in different parts of the work, the ſea, the neighbouring mountains, and the ſhore, were illuminated to a vaſt diſtance, *Caligula* boaſting, that he had turned the night into day, as well as the ſea into land. The next day he appeared in the habit peculiar to the charioteers in the circus, and in a chariot drawn by two ſtately horſes, being attended by young *Darius*, b the *Parthian* hoſtage, a ſquadron of his guards, in bright armour, and a great train of his friends, magnificently attired, and likewiſe in their chariots; he ſet out on his return to *Baiæ*, but halted about the middle of the bridge; and there, aſcending a magnificent throne, made a ſolemn oration in praiſe of his own exploit in riding ſo many miles upon the ſea, and of the pains and care taken by his ſoldiers and work-men, among whom he diſtributed large rewards. He ſpent all the day and the next night in this place, revelling and banquetting with his friends; and when he began to be heated with wine, that he might perform ſome memorable action before he left his bridge, he all on a ſudden cauſed great numbers of people to be thrown into the ſea without diſtinction of friend or foe, noble or ignoble; and when they attempted to climb up into the veſſels, he ordered them to be thruſt off; ſo that many periſhed, tho' c the far greater part ſaved themſelves, however drunk, by ſwimming, the ſea proving extremely calm and ſmooth the whole time, which *Caius* fooliſhly aſcribed to the re-ſpect *Neptune* had for him as a more powerful deity [p]. After this *Caius* returned to *Rome*, and entered the city in triumph, for having overcome, as he boaſted, nature itſelf. Upon his departure, the bridge, as *Dion Caſſius* ſeems to inſinuate [q], was im-mediately broke down, and the ſhips employed in it reſtored to the owners. In ſuch wild and uſeleſs attempts did *Caius* ſquander away in the ſpace of two years, beſides his ordinary revenues, the immenſe treaſure left by *Tiberius*, amounting to eighteen millions of our money. As to the motive, which prompted him to ſuch an extrava-d gant undertaking, authors are not agreed (O).

Caius having by this and many other extravagancies exhauſted and drained his exchequer, he betook himſelf to all manner of rapine, inventing ſuch kinds of penalties, confiſcations, and impoſts, as had never before been heard of. He would not allow any one to be legally a citizen of *Rome*, whoſe grant ran in the following terms; *To him and his poſterity*, unleſs he was his ſon, pretending that the word *poſte-rity* did not extend beyond that degree; ſo that moſt of the *Roman* citizens were ob-liged to purchaſe their freedom anew. He declared the wills void of all, from the be-ginning of *Tiberius*'s reign, who had not named either that prince or himſelf amongſt their heirs. Hereupon ſeveral perſons named him in their wills amongſt their friends e and children, which he knowing, cauſed them under ſeveral pretences to be put to death, that he might receive his ſhare the ſooner; nay, he was heard once to ſay, that it was a great preſumption in them to live, and keep him out of his inheritance. No commodity whatever, not even the neceſſaries of life, were exempt from ſome tax or other. For all actions at law, in what place ſoever commenced, he exacted the for-tieth part of the thing in controverſy, and laid heavy fines on ſuch as were convicted either of compounding, or dropping the ſuit. He enacted a law, injoining all arti-ficers, labourers, porters, carriers, *&c.* to pay into the exchequer the eighth part of their daily gains. Every proſtitute was obliged to pay a certain portion of what ſhe

Cauſes many perſons to be thrown into the ſea.

His avarice and enormous actions.

[p] Dio, p. 653. Suet. c. 37, 19. Joseph. antiq. l. xviii. c. 6. & l, xix. c. 1. Senec, brev. vit. c. 18.
[q] Dio, ibid.

(O) Some write, that he built this bridge in imitation of *Xerxes*, who laid a wonderful one over the *Helleſpont*, as we have related in our hiſtory of *Perſia*. Others ſay, that being then upon the point of invading *Germany* and *Britain*, he deſigned to terrify them with the report of ſome extraordinary work. But *Suetonius* tells us, that when he was but a boy, he was informed by his grandfather, that *Caius* had been put upon this undertaking by certain aſtrological predictions of the celebrated *Thraſyllus*, who, finding *Tiberius* unreſolved as to his ſucceſſor, yet more inclined to his own grandſon, than to *Caius*, told him, *It was as hard a matter for* Caius *to be emperor, as it was for him to ride over the gulph of* Baiæ. *Suetonius*'s grandfather lived under *Caius*, and had this intelligence from perſons who were in high favour with him (62).

(62) *Suet. c.* 19.

Turns his palace into a brothel and a gaming-house.

ſhe earned; nay, he was not aſhamed to turn his own palace into a brothel-houſe, a maintaining there great numbers of proſtitutes, and ſending his officers to invite people of all ranks to his diverſions. He received the money himſelf of ſuch as came, and ordered his officers to enter their names in his books, as of perſons well affected to *Cæſar*. He likewiſe encouraged gaming-houſes, frequenting them himſelf; nay, at laſt he appointed an apartment in his own palace for gameſters, and there ſpent great part of his time. We are told, that one day, in the midſt of his game, obſerving two *Roman* knights of great eſtates accidentally paſſing by, he immediately went down, cauſed both to be apprehended, and their eſtates to be confiſcated; and then returning with joy to his game, boaſted, that he had never had a better throw. Another time wanting money for his ſtake, he went down, and cauſed ſeveral noble- b men to be put to death; then returning told the company, that while they ſat playing for ſmall ſums, he had won ſix hundred thouſand ſeſterces. He uſed frequently to expoſe to ſale the effects of the condemned perſons, and oblige the rich citizens to buy them at the price he was pleaſed to ſet upon them; which was ſo high, that many noble families were by that means reduced to poverty. He forced, not to mention others, a wealthy citizen, by name *Apollonius Saturninus*, to pay nine millions of ſeſterces for thirteen gladiators, whom he expoſed to ſale with all the furniture of the amphitheatre. A daughter being born to him about this time, he complained publicly of his poverty, not only as an emperor, but as a father; but applied to his own uſe all the preſents and contributions made by the people for the education and c portion of the child [r]. The law of majeſty, which he revived, proved an inexhauſtible fund for the increaſing of his revenues. *Dion Caſſius* enumerates a great many worthy citizens, who were put to death, for no other crime but their great wealth; and tells us, that one *Junius Priſcus*, prætor, who had been condemned and executed under colour of ſome other crime, being found after his death poſſeſſed but of a ſmall eſtate, the emperor cried out, *I have been impoſed upon*; Junius *was not guilty* (P). *Lucius Vitellius*, governor of *Syria*, had acquired great wealth in that province, and beſides, his great power, and the reputation he had gained amongſt the ſoldiery, gave *Caius* no ſmall uneaſineſs, who thereupon recalled him with a deſign to put him to death, under pretence, that through his negligence the *Parthians* had driven *Tiridates* d from

Deſigns to deſtroy Lucius Vitellius *governor of* Syria.

[r] Suet. c. 38—43.

(P) *Dion Caſſius* tells us in this place how *Domitius Afer* eſcaped condemnation. He was, ſays *Tacitus* (63), more famous for his eloquence than his integrity. He had been under *Tiberius* a zealous accuſer, and acted that part againſt *Claudia Pulchra*, an intimate friend and couſin to *Agrippina*, as we have related above. It was not, however, this that provoked *Caius* againſt him, but his being eſteemed the moſt eloquent orator of his age, which glory *Caius* thought due to himſelf; and therefore reſolved to rid himſelf of the only perſon who diſputed it with him. *Domitius* erected this year a ſtatue to the emperor with an inſcription, importing, that he was conſul the ſecond time in the twenty-ſeventh year of his age. This he meant as a compliment; but *Caius*, who wanted a pretence to deſtroy him, pretended, that he thereby reproached him with his youth, and a violation of the laws, forbidding any one to be raiſed to the conſular dignity at that age. He therefore took upon him to accuſe him himſelf, and delivered in the ſenate a long ſpeech, which he had compoſed againſt him. *Domitius*, inſtead of anſwering it, which, without all doubt, would have coſt him his life, extolled the eloquence of the ſpeaker, admired the propriety of his expreſſions, repeated the moſt remarkable paſſages, giving them their due weight, and pointing out their beauties, *&c.* When he was ordered to make his defence, inſtead of anſwering the emperor's oration, he threw himſelf at his feet, acknowledged him for his maſter in eloquence, and declared, that he deſpiſed life after he was thus bereaved of the glory on which he piqued himſelf, of being eſteemed the beſt orator of his age. *Caius* was ſo well pleaſed with this pretended ſubmiſſion, that he not only forgave him, but raiſed him that very year to the conſulate. *Calixtus*, one of *Caius*'s freedmen, whom *Domitius* had gained, and who had proved very ſerviceable to him on this occaſion, having one day made uſe of the liberty which *Caius* allowed him to complain of the bitter invectives, which he had uttered againſt one, whom he knew to be free from all guilt, the emperor returned him this anſwer; *Would you have had me to loſe ſo fine a diſcourſe* (64)*? Philo* places in this year the maſſacre of the exiles, and tells us, that *Caius*, not being able one night to take any reſt, being haunted, as it frequently happened, with inward horrors, he began to think, that the baniſhed perſons were too happy, that they lived in eaſe and tranquillity, and wanted neither the neceſſaries nor conveniences of life. Hereupon concluding with himſelf, that it was not reaſonable criminals ſhould enjoy any happineſs, as ſoon as day appeared, he made a liſt of the moſt eminent perſons amongſt them, and diſpatched officers with orders to put them all to death, which occaſioned an univerſal mourning among the moſt illuſtrious families of *Rome*. At the head of this black liſt was *Flaccus*, who had been governor of *Egypt*, and confined a few months before to the iſland of *Andros* (65). *Euſebius* fixes this cruel execution to the laſt year of *Caius*'s reign (66); but *Philo* places it before the diſgrace of *Lepidus*, which happened this year (67).

(63) *Tacit. annal.* vi. c. 52. (64) *Dio, p.* 644, 645. (65) *Philo in Flacc. p.* 990, 991. (66) *Euſeb. in chron.* (67) *Idem ibid.*

from the kingdom of *Armenia*, which had been given him by *Tiberius*. *Vitellius* was a man of good talents and qualifications, had eminently diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the army, and in the government of provinces, ſays *Tacitus* [f], exerciſed the integrity of a primitive *Roman*. But his dread of *Caligula* changed him into a contemptible ſlave, and he is handed down to poſterity as a pattern of the moſt infamous flattery. For the firſt time *Caius* deigned to admit him to his preſence, he appeared before him in a modeſt dreſs, and accoſted him with the ſame ceremonies that were practiſed by the *Romans*, when they approached their gods, that is, having his head covered with a veil, turning himſelf round, and then falling down proſtrate before him [t]. *Caius* was ſo taken with this unexpected behaviour, that he not only forgave him, but thenceforth numbered him amongſt his moſt intimate friends. For he was the firſt who introduced amongſt the *Romans* the cuſtom of approaching the emperors, as the *Parthians* and other eaſtern nations did their monarchs [u]. We ſhall have occaſion to relate in the courſe of this hiſtory other inſtances of his ſlaviſh ſpirit, and ſervile ſubmiſſion. He was ſucceeded in the government of *Syria* by *P. Petronius*, of whom hereafter. We are told, that *Seneca* was about this time in imminent danger of loſing his life for no other crime, but having pleaded a cauſe in the ſenate with great elo- quence, and univerſal applauſe. This *Caius*, who was preſent, and pretended to be the beſt orator of his age, could not bear, and would therefore have diſpatched him, had he not been aſſured by one of his courteſans, that *Seneca* was infected with a diſtemper, which would ſoon corrupt his body, and put an end to his life (Q) [w].

Who forfeits his reputation to ſave his life.

THE laſt of *Auguſt*, being his birth-day, the conſuls forgot to warn the people to obſerve it as a feſtival; which incenſed *Caius* to ſuch a degree, that on the ſecond of *September* he depoſed them, and cauſed their rods to be broken. This proved ſo ſenſible a mortification to them, that one of them, not able to brook it, laid violent hands on himſelf. The pretence, which *Caius* took for thus ſtripping them igno- miniouſly of their dignity, was, their obſerving the ſecond of *September*, the anniver- ſary of the battle of *Actium*, as a feſtival. This indeed was cuſtomary; but the emperor, who was deſcended from *Auguſtus* by his mother *Agrippina*, and from *Antony* by his grandmother *Antonia*, told his friends beforehand, that the conſuls could not avoid giving him on that day a favourable pretence to revenge the late affront, either by omitting to celebrate the victory of *Auguſtus*, or by ſolemnizing the defeat of *Antony* [x]. Accordingly, the conſuls having, according to cuſtom, celebrated with the uſual ceremonies the anniverſary of the *Actiac* victory, they were the ſame day depoſed by *Caius*'s orders, under pretence that they had ſolemnized not ſo much the victory of *Auguſtus*, as the defeat of his great grandfather *Antony*. The city was then three days without conſuls, that is, the third, fourth and fifth of *September* [y]; but on the ſixth, *Domitius Afer* and another, whoſe name has not been tranſmitted to us, were nominated to that dignity. After this *Caius* forbad the boaſted victories gained by *Auguſtus* in *Sicily* and at *Actium* to be ſolemnized for the future, ſaying, that they had proved tragical and calamitous to the *Roman* people, though at the ſame time he gave out, that his mother *Agrippina* was not the daughter of *Agrippa*, but of *Auguſtus* by his own daughter *Julia*. Thus he choſe rather to aſperſe the memory of his great grandfather, and owe his birth to an abominable inceſt, than derive his pedigree from *Agrippa*, who was not of an illuſtrious deſcent (R) [z]. *Dion Caſſius*

Caius *depoſes both the conſuls.*

Forbids the victories of Auguſtus *to be ſolemnized.*

[f] TACIT. annal. l. vi. c. 32. [t] SUET. in vit. c. 2. [u] DIO, p. 661. PHILO legat. p. 1008.
SUET. ibid. [w] DIO, p. 655. [x] DIO, ibid. [y] SUET. c. 26. [z] SUET. c. 23.

(Q) *Caius* deſpiſed the eloquence of *Seneca*, tho' then in great vogue, calling his writings *Sand without lime*. *Caius* himſelf was no mean orator, had a great fluency and command of words, eſpecially when he declaimed againſt any one; and ſuch a clear voice and diſtinct pronuncation, that he was heard at a great diſtance. He took great delight in writing anſwers to ſuch orators as had performed with ap- plauſe. He often pleaded in the ſenate for or againſt ſuch perſons of diſtinction as were accuſed, not being governed therein by friendſhip or enmity, but by the ſubject; for he was ready to accuſe a friend, or defend an enemy, according as he thought the ſubject moſt proper to diſplay his eloquence. When he declaimed, he conſtantly invited, by a public proclamation, the knights to hear him, who never failed to applaud him; and indeed he well deſerved their applauſe, for though he undervalued the other liberal arts, he ſtudied eloquence with great appli- cation, and ſpoke very pertinently, eſpecially in ac- cuſing (68).

(R) He uſed to ſpeak very contemptuouſly, not only of *Agrippa*, but of his great grandmother *Livia Auguſta*, calling her *Ulyſſem ſtolatum*, that is, in our language, an *Ulyſſes in petticoats*. In a letter to the ſenate, he reflected on her pedigree, pretending that *Auſidius Lingo*, her grandfather by the mother, was but a common decurio at *Fundi*, though it ap- peared from the public records, that he had diſ- charged very conſiderable offices at *Rome* (69).

(68) *Suet. c.* 53.

(69) *Idem, c.* 23.

Caſſius obſerves in this place, that *Caius* being jealous of the power and courage of *L. Piſo*, proconſul of *Africa*, and probably the ſon of that *Piſo*, who was ſuppoſed to have poiſoned *Germanicus*, took from him and his ſucceſſors the command of the legion quartered there, and the *Numidian* auxiliaries, and gave it to a lieutenant. Theſe lieutenants, by degrees, became more powerful than the proconſuls, and were in after-ages ſtyled *Counts of* Africa [a]. This regulation was introduced, according to *Tacitus* [b], one or two years before, while *M. Silanus* was proconſul of *Africa*. It is not eaſy, nor indeed of any importance, to decide, which of theſe two writers may be in the right.

The origin of the counts of Africa.

Prepares for war againſt the Germans.

TOWARDS the end of the year, *Caius* undertook an expedition into *Gaul*, under colour of oppoſing the *Germans*, who were ſaid to have committed ſome hoſtilities; but his real motive was to plunder that wealthy province, and likewiſe *Spain*, after he had with extravagant tributes and taxes quite drained *Italy*. He never mentioned this deſign, till going one day to *Mevania*, at a ſmall diſtance from *Rome*, to ſee the celebrated river and foreſt of *Clitumnus*, he was adviſed to complete the number of the *Batavians*, who were then his guards. Upon this he took a fancy to make war upon the *Germans*, and, without farther deliberation, ordered a great number of legions and auxiliaries to be drawn together, new levies to be made with great diligence, and a prodigious quantity of proviſions to be got ready. His orders being executed with ſurpriſing expedition, he immediately began his march, moving ſometimes with ſuch haſte, that the prætorian cohorts were obliged, which had never before been practiſed, to have their ſtandards brought after them on their ſumpter-horſes; at other times ſo ſlowly, that he ſeemed to walk only for his diverſion. He was carried the beſt part of the way in a litter on eight mens ſhoulders, having ſent before meſſengers, commanding the neighbouring cities to have their high-ways well ſwept and watered, that he might not be troubled with duſt. He was attended in this mock expedition by *Herod* king of *Batanea* and *Trachonitis*, and by *Antiochus* king of *Comagene*, and followed by a long train of gladiators, comedians, buffoons, looſe women, *&c.* with whom he ſpent his whole time [c]. When he arrived at the place, where the legions were encamped that guarded the banks of the *Rhine*, he reviewed his forces, which amounted to two hundred, or two hundred and fifty thouſand men. To acquire the reputation of a ſevere and ſtrict obſerver of military diciplne, he diſmiſſed with ignominy and diſgrace ſeveral old officers, who had ſerved their time, pretending that they were unfit for the ſervice, but in reality to exempt himſelf from the obligation of paying them the rewards due to veterans [d]. He paſſed the *Rhine*, but after advancing a few miles into the country, he returned without having killed or even ſeen a ſingle enemy, though one would have judged from his mighty preparations, that he would have over-run the whole country, *Tacitus* tells us, that one *Brinio* or *Brenno*, prince of the *Caninefates*, ridiculed with impunity this fooliſh expedition of *Caius* [e]. And indeed, well he might; for while he, who had threatened the barbarians with utter deſtruction, was paſſing in his chariot through a narrow lane, and his troops were forced to break their ranks on account of the narrowneſs of the place, one happening to ſay, that great would be their confuſion, if the enemy ſhould appear, he immediately threw himſelf out of his chariot, mounted on horſeback, and flew back to the bridges with a deſign to repaſs the river; but finding them crouded with the ſervants and baggage of the army, he made them hand him from one to another, and convey him over their heads, thinking he could not too ſoon get out of the enemy's country [f]. Being afterwards recovered from his fright, and well aſſured that there was nothing to fear, he cauſed ſome of his *German* guards to croſs the *Rhine*, and after having concealed themſelves for ſome time in a neighbouring foreſt, to riſe out of their ambuſcade in a great tumult and hurry; that upon the alarm, which this would occaſion, word might be brought him, that the enemy was at hand; which being done accordingly, the mock hero, ſtarting up from his dinner, and putting himſelf at the head of a party of the prætorian horſe, haſtened to oppoſe the enemy, and advancing to the foreſt, there ſpent the remaining part of the day in cutting down trees to erect trophies for ſo ſignal a victory. Upon his return he reproached with cowardice thoſe who had not followed him, but rewarded ſuch as had borne with him the brunt of the day with a new ſort of crowns, which, to diſtinguiſh them from all others, he called *exploratoriæ*. But this expedition, however

His march.

His fright and conſternation.

His exploits.

[a] Dio, p. 656. [b] Tacit. hiſtor. l. iv. c. 48. [c] Dio, p. 656. Suet. c. 43. [d] Suet. c. 44. Dio, p. 657, 658. [e] Tacit. hiſt. l. iv. c. 15. [f] Suet. c. 44. & 51.

ever glorious and ſucceſsful, not ſatisfying his martial ardor, he reſolved to ſignalize himſelf by ſome other ſtill more noble atchievement. With this view he ordered ſome children whom he kept as hoſtages, to be privately conveyed away, and word to be brought him that they had made their eſcape; upon which he immediately mounted on horſeback, purſued the ſuppoſed fugitives with a detachment of cavalry, and brought them back loaded with chains. After theſe noble atchievements, he wrote a letter to the ſenate, complaining of them and the people, for indulging themſelves in banquets, pleaſures, and diverſions, while *Cæſar* was fighting, and expoſed for their ſafety to ſo many perils and hazards. But the moſt glorious of all his exploits was his receiving under his protection *Adminius*, who being baniſhed by his father *Cynobelinus*, one of the kings of *Britain*, fled to him with a ſmall retinue.
b This ſeemed to him ſo memorable an action, that he immediately wrote boaſting letters to the ſenate, as if he had ſubdued the whole iſland, ſtrictly injoining the meſſengers to ride directly through the forum to the palace, and not to deliver his letters to the conſuls, but in the preſence of the ſenate aſſembled in the temple of *Mars*. In the mean time he cauſed himſelf to be ſeven times proclaimed emperor by his victorious troops on the banks of the *Rhine* [g].

His boaſting letters to the ſenate.

THE *Gauls* would have reckoned themſelves happy, had he done them no more harm, than he did the enemy. But his avarice, equal to his prodigality, prompted him to haraſs and oppreſs that unhappy nation with ſuch extortions, as reduced even
c the moſt wealthy to beggary. Not ſatisfied with the great preſents, which he obliged both the cities and particular perſons to make him, he cauſed the moſt wealthy men in the province, though free from all guilt, to be accuſed of treaſon, that he might ſeize their eſtates, which he ſold in perſon, obliging others to purchaſe them at the price he thought fit to put upon them. Having one day loſt at dice an immenſe ſum, he cauſed the regiſters, which ſerved for the cenſus, to be brought to him; and writing a liſt of thoſe who poſſeſſed the greateſt eſtates in the province, ordered them to be immediately put to death, and ſeized all their effects [h].

His extortions and cruelties in Gaul.

ABOUT this time, was diſcovered a conſpiracy againſt *Caius*; but whether it was real, or only ſuppoſed, is ſtill uncertain (S). *Lentulus* and *Lepidus* were ſaid to be
d at the head of it. *Cneius Lentulus Getulicus* had commanded the legions in *Higher Germany* for the ſpace, of ten years, *Tiberius* not daring to remove him, as we have related in the hiſtory of that prince's reign. But he was doomed to death by *Caius*, ſays *Dion* [i], for no other crime, but becauſe he was greatly beloved by the ſoldiery on account of his clemency and good-nature. Some monuments have reached our times of the ſacrifices which were offered on the twenty-ſeventh of *October*, by way of thankſgiving for the happy diſcovery, ſays the inſcription, of the wicked deſigns of *Cn. Lentulus Getulicus* [k]. His employment was given to *Sulpicius Galba*, afterwards emperor, who, the next day after his arrival in the camp, gave ſignal inſtances of his zeal for military diſcipline, of which more in his reign. *M. Æmilius Lepidus* is ſuppoſed to have been the ſon of *Julia*, *Auguſtus*'s grand-
e daughter, and ſiſter to *Agrippina* the mother of *Caius* [l], who nevertheleſs condemned him as guilty of treaſon, and charged a tribune, by name *Decimus*, to cut off his head [m] (T). At the ſame time, he condemned his two ſiſters, *Agrippina* and *Livilla* or *Julia*, as guilty of adultery with *Lepidus*, and privy to the conſpiracy; and confined them to the iſland of *Pontia*, adding with threats, *That he had ſwords as well as iſlands* [n]. After this he wrote a letter to the ſenate, acquainting them that he had eſcaped a dangerous conſpiracy, and inveighing with great bitterneſs againſt his ſiſters, whom he was not aſhamed to charge with moſt infamous crimes. He ſent three

The conſpiracy of Lentulus *and* Lepidus.

Caius *baniſhes his ſiſters,* Agrippina *and* Livilla.

[g] Idem, c. 44—46. DIO, p. 657. [h] DIO, ibid. [i] Idem ibid. [k] GRUT. p. 117. [l] TACIT. annal. vi. c. 30. [m] DIO, p. 648. SENEC. ep. 4. [n] SUET. c. 29. DIO, p 657

(S) *Dion Caſſius* ſpeaks of it as an imaginary conſpiracy (24); but *Suetonius* ſuppoſes it to have been a real one (25). *Lipſius* takes it to be that plot which *Tacitus* mentions to have been diſcovered to *Caius* by *Anicius Cerealis* (26).

(T) *M. Lepidus* was greatly, nay too much beloved by *Caius*, if *Dion* does not confound him with *M. Lepidus Mneſter*, the mimick, with whom *Caius* maintained a ſcandalous commerce (27). *Æmilius* was admitted by the emperor to the great employments five years before the age preſcribed by the laws; nay, we are told, that *Caius* promiſed to name him for his ſucceſſor. But *Lepidus*, notwithſtanding the kindneſs ſhewn him by the emperor, debauched his two ſiſters *Agrippina* and *Livilla*, or *Julia*, hoping, as was ſuppoſed, by his familiarity with them, to raiſe himſelf to the empire.

(24) *Dio, p.* 657. (25) *Suet. in Claud. c.* 9. (26) *Tacit. annal* xxvi. *c.* 17. (27) *Suet. c.* 36.

three daggers to *Rome* to be conſecrated there to *Mars the avenger*, with an inſcription, importing, that they had been deſigned for his deſtruction; and obliged *Agrippina* to carry from *Gaul* to *Rome* the urn with the bones of *Lepidus*. He ſold all the furniture, jewels, ſlaves, and even the freedmen of his ſiſters, after their condemnation. As he degraded himſelf to ſell them in perſon, he put his own price upon them, and obliged the *Gauls* to purchaſe them. This kind of traffick proving very advantagious, he ordered the rich furniture of the imperial palace, with the robes of *Marc Antony*, of *Auguſtus*, of his mother *Agrippina*, and others of the imperial family, to be ſent him from *Rome*, and ſold them in the ſame manner. So many carriages and beaſts of burden were employed in conveying the furniture of the imperial palace from *Italy* to *Gaul*, that no horſes being found to turn the mills, according to the cuſtom of thoſe times, the city was reduced to great ſtraits for want of bread [o]. But, notwithſtanding the immenſe and almoſt incredible ſums, he raiſed by theſe ſales, he ſtill wanted money, being no leſs boundleſs in his prodigality (U), than iniquitous in his extortions.

By what vile means he raiſed money in Gaul.

When the death of *Lepidus* and *Getulicus* was known at *Rome*, *Flavius Veſpaſianus*, then prætor, and afterwards emperor, who ſtudied to inſinuate himſelf by any means into the emperor's favour, was for throwing the bodies of the conſpirators into the *Tiber*, and depriving them of the honour of ſepulture. Neither did the ſenate omit ſo favourable an opportunity of heaping new honours upon the prince; amongſt others they decreed him an ovation, and deputed his uncle *Claudius*, with ſeveral other perſons of the firſt rank drawn by lot, to go into *Gaul*, and congratulate him in their name upon the diſcovery of ſo dangerous a conſpiracy, and the deſerved vengeance he had taken on the conſpirators. But *Caius*, not ſatisfied with the honours decreed him, eſpecially with an ovation, and complaining of the ſmall number of the deputies, ordered ſome of them to return even before they entered *Gaul*, as if they had been ſpies, and received the others with great coldneſs. He chiefly reſented their ſending his uncle, as if he were a child, and wanted a governor. He did not, however, ſend him back, but treated him in a moſt ignominious manner [p]; nay, we are told, that he cauſed him to be thrown into a river the moment he arrived [q]. After this the ſenate decreed him greater honours, and ſent him a more numerous deputation; which he received with great marks of ſatisfaction, and even went out to meet the deputies

New honours decreed him by the ſenate.

[o] Suet. ibid. [p] Dio, p. 658. [q] Suet. in Claud. c. 9.

(U) In luxury, ſays *Suetonius* (28), and extravagance, he far outdid all the prodigals of his age. He uſed baths of ſweet oils with the moſt coſtly perfumes that could be purchaſed. At his entertainments he often cauſed the largeſt pearls to be diſſolved in vinegar, to diſplay his grandeur and magnificence. Sometimes to divert himſelf with his gueſts, he cauſed empty diſhes of pure gold to be ſerved up, which he diſtributed among them, ſaying, that at *Cæſar*'s table their bread and meat muſt be nothing but gold. For ſeveral days together he took delight in throwing down from the top of a tower conſiderable ſums among the people. He built certain galleys of cedar, having the ſterns, which were of ivory, adorned with precious ſtones, the ſails of various ſilks, the cabins and galleries ſpacious and convenient, with great variety of vines and fruit-trees, under the ſhade of which he often dined, coaſting along the ſhore of *Campania*, with great pomp and ſplendor, being entertained by the mixed melody of voices, and all ſorts of inſtruments. In all his buildings he conſidered nothing but his own particular fancy, and thought nothing anſwerable to his grandeur, but what to others ſeemed impoſſible. He raiſed pillars and towers in the ſea, cut his way through rocks of the moſt impenetrable flint, levelled mountains, raiſed plains and vallies, &c. (29). *Joſephus* obſerves, that he never undertook any thing worthy of a prince, that is, uſeful to the public, except an harbour, which he began in the neighbourhood of *Rhegium* for the convenience and ſafety of the ſhips, which conveyed corn from *Alexandria* to *Italy*; but this he left unfiniſhed (30). *Suetonius* (31) enumerates ſeveral works, which he undertook, but none of any uſe to the public, except a fine aqueduct, which *Claudius* finiſhed fourteen years after. *Frontinus* mentions another aqueduct amongſt the works of *Caius*, but upon what authority we know not. He cauſed an obeliſk to be brought out of *Egypt*, which *Suetonius* (32) calls the *great obeliſk*, and placed it in the circus on mount *Vatican*. The ſhip, in which it was conveyed to *Rome*, was the fineſt and largeſt that had ever appeared on the ſea till *Pliny*'s time, who tells us, that four men could ſcarce fathom the maſt of this extraordinary veſſel (33). He deſigned to rebuild the palace of *Polycrates* at *Samos*, to finiſh the temple of *Apollo Didymæus* at *Miletus*, and to found a new city on the top of the *Alps*; but his favourite project was to cut the iſthmus of *Corinth*, and open a communication between thoſe two ſeas; in which undertaking he was attended with no better ſucceſs than thoſe who attempted it after him (34). *Seneca* mentions an immenſe ſum expended by him in one banquet (35); and *Pliny* ſpeaks of a ſplendid and coſtly entertainment, which he gave to fifteen gueſts in the hollow of a plane-tree, framed in the form of a room (36).

(28) *Suet. c.* 37. (29) *Idem, c.* 29. (30) *Joſeph. antiq. l.* xix. *c.* 2. (31) *Suet. c.* 21. (32) *Suet. in Claud. c.* 20. (33) *Plin. l.* xxvi. *c.* 40. (34) *Plin. l.* iv. *c.* 4. *Suet. c.* 21. (35) *Senec. ad Hely. c.* 9. (36) *Plin. l.* xii. *c.* 1.

deputies [r]. In the mean time, profecutions were carried on at *Rome* againſt the friends
a of *Caius*'s ſiſters, and of thoſe who had been executed for the late conſpiracy. Several
ædiles and prætors were obliged to lay down their employments, and appear before
the ſenate in the habit of criminals. Among the reſt *Sophronius Tigellinus*, of whom
we ſhall have frequent occaſion to ſpeak in the reign of *Nero*, was baniſhed for a
criminal correſpondence with *Agrippina*. Theſe proceedings terrified the ſenate, who
apprehended ſtill greater evils from a prince, who was cruel by nature, and gave
ear, as was ſuppoſed, to the pernicious counſels of the kings *Agrippa* and *Antiochus*.

Caius, after the condemnation of his ſiſters, divorced his wife *Lollia Paulina* to *He marries* Cæſonia.
marry *Milonia Cæſonia*, who was neither beautiful nor young, being already the mother
b of three children by another huſband, who was ſtill alive. She had, however, a par-
ticular talent and addreſs in gaining the affections of all with whom ſhe converſed;
inſomuch, that *Caius* loved her intirely, and lived longer with her than any other (W) [f].
He married her, according to *Suetonius*, the ſame day that ſhe was delivered of a
daughter, declaring himſelf her huſband, and the father of the child [t]. But *Dion*
ſays, that he married her about a month before her delivery [u]. To the child he gave
the name of *Julia Druſilla*, carried her to the temples of all the goddeſſes in *Rome*,
and put her into the arms of *Minerva*, as if to that powerful goddeſs he committed
the care of her education [w]. He laid her likewiſe at the feet of *Jupiter Capitolinus*,
ſaying, that ſhe was common to him and *Jupiter*, and leaving all men to judge
c which of her parents was the greateſt, from which ſhe derived the more noble origin [x].
But nothing more aſſured *Caius*, that ſhe was his daughter, for her mother was not
renowned for her chaſtity, than her natural fierceneſs, of which ſhe ſoon gave ſuffi-
cient indications, by ſcratching and tearing the faces of the little children who played *His meanneſs.*
with her [y]. Upon her birth *Caius* complained of his poverty, as we have hinted
above, and obliged the people to contribute large ſums for the educating and marry-
ing her ſuitable to her rank, which he applyed to his own uſe. He likewiſe declared
by an edict, that on the firſt of *January* he intended to receive new-year's gifts,
which he did accordingly, ſtanding in the porch of his palace, while the people and
nobility with full hands and laps poured out their preſents before him [z]. *Auguſtus*
d had formerly received new-year's gifts, according to the *Roman* cuſtom, but not out
of covetouſneſs, as *Caius*, who is ſaid to have had ſuch a paſſion for money, that his
chief delight was to walk bare-foot, and even roll himſelf upon heaps of gold,
which he had accumulated by all manner of rapine [a].

This year, the *Germans*, having no doubt drawn together their forces to oppoſe Galba *defeats* the Germans.
Caius, made upon his departure an inroad into *Gaul*; but were repulſed by *Galba* with
ſuch vigor and expedition, that *Caligula* could not forbear commending and reward-
ing both him and his troops, though he generally uſed out of jealouſy and envy, to
diſcountenance ſuch of his officers as had gained any conſiderable advantage over the
enemy. *Caius*, who was then in *Gaul*, aſſumed the whole glory of this action to
e himſelf, and acquainted the ſenate with it by a letter, which he ſent wrapt up in the
branch of a laurel, the ſymbol of victory, boaſting, that he had utterly defeated the
enemy's numerous forces, and put them out of a condition of diſturbing for the future
the tranquillity of *Gaul* [b]. *Veſpaſian*, then prætor, begged he might be allowed to
exhibit extraordinary ſports on occaſion of ſo ſignal a victory [c] (X). This year, *Herod*
Antipas

[r] Dio, ibid. [f] Dio, p. 658. Suet. c. 25, excerpt. Val. p. 673. Suet. ibid. [t] Suet. ibid. [u] Dio, ibid. [w] Dio, in ibid. [x] Joseph. antiq. l. xix. c. 1. [y] Suet. ibid. [z] Idem ibid. [a] Idem, c. 42. [b] Persius, ſatyr. 6. [c] Suet. in Veſp. c. 2.

(W) *Cæſonia* was daughter to *Veſtilia*, who, if *Pliny* is to be credited (37), was delivered of two children in ſeven months time, of one in eleven, and of *Cæſonia* in eight. All theſe children lived, as the ſame writer obſerves, to a competent age, and enjoyed good health. *Suetonius* tells us, that *Cæſonia* gained and maintained the affections of *Caius* by her monſtrous lewdneſs (38). After her huſband's death, ſhe was charged with having fixed his affection to her with an amorous potion, which affecting his brain, had diſordered his underſtanding, and occaſioned that fury and madneſs which had brought ſo many calamities upon the ſtate. Whether ſhe adminiſtered to him any ſuch potion, is uncertain; but this ſerved as a pretence for the conſpirators to diſpatch both her and her daughter after the murder of *Caius* (39). *Suetonius* tells us, that the emperor often ſhewed her to his ſoldiers habited like them, and to his friends without any garments (40).

(X) On this occaſion probably happened what we read in *Suetonius*, *viz.* that *Caius*, upon the news of the motions of the *Germans*, ſeized on all the ſhips he

(37) *Plin. l.* vii. *c.* 5. (38) *Suet. c.* 25. (39) *Joſeph. ibid. c.* 2. *Juvenal. ſatyr.* 6. *v.* 515. (40) *Suet. c.* 25.

Herod Antipas *baniſhed.*

Antipas was by *Caius* deprived of his tetrarchy of *Galilee*, which was given to king *Agrippa*, and baniſhed to *Lions*, as *Joſephus* writes in one place [d], or ſent into *Spain*, as he tells us in another [e]. Perhaps *Caius*, who came this year with *Agrippa* into *Gaul*, ordered him to remove from *Lions* to *Spain*, where he died. He had enjoyed his tetrarchy forty-eight years, during which time he built a new city in the moſt delightful ſpot of *Galilee*, which from *Tiberius* he named *Tiberias*. But of his actions and cauſe of his diſgrace, we have ſpoken in our hiſtory of the *Jews*.

a

The following year, *Caius* was conſul without a collegue for the firſt twelve days, not deſignedly, but becauſe he was not acquainted ſooner with the death of the perſon who had been named for his collegue, and died at *Rome* a few days before he was to enter upon his office [f]. *Caius* began his third conſulſhip at *Lions*, and it was probably on that occaſion, that he exhibited the magnificent ſports deſcribed by *Dion Caſſius* and *Suetonius*. At the ſame time, he ordained a ſolemn contention of eloquence, both in *Greek* and *Latin*, obliging thoſe who were overcome to give rewards to their competitors, and to make ſome compoſition or other in their commendation. Thoſe who gave no ſatisfaction at all were condemned to blot out with a ſponge, and even with their tongues, what they had wrote, unleſs they choſe rather to be whipt like ſchool-boys, or to be thrown into the *Rhone* [g]. Hence an ancient poet, ſpeaking of one who was in fear, ſays, that he trembled like an orator, ready to declaim at *Lions* before the altar of *Auguſtus* [h]. Of this altar at *Lions*, and the ſports yearly exhibited there in honour of the deified *Auguſtus*, we have ſpoken in the hiſtory of his reign.

b

Sports exhibited by Caius *at* Lions.

c

Caius held the conſulſhip only twelve days; and when news of his reſignation was brought to *Rome*, two new conſuls, probably *Publicola* and *Nerva* (Y), were nominated. The firſt decree they made was, that the anniverſary of the death of *Tiberius* and *Druſilla* ſhould be ſolemnized in the ſame manner, as that of *Auguſtus*. This diſtinction *Caius* had required in a letter to the new conſuls [i]. As for *Caius*, he began the year with the murder of *Ptolemy*, king of *Mauritania*, and couſin-german to his father *Germanicus* (Z). He had invited him to his court, and received him at his arrival with great demonſtrations of kindneſs; but obſerving one day, as he entered the theatre to behold the ſports, that the luſtre of his purple drew upon him the eyes of the whole company, he cauſed him, no doubt out of jealouſy, to be immediately arreſted, condemned him to baniſhment, and privately ordered him to be maſſacred on his journey [k]. *Dion Caſſius* aſcribes his death to the great riches he poſſeſſed [l]. Be that as it will, the *Mauritanians*, upon the news of his death, revolted, being ſtirred up by *Edemon*, one of the deceaſed prince's freedmen, deſirous to revenge the death of his maſter. The inhuman and imperious tyrant cauſed likewiſe *Mithridates* king of *Armenia* to be arreſted, but only condemned him to baniſhment. We ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of this prince in the following reign.

The murder of Ptolemy *king of* Mauritania.

d

Caius, before he left *Gaul*, gave out, that he deſigned to invade *Britain*, and accordingly ordered his troops from all quarters to march to the *Gauliſh* ſhore oppoſite to that iſland. He ſoon came to the place of the rendezvous himſelf, and upon his arrival drew up his men along the coaſt, imbarqued on a magnificent galley, and having advanced a ſmall way from the ſhore, returned ſuddenly, and, aſcending his tribunal, ordered the warlike engines to be diſpoſed in order and to the beſt advantage,

Caius's *memorable expedition againſt* Britain.

e

[b] Joseph. antiq. l. xviii. c. [c] Idem, bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 16. [f] Dio, p. 653. Suet. c. 17
[g] Suet. c. 20. [h] Juven. ſatyr. 1. [i] Dio, p. 659 [k] Suet. c. 35. [l] Dio, p. 659.

he could get, in order to convey himſelf into the *Levant*, comforting himſelf with this thought, that he ſhould keep his tranſmarine provinces, though the enemy poſſeſſed themſelves of *Italy* and *Rome* itſelf, as the *Senones* had formerly done (41).

(Y) *Onuphrius* takes theſe two to be the conſuls of this year, becauſe *S. Proſper* marks them as the conſuls of the foregoing year, when, according to the general opinion of the chronologers, that office was diſcharged by *Caius Cæſar* and *L. Apronius æſianus*. The ſame writer pretends, that *Sex. Nonius Celer* and *Junius Quintilianus*, ſet down by *Frontinus* (42) as conſuls between the years thirty-eight and forty-nine of the chriſtian æra, bore that dignity from the firſt of *July* to the end of this year (43).

(Z) He was the ſon of *Cleopatra Selene*, daughter of *Antony* and the celebrated *Cleopatra*, as *Germanicus* was the ſon of *Antonia*, daughter to the ſame *Antony*. *Juba*, the father of *Ptolemy*, was firſt king of *Mauritania*, which *Auguſtus* made him exchange for part of *Getulia*, and the countries formerly poſſeſſed by *Bocchus*, that is, the two *Mauritaniæ*, the *Tingitana* and *Cæſariana* (44).

(41) *Suet. c.* 51. (42) *Front. de aquæd. p.* 119. (43) *Onuph. in faſt. p.* 298. (44) *Dio, l.* lv. *p.* 567. *Tacit. annal. l.* xi. *c.* 5. & 23.

a tage, the trumpets to ſound, and the ſignal of battle to be given. Neither ſoldiers nor officers could conceive what he had in view, till at length, all on a ſudden he ordered them to gather the cockle-ſhells on the ſhore, and to fill with them their laps and head-pieces, ſaying, *Theſe are ſpoils of the conquered ocean, due to the palace, due to the capitol.* Then, to reward his fellow-ſoldiers for ſo glorious a victory, he diſtributed among them a very conſiderable ſum, bidding them be merry, and enjoy in ſafety the rewards of their valour; and that ſo glorious a conqueſt might never be forgot, he cauſed a high tower to be erected, according to the model of the *Pharos* at *Alexandria*, for ſetting up lights to direct ſhips at ſea in the night [m]. A modern writer [n] will have the tower built on this occaſion to be that which ſtands at the entry b of the port of *Boulogne*, and is called by the natives *la tour d'ordre*.

AND now *Caius* thought of nothing but the preparations for a triumph due to his noble atchievements. Accordingly he wrote to his officers at *Rome*, injoining them to get every thing ready for the moſt magnificent triumph that had ever been ſeen; but at the ſame time warning them, not to put him to any extraordinary expence, *His folly and ambition.* ſince every man's eſtate was at their diſpoſal. Before he left *Gaul*, he choſe the talleſt men of that province, without diſtinction of rank or condition, to grace his triumph, giving them *German* names, and obliging them to learn that language, to let their hair grow and colour it red, that they might paſs for *Germans*. He likewiſe commanded the gallies, in which he and his chief officers had put to ſea, to be c conveyed to *Rome* for moſt part of the way of land [o]. Before he left *Gaul*, he took it in his head to put thoſe legions to the ſword that had mutinied after the death of *Auguſtus*, and in a manner beſieged his father *Germanicus* and himſelf, then an infant. His officers, with the utmoſt difficulty, diſſuaded him from cutting them all off; but *His cruel deſign.* could not by any means divert him from decimating them for a crime, which had been ſo many years before committed and forgiven. Notwithſtanding the warm remonſtrances of his friends and chief officers, he ordered them to aſſemble without arms to receive his commands. The legionaries, not ſuſpecting in the leaſt his deſign, readily obeyed, and, in the mean time, the cavalry began to ſurround them. This gave them ſome umbrage, and many of them ſlipt away to take their arms, with a d deſign to ſell their lives dear, in caſe any violence was offered them; which the coward no ſooner perceived, than he diſmiſſed the aſſembly and fled, making what haſte he could to reach *Rome*, that he might vent his rage upon the ſenate, for the wrong he *Sets out for* pretended they had done him by not decreeing him a triumph, though he had de- *Rome.* clared the year before, that they had no right to decree him any honours, and that he would puniſh them with the utmoſt ſeverity, if they pretended to aſſume it [p]. They chiefly were at a loſs how to behave with reſpect to his pretended conqueſt of *Britain*. To compliment him on his victory, looked like mockery; on the other hand, they were told, that he ſpoke ſeriouſly of it as a noble exploit. What reſolution they took in the end, we find no-where recorded. *Suetonius* only tells us, that they diſ- e patched an embaſſy to him, conſiſting of the moſt conſiderable men of their order, intreating him to haſten his return to the city. The deputies met him on his journey towards *Rome*, not yet recovered from his late fright, and with the utmoſt ſubmiſſion preſented their requeſt to him in the name of their whole body. *I will come*, anſwered *Caius*, *I will come, and bring this along with me*; laying his hand on the *He threatens* hilt of his ſword. He even declared by an edict, which he cauſed to be ſet up in the *the ſenate.* city, that he would return; but it ſhould be only for the knights and people; as for the ſenate, he would for the future be to them neither a prince nor a citizen. As he drew near *Rome*, he forbad any of the ſenators to meet him. He would not, however, enter the city in triumph, but contented himſelf with an ovation, making his f entry on the laſt of *Auguſt*, which was his birth-day, four months and ſome days before his death [q]. From this time he reſolved utterly to extirpate the ſenate, and would have put his wicked deſign in execution, had he not been prevented by death. In the four months he lived, he cauſed ſeveral ſenators of diſtinction to be inhumanly murdered, one in particular for no other crime, but becauſe he begged leave to ſhut his eyes being commanded by him, though nothing was laid to his charge, to aſſiſt at the execution of his ſon [r]. For the bloody and inhuman monſter took great delight, as we have hinted above, in thus tormenting the moſt innocent parents. It was commonly reported, that he deſigned to cut off the moſt conſiderable men of the ſenatorial and *Various inſtances of his cruelty.* equeſtrian

[m] SUET. c. 46. DIO, p. 659. [n] BUCH. de Belg. l. iv. c. 12. [o] SUET. c. 47. [p] SUET. c. 48. [q] SUET. c. 49. [r] SUET. c. 27. DIO, p. 660.

equeſtrian order, and then remove the ſeat of the empire to *Antium*, and from thence to *Alexandria*. This report gained great credit after his death, when two books were found in his cabinet, one with the title of *gladius, the ſword*, the other of *pugio, the dagger*, both containing the names of many eminent perſons, whom he deſigned to deſtroy [r]. Theſe books were committed to the cuſtody of *Protogenes*, one of the miniſters of his cruelty [s]. Beſides theſe books was found a great cheſt filled with various ſorts of poiſons, which being by *Claudius*'s orders thrown into the ſea, infected the waters, and deſtroyed a vaſt quantity of fiſh [t]. However, he was ſomewhat reconciled to the ſenate before his death on the following occaſion: *Protogenes*, his chief favourite, coming one day unexpectedly into the ſenate under colour of delivering ſome meſſage from the prince, and all the ſenators crouding round him b to pay their court to him, he fixed his eyes on *Scribonius Proculus*, and with an angry tone; *How dare you*, ſaid he, *preſume to appear before me, you who are an enemy to* Cæſar? There wanted no more; the other ſenators inſtantly fell upon him with their daggers, ſtabbed him in ſeveral places, and then delivered him over, as a public enemy, to the mob, who tore him to pieces, and dragged his mangled members about the ſtreets, *Caius* beholding with great pleaſure ſo diſmal a ſpectacle [w]. *Suetonius* tells us, that this worthy ſenator was thus inhumanly butchered, merely to ſatisfy *Caius*, who, taking a fancy to ſee a ſenator thus mangled, had without the leaſt provocation pitched upon him. Neither was his cruelty ſatiated, till the limbs and bowels of the innocent victim were brought before him. Being highly pleaſed with c ſo diſmal a ſight, and the readineſs the ſenate had ſhewn to take vengeance on his ſuppoſed enemy, he declared himſelf by a public edict reconciled with that body [x]; and the ſenate on their ſide, to acknowledge ſo great a favour, honoured him ſometimes with the title of *hero*, and ſometimes of *god*; which ſcandalous flattery puffed him up to ſuch a degree, that thenceforth he ſhewed himſelf more ambitious than ever of divine honours, puniſhing with death, or dooming to the mines, or to the drudgery of mending the public roads, perſons of great merit and diſtinction, for neglecting to invoke his celeſtial genius: nay, ſome, for pretended offences againſt his godhead, were firſt torn and mangled with ſtripes, and then ſawed aſunder (A).

The inconſtancy and fickleneſs of Caius's *temper.*

Dion Caſſius, after a long detail of his cruelties, and the diſmal effects of his pride, d avarice, lewdneſs, prodigality, *&c.* obſerves in this place, that he was chiefly remarkable for the inconſtancy and fickleneſs of his humour, which often hurried him in a moment from one extreme to another; and concludes his obſervations with the following words: Sometimes he liked to ſee his palace crowded, and ſometimes would ſee no company, not his moſt intimate friends: he was out of humour when any petition was preſented to him; and more ſo, when no-body appeared to aſk him any favour: ſometimes he diſpatched buſineſs with great expedition; at other times he was ſlow and tedious, putting off from day to day matters which required the greateſt diſpatch: he ſquandered away immenſe treaſures with a prodigality which knew no bounds, and amaſſed new ſums with the moſt ſordid avarice: ſometimes he was pleaſed e with liberty of ſpeech and abhorred flattery; but all on a ſudden puniſhed the leaſt liberty, and took delight in being flattered: he often pardoned thoſe who were guilty of moſt enormous crimes, and condemned ſuch as were not charged with any: upon ſome of his favourites he heaped honours and riches, while he treated others, no-body knew why, with the utmoſt contempt: in ſhort, ſo changeable was his humour, ſo various and inconſiſtent was his conduct, that his moſt intimate

[r] Idem, c. 49. [s] Dio, ibid. [t] Suet. ibid. [w] Idem, c. 28. Dio, ibid. [x] Suet. ibid [y] Dio, p. 661.

(A) What *Pliny* relates (45), if true, might have ſufficiently convinced him both of his folly and weakneſs. For that writer tells us, that the laſt time he left *Rome*, as he went by ſea from *Aſtura* to *Antium*, his galley, which was attended by many others, ſtopt all on a ſudden; and while the other veſſels purſued their courſe, continued immoveable in ſpite of the utmoſt efforts of four hundred rowers. The whole company were greatly ſurpriſed, as we may well imagine, at ſuch an extraordinary accident, and many of the mariners threw themſelves into the ſea to find out the cauſe of it; when they diſcovered a fiſh about half a foot in length, which ſeemed to be of the ſnail kind, faſtened to the keel of the royal galley. This is the fiſh, to which the *Greeks* have given the name of *echeneis*, and the *Latins* that of *remora*. It was brought to *Caius*, who, inſtead of acknowledging his folly, in pretending to be equal in power to the gods, foamed with rage upon his reflecting, that ſo ſmall a creature had thus bid defiance to ſo mighty a prince, to the lord of the univerſe.

(45) *Plin. l.* xxxi. *c.* 1.

a mate friends were at a loſs what they ſhould do, what they ſhould ſay to pleaſe him, ſeeing he was often affronted with what he had taken delight in a few hours before [z] (B)

THE following year, *Caius* entered upon his fourth conſulſhip, having *Cn. Sextius Saturninus* for his collegue, but held it only to the ſeventh of *January*, when he reſigned the faſces to *Quintus Pomponius Secundus*. *Rome* had now for the ſpace of near four years groaned under the oppreſſions of the moſt cruel and inhuman tyrant, that had ever been inveſted with power; when at length a bloody doom overtook the author of ſo much blood-ſhed and ſlaughter. The conſpiracy, which for the preſent put an end to the public evils, was chiefly formed, carried on, and executed by

b *Caſſius Chærea*, tribune of a prætorian cohort, who had ſignalized himſelf in a very eminent manner, as we have already obſerved, in the beginning of *Tiberius*'s reign, when the legions in *Germany* revolted. As he was a man of no leſs probity than bravery, the hatred he bore *Caius*, on account of his cruelties and extortions, firſt inſpired him with the deſign of ridding the world of ſo great a plague. He was already reſolved to reſign his employment, and ſpend the remaining part of his life in retirement, when he received a commiſſion from *Caius* to gather the taxes; for no commodity eſcaped without paying ſome tax or other, and the emperor levied them not by the publicans, as was uſual, but by the centurions and tribunes of the prætorian cohorts, that they might reap the advantages thence accruing. In this commiſſion

c *Chærea*, who was naturally compaſſionate, acquitted himſelf more to the ſatisfaction of the oppreſſed people, than of the emperor, who thereupon reproached him with want of ſpirit; and, conceiving an averſion to him, took pleaſure in expoſing him to the deriſions of the ſoldiery. For though he was a man of great courage and reſolution, yet, from his manner of ſpeaking and the tone of his voice, no one would have taken him, ſays *Seneca* [a], for a perſon of that extraordinary bravery, which he ſhewed on all occaſions, without betraying the leaſt concern in the greateſt dangers. *Caius*, now incenſed againſt him, laid hold of his outward appearance to reproach him with effemminacy and cowardice, and rally him as one more fit to converſe with women, than command men. When it was his turn to come for the parole, the

d emperor, by way of raillery, gave him always either ſome obſcene word, or the name of ſome famous proſtitute; inſomuch, that the ſoldiers could not forbear laughing when he brought them the parole, and often diverted themſelves with gueſſing what word *Chærea* would bring. But, as he was a man of too great ſpirit to put up ſuch groſs affronts, he reſolved to convince the emperor how undeſervedly he was taxed by him with effeminacy and want of courage. Having therefore determined to be revenged at all adventures on the tyrant, for thus attempting to blacken, with his unſeaſonable ſarcaſms, the reputation he had deſervedly acquired by his gallant behaviour, he imparted his deſign to ſome of his intimate friends, and only waited for a favourable opportunity of putting it in execution. In the mean time, a ſenator of great diſtinc-

e tion, named *Propedius*, was accuſed by one *Timidius* of having uttered injurious ſpeeches againſt *Caius*. The only evidence produced againſt him was *Quintilia*, a celebrated comedian; but ſhe, when ſummoned to appear before the judges, declared, that ſhe had heard no ſuch ſpeeches. Hereupon *Timidius* requiring that ſhe might be examined by torture, *Caius* ordered *Chærea* to ſee her immediately put upon the rack. *Joſephus* tells us, that the tyrant commonly charged *Chærea* with commiſſions of this nature, being perſuaded, that to avoid the imputation of faint-heartedneſs, that is, of

A conſpiracy formed againſt him.

Caſſius Chærea *at the head of the conſpiracy.*

What provoked him againſt Caius.

[z] Idem, p. 641.——644.

[a] SENEC. ad Ser. c. 18.

(B) This is intirely agreeable to what we read in *Philo*, who was well acquainted with *Caius*'s ſtrange and variable humour. There was no depending, ſays that writer, upon the kindneſs and good-will he ſhewed you, however great and in appearance ſincere. When he had granted a favour, he ſoon repented and recalled it; nay his benefits were often the fore-runners of greater evils. Thus he frequently ſet at liberty ſuch as were confined for crimes real or ſuppoſed, and ſoon after ordered them to be dragged back to the place of their confinement without any new guilt, telling them, to increaſe their former miſeries, that now they were to expect no mercy. Many he condemned only to baniſhment, when they expected nothing but a cruel death; then, repenting of his clemency, he cauſed them to be executed in the place of their exile. His bounties he often revoked, obliging thoſe, who had received them, to refund them with uſury. Several of his chief favourites he reduced to beggary, that they might not be tempted to retire, and enjoy the wealth which they acquired. Thus the very favours he beſtowed were in the end attended with the ruin of thoſe who received them, and therefore no leſs dreaded than his reſentment (46).

(46) *Philo legat. p.* 1039.

of good-nature, he would take care to execute them with extraordinary severity[b]. But he was never so much at a loss how to behave as on this occasion; for *Quintilia* was privy to the conspiracy; whence he was afraid she might discover it upon the rack, if tortured without compassion; on the other hand, to shew any mercy to her, might cost him his life. But *Quintilia* herself delivered him from his uneasiness; for meeting, as she was led to the torture, one of the conspirators, she trod upon his foot, giving thereby to understand, that no torments should extort from her a discovery of the plot. And truly she bore the rack with unparallelled constancy, without suffering a single word to escape her, in prejudice either of *Propedius* or the conspirators, tho' she was reduced to so deplorable a condition, that *Caius* himself, when she was brought back to him, being moved with pity and admiring her resolution, ordered her a sum of money, and dismissed *Propedius* untouched. As for *Chærea*, he was so affected with the constancy of *Quintilia* and the torments she had suffered, of which he had himself been the minister, that he immediately imparted his design to *Papinius* and *Clemens*, the former a tribune, as he was himself, of one of the prætorian cohorts, and the latter the commander of the whole body, encouraging them to exert their bravery, and deliver *Rome* and the world from so bloody a tyrant, who employed them, not as the officers of his guards, but as his executioners. They both approved of the design; but *Clemens*, desiring to be excused from bearing any share in the execution of it on account of his age, promised to assist them with his advice; and taking his leave, left them under no small anxiety and apprehension of his betraying the secret (C). *Chærea* therefore, without loss of time, had recourse to *Cornelius Sabinus*, tribune likewise of a prætorian cohort, whom he knew to be a man of great courage, a lover of liberty, and consequently highly dissatisfied with the administration of *Caius*. *Sabinus* had formed the same design, but had not yet made any one privy to it for fear of being discovered. He therefore readily joined *Chærea*, and with him went immediately to found *Annius Minucianus*, or, as others call him, *Vinicianus*, a senator of great distinction and merit, and mortally hated by *Caius*, who suspected him ever since the conspiracy of *Lepidus*, with whom *Minucianus* had lived in close confidence. After the usual ceremonies were over, *Minucianus* asked *Chærea*, *What was the parole for that day?* which he taking for a sufficient declaration of his intention, *Do you*, said he, without any further preamble, *but give me the word liberty, and under your conduct I'll revenge my private injuries and the public calamities: do you but give me the word of command, and* Rome *shall no longer groan under the oppressions of an insulting tyrant.* At these words, which *Chærea* uttered with great vehemence and ardor, *Minucianus* embracing him, commended his resolution, exhorted him to pursue his design, and promised to assist, to the utmost of his power, both with his sword and counsel (D).

The constancy of Quintilia.

He gains several persons of distinction.

The number of the conspirators increased daily, which retarded the execution of the design, some of them being over-cautious, lest they should miscarry in an enterprize, on the success of which depended their safety, and the welfare of their country. If the attempt, said they, should not succeed, we should soon see every house in the city floating in blood. Not our lives only, but those of our wives, children, friends, relations,

[b] Joseph. l. xix. c. 1.

(C) *Clemens* seems to have had no share in the execution of the design; since *Mucianus*, in conferring after his death the command of the prætorian cohorts upon his son *Clemens Arretinus*, told him, that his father had with honour and reputation discharged that office under *Caius* (47). And yet *Dion Cassius* names amongst the conspirators, *Calinus*, one of *Caius*'s freedmen, and the commander of the prætorian guards (48); and *Suetonius* tells us, that the conspiracy was not executed without the concurrence of the most considerable amongst the emperor's freedmen and of the officers of his guards, who joined the other conspirators the more readily, because they found themselves suspected and hated by *Caius*, ever since the conspiracy of *Lepidus* (49). As for the emperor's freedmen, *Josephus* assures us, that *Calixtus*, the most wealthy amongst them, favoured the conspiracy, being well apprised, that he could by no other means escape the cruelty of *Caius*, and enjoy the immense wealth he had unjustly acquired (50).

(D) *Josephus* tells us, that as *Chærea* was about this time entering the senate, no doubt to attend *Caius*, for he was no senator, he heard a voice, which seemed to come from some one in the croud, encouraging him to dispatch what he designed, and assuring him, that heaven favoured his design. He was at first afraid, lest some of his associates had betrayed the secret; but afterwards concluded, that either one of his friends, or some divinity, pushed him forward to the speedy execution of his purpose (51).

(47) *Tacit. hist. l.* iv. *c.* 68. (48) *Dio, l.* lix. *p.* 662. (49) *Suet. c.* 56. (50) *Joseph. ibid.* (51) *Idem ibid.*

relations, and acquaintance are at ſtake. We muſt expect no mercy from ſo cruel and inhuman a tyrant, who will take care to guard himſelf well for the future againſt any attempts of the like nature. Let us not therefore be over-haſty, but patiently wait for ſuch an opportunity, as may promiſe certain ſucceſs to our undertaking. *Chærea* did not reliſh this ſpeech; to him every opportunity ſeemed favourable: as he was not in the leaſt ſuſpected by *Caius*, he offered to diſpatch him, when he went up to the capitol to offer ſacrifices for his daughter, or when in his palace he aſſiſted at certain religious ceremonies, which he himſelf had inſtituted. He was for throwing him down headlong from the top of the *Julian* baſilic, whence he uſed to ſcatter money among the populace; but the reſt of the conſpirators, thinking they could not uſe too much caution, did not judge any of theſe opportunities ſufficiently ſafe and proper for the execution of their deſign. However, they all agreed at laſt to make the attempt during the ſports, which were to be exhibited in honour of *Auguſtus* in the palace on the twenty-firſt of *January* and the three following days; for after theſe ſports, *Caius* was to leave *Rome* and repair to *Alexandria*, probably to plunder the wealthy kingdom of *Egypt*, as he had done the other provinces of the empire (E). But notwithſtanding their agreement and the reſolution they had all ſhewed at their laſt meeting, they were ſtill for putting off the attempt; but *Chærea*, having called them together on the third day of the ſports, exhorted them not to let ſlip the preſent opportunity, repreſented the dangers to which their irreſolution expoſed them, and, by a ſpeech full of noble and generous ſentiments, inſpired them with ſuch courage, that they unanimouſly agreed at all adventures to make the attempt the next day, when *Chærea* was by good luck to be upon guard, and conſequently to receive of the emperor, according to cuſtom, the parole with the ſword by his ſide [b] (F). *Caius* came that day, the twenty-fourth of *January*, more early than uſual, to the theatre, and appeared, contrary to his cuſtom, gay, affable, and good-humoured; inſomuch, that the ſpectators were greatly ſurpriſed at his obliging behaviour, and the complaiſance he ſhewed to all who approached him. After he had ſacrificed to *Auguſtus*, in whoſe honour the ſports were exhibited, he took his place, having his friends and favourites about him, and *Chærea* with the other officers that day upon guard at ſome diſtance behind him. When the ſports began, one *Bathybius*, who had been prætor, happening to ſit by a conſular of his acquaintance, named *Cluvitus*, for at theſe ſhews there was no diſtinction of places, he aſked him ſoftly, *Whether he had heard any news? None at all*, anſwered *Cluvitus*: *But I can tell you ſomething*, replied *Bathybius*, *to which you are perhaps a ſtranger; in the piece, which is to be acted to day, will be repreſented the death of a tyrant.* *Cluvitus* anſwered with a verſe out of *Homer*, which he whiſpered in his friend's ear; *Silence, leſt ſome of the* Greeks *ſhould over-hear us* [c]. Hiſtorians obſerve, that this was the day, on which *Philip*, king of *Macedon*, was ſlain by *Pauſanias*, as he was entering the theatre to behold the ſame tragedy that was acted before *Caius* [d]. Another piece was to be exhibited in the night, repreſenting ſome fabulous accounts of the infernal regions [e]; for *Caius*, who took great delight in ſuch repreſentations, declared, that as this was the laſt day, the ſports ſhould continue all night, with a deſign, as was believed, to appear on the ſtage himſelf, and there diſplay his ſkill and addreſs in dancing, in which he took great pride (G) [f]. About noon,

His intrepidity and reſolution.

A day fixed upon for putting Caius *to death.*

[b] Joseph. antiq. l. xix. c. 1. [c] Idem ibid. [d] Idem ibid. & Suet. c. 57. [e] Suet. ibid. [f] Dio, p. 663.

(E) It was perhaps at theſe ſports, that *Caius*, tranſported with rage againſt *Jupiter*, becauſe the noiſe of thunder prevented him from hearing the actors, threw out moſt dreadful blaſphemies againſt heaven, and impiouſly defied *Jupiter* himſelf, with theſe words; *Diſpatch me, or I'll diſpatch you* (75); for he fooliſhly perſuaded himſelf to be upon a level with, and equal in power to, the greateſt of the gods. This monſtrous impiety, ſays *Seneca*, probably animated the conſpirators with new courage.

(F) *Dion Caſſius* tells us, that on the twenty-fourth of *January*, the day on which *Caius* was killed, an *Egyptian*, by name *Apollones*, was brought to him, having been ſent out of *Egypt* to *Rome* for pretending to foretel the emperor's death. *Caius* not being then at leiſure to examine him, ordered him to be kept under cloſe confinement till the ſports were over. But he being killed in the mean time, the *Egytian* was after one day's confinement ſet at liberty (76). *Suetonius* mentions many prodigies, to warn the emperor of his approaching end; amongſt the others he tells us, that *Caius* being admoniſhed by the oracle at *Antium* to be upon his guard againſt *Caſſius*, he immediately ſent aſſaſſines to murder *Caſſius Longinus*, at that time proconſul of *Aſia*, not remembering that *Chærea* was likewiſe named *Caſſius* (77).

(G) He was, ſays *Suetonius*, an excellent fencer, dancer, and charioteer; he ſometimes danced on the ſtage, and frequently before his friends in the palace. One

(75) *Senec. de ira, l.* i. *c.* 16. (76) *Dio, p.* 663. (77) *Suet. c.* 57.

noon, when the emperor uſed to withdraw for a ſhort time to bathe and refreſh himſelf with ſome nouriſhment, *Chærea* ſtole out with a deſign to fall upon him as he paſſed from the theatre to his apartment. Bnt *Caius*, contrary to his cuſtom, ſhewed no inclination to leave the ſports, telling thoſe who ſat by him, that ſince it was the laſt day of the ſhews he had a mind not to bathe till they were over. At the ſame time, he called for ſome refreſhment, which he ſhared with thoſe who were about him, amongſt the reſt with *Pomponius Secundus*, then conſul, who ſat at his feet and often kiſſed them. *Minucianus*, who was next to him, and had ſeen *Chærea* go out, roſe up with a deſign to go out and acquaint the tribune with the emperor's reſolution. But *Caius* taking hold of his robe, *Sit ſtill, my friend*, ſaid he, in a very obliging manner; *you ſhall go out with me.* *Minucianus*, as it were, out of reſpect, ſat down again; but ſoon after roſe up and went out; neither did *Caius* offer to detain him, thinking he went away upon ſome neceſſary occaſion, and would ſoon return. He found *Chærea* waiting in the entry, which led to the theatre, and acquainted him with the emperor's reſolution. Hereupon the reſolute tribune thought it adviſeable to fall upon him in the theatre, rather than let ſlip the preſent opportunity, and offered to go in immediately and ſtab him in his ſeat. *Minucianus*, and ſuch of the conſpirators as were with him, for ſome of them were in the theatre, expecting the ſignal, approved of *Chærea*'s bold propoſal, who was thereupon entering the theatre, when word was brought him, that the emperor, at the perſuaſion of *Ampronas*, and ſome others who were privy to the conſpiracy, had changed his mind and was coming out. The conſpirators immediately drew together, and, under pretence of clearing the way for the emperor, removed ſuch as they imagined would lend him any aſſiſtance. *Caius* at length came out, his uncle *Claudius* and *M. Vinicius*, who had married his ſiſter *Julia*, walking before him, with ſome perſons of great diſtinction. When he entered the palace, inſtead of going ſtraight to his apartment, as he uſually did, and following his officers and attendants, he turned unexpectedly into a gallery, which led to a private apartment, to ſee there certain youths, who had been ſent him out of *Aſia*, to act and dance upon the ſtage, and were juſt then arrived. He was ſo pleaſed with them, that he would have immediately returned with them to the theatre, being impatient to ſee them perform, had not the chief of them complained, that he was cold, and begged leave to warm himſelf firſt [f]. While he was entertaining himſelf with the *Aſiatic* youths, *Chærea* came for the parole, and *Caius* gave him one, as uſual, reflecting on his effeminacy and want of courage. *Chærea* returned him a ſmart anſwer; and at the ſame time drawing his ſword, diſcharged a great blow at him, and wounded him in the neck. Though the wound did not prove mortal, yet we cannot give credit to thoſe, who would make us believe, that *Chærea* did not, as he might, diſpatch him at one blow, leſt he ſhould be too ſoon out of pain [g]. *Caius*, ſtruck with amazement at the boldneſs of the tribune, had not preſence of mind enough to call for aſſiſtance; however, he attempted to fly; but *Cornelius Sabinus*, having puſhed him down upon his knees, *Chærea* with another blow broke his jaw-bone; then the reſt of the conſpirators ruſhing in, diſpatched him with thirty wounds, he for ſome time crying out, *I am ſtill alive*; and the conſpirators, *Repeat, repeat the blow*; which was the ſignal agreed on. We are told, that *Aquila* was the perſon who gave him the wound that put an end to his life. Some of the conſpirators took delight in mangling his body even after his death; nay, they are ſaid to have carried their rage to ſuch a height, as to cut off and eat pieces of his fleſh [h] (H).

Caius *aſſaſſinated.* *Year after the flood* 2040 *Of Chriſt* 40. *Of* Rome 789.

Such

[f] Joseph. ibid. Suet. c. 58. Dio, p. 663. [g] Vide Joseph. ibid. [h] Dio, p. 663.

One night, while he was in that humour, he ſent for three grave conſulars, cauſed them to be awaked out of their ſleep, and by his guards hurried away to his palace, where, while they were waiting in a great hall, and trembling in apprehenſion of immediate death, they ſuddenly heard a great noiſe of muſical inſtruments, and at the ſame time ſaw the emperor come leaping out in a long robe, to diſplay before them his ſkill and addreſs in dancing. When he was tired, he withdrew, and ſent the three conſulars word, that they might, when they pleaſed, return home. He took ſuch pleaſure in ſeeing *Mneſter*, the famous mimic, dance, that he puniſhed, with great ſeverity, ſuch as gave him the leaſt diſturbance: a *Roman* knight making ſome noiſe while he was dancing, the emperor immediately ſent him word by a centurion to depart that inſtant for *Oſtia*, and there wait for a letter, which he ſhould ſoon ſend after him for *Ptolemy* king of *Mauritania*. The knight obeyed, croſſed over to *Africa*, and preſented the letter to *Ptolemy*, who could not forbear laughing in reading it; for it contained only the following words; *To the bearer do neither good nor evil* (78).

(H) Some writers, quoted by *Suetonius* (79), ſay, that while he was ſpeaking with the *Aſiatic* youths, *Chærea* came behind him, and gave him a mortal wound

(78) *Idem c.* 54. (79) *Idem, c.* 58.

a SUCH was the end of *Caius Cæſar Caligula*, the fourth emperor of *Rome*, a prince ſo monſtrouſly wicked, that nature, ſays *Seneca*, ſeemed to have brought him forth, to ſhew what miſchief could be effected by the greateſt vices, ſupported by the greateſt authority [h]. His death happened on the twenty-fourth of *January*; ſo that he reigned but three years, nine months, and twenty-eight days, according to thoſe who fix the death of *Tiberius* on the twenty-ſixth of *March*; or three years, ten months, and eight days, if we ſuppoſe him, as ſome do, to have begun his reign on the ſixteenth day of the ſaid month. He had lived, according to *Suetonius* [i], twenty-nine years; according to others, twenty-eight years, four months, and twenty-four days [k]. Of the confuſion and diſorders attending his death we ſhall ſpeak in the following
b reign. His body remained in the place where he had been aſſaſſinated, till the night was far ſpent, when it was privately conveyed to the *Lamian* gardens, where, being half burnt upon a pile erected in haſte, it was, without any ſolemnity, or even ceremonies, committed to the earth. This laſt duty was paid him, according to the *Roman* writers, by his wife *Cæſonia*; but, according to *Joſephus*, by king *Agrippa*, who, mindful of the obligations he owed him, cauſed his body to be conveyed away, leſt it ſhould be inſulted by the incenſed populace. Some time after his ſiſters, being returned from baniſhment, took it up again, burnt it to aſhes, and ſolemnly interred it. *Suetonius* affirms as a thing not to be doubted of, that thoſe who had the care of the above-mentioned gardens were frightened with dreadful apparitions, ſo long as
c the body remained there; and that in the apartment where he was murdered, a frightful noiſe was heard every night, till it was burnt down to the ground [l]. *Chærea*, to extirpate the whole race of the tyrant, ſent the night after his death a centurion, or rather a tribune, by name *Julius Lupus*, to diſpatch his wife *Cæſonia*, and with her his only daughter, an infant; the tribune ſtabbed without mercy the mother, and taking the innocent child out of the cradle, daſhed her brains out againſt a wall [m]. The ſenate, even after *Claudius* was raiſed to the empire, were for declaring *Caius* infamous. This *Claudius*, who was his uncle, would not allow; but nevertheleſs ordered all his ſtatues to be pulled down and broken, diſannulled moſt of his acts,
d and gave his aſſent to a decree of the ſenate, commanding his money to be melted down, that both his name and features might be unknown to future ages [n].

His body privately conveyed away, and buried.

AS we have hitherto had no opportunity to ſpeak of *Claudius*, who ſucceeded his nephew, but had led a retired life till he was raiſed to the empire, it may not be improper to premiſe to the hiſtory of his reign a ſuccinct account of his birth and education, of his good and evil qualities, and alſo of his wives, children, and freedmen, whom we ſhall have frequently occaſion to bring upon the ſtage. *Claudius* was born at *Lions* on the firſt of *Auguſt*, *Iulus Antonius* and *Fabius Africanus* being conſuls, ſo that this year he was in the fiftieth of his age [o]. He was named *Tiberius Claudius Nero Druſus Germanicus* [p]. Upon his acceſſion to the empire, he aſſumed the names
e of *Cæſar* and *Auguſtus*, as did likewiſe all his ſucceſſors; by which means the name of *Cæſar*, which was peculiar to the *Julian* family, became a title of dignity, and was given to the preſumptive heirs of the empire; whereas that of *Auguſtus* was a mark of the ſovereign power. As for the name of *Julius*, it was quite laid aſide, and never after aſſumed by any of the emperors [q]. *Claudius* was, by his mother *Antonia*, the grandſon of *Marc Antony* and *Octavia*, ſiſter to *Auguſtus*, and by his father *Druſus*, who died in *Germany*, the grandſon of *Livia Auguſta*, and conſequently nephew to *Tiberius*, brother to *Germanicus*, and uncle to *Caius*. However, no one imagined he would ever have attained to the ſovereign power, till the very day he was inveſted with it, all men being rather deſtined to the empire, to uſe the expreſſion of *Tacitus*, than he, for whom fortune, or rather providence, reſerved it in the dark [r]. For being

The birth, education, &c. of Claudius.

[h] SENEC. de ira. [i] SUET. c. 59. [k] CLEM. ſtrom. l. i. p. 539. EUTROP. in vit. Claud. [l] SUET. c. 59. [m] Idem ibid. DIO, p. 663. JOSEPH. ibid, c. 2. [n] JOSEPH. ibid. DIO. p. 667. [o] SUET. in Claud. c. 2. [p] SUET. ibid. DIO, p. 665. [q] Vide GOLTZ. p. 140. [r] TACIT. annal. l. iii. c. 18.

wound on the head, ſaying, *Mind this*; after which *Cornelius Sabinus* ran him through the body. Others, cited by the ſame writer, tell us, that *Sabinus* coming for the parole, and *Caligula* giving him the word *Jupiter*, *Chærea* cried out, *Be ſure to remember it*: hereupon *Caius* turning about, *Chærea* cut off his jaw at one blow, and ſtruck him to the ground. The other conſpirators then ruſhed in, and diſpatched him (80).

(80) *Idem ibid.*

being very ſickly during the whole time of his childhood and minority, he was thereby ſo weakened both in his body and mind, that he was looked upon as incapable of any public employment, and long after he was of age kept under a governor, of whom he complained in a book, which he publiſhed, as of a barbarous and unmannerly perſon, who had been formerly a groom, and was ſet over him on purpoſe to plague and chaſtiſe him upon every trivial occaſion. His mother *Antonia* uſed to call him *a human monſter, juſt begun by nature, but never finiſhed*; and when ſhe upbraided any one with dulneſs and ſtupidity, her common expreſſion was, *You are as ſtupid as my ſon* Claudius: his grandmother *Livia* could not bear the ſight of him: his nephew *Caligula*, when he had butchered many of his kindred, ſaved him purely for a laughing-ſtock; he was held in the ſame contempt by his ſiſter *Livilla*, by *Auguſtus*, and all his family (I): the kindeſt word *Auguſtus* gave him was that of *Miſellus*, *poor wretch*[r]. Being thus deſpiſed and utterly neglected by his own relations, he became the jeſt of the court (K), and was treated even by the freedmen of his uncle and nephew with the greateſt diſreſpect imaginable (L). He was not only deſtitute

Deſpiſed by all his relations

[r] Suet. c. 2, & 3.

(I) *Suetonius*, to ſhew us what opinion *Auguſtus* entertained of *Claudius*, produces ſeveral of the letters to *Livia* concerning him: *I have*, ſays he, in one, *my dear* Livia, *adviſed with* Tiberius *according to your deſire, about what is to be done with your nephew* Tiberius, *that is*, Claudius, *at the ſolemnity of* Mars. *We are both of opinion, that we muſt reſolve, without further delay, what courſe to take with him; if his weakneſs is not very remarkable, we ought, without all doubt, to advance him by the ſame ſteps and degrees by which his brother was raiſed. But if we find any weakneſs or incapacity in his body or mind, we muſt not give occaſion to the world to mock and deride both him and us: it is now time to deliberate and conclude, whether he is capable of public employments or not. I think it would not be amiſs to charge him, at the approaching ſolemnity of* Mars, *with the care of entertaining the prieſts, upon condition, that he ſuffers himſelf to be directed by the ſon of* Silanus *his kinſman, who will inſtruct him, and prevent his doing any thing notoriouſly ridiculous. But I am utterly againſt his ſeeing the* Circenſian *games from ſo conſpicuous a place as the pulvinar, becauſe he will be there expoſed to the eyes of the whole theatre. Neither would I have him to attend his brother on the* feriæ Latinæ *to mount* Albanus; *and as to the government of the city, during his brother's abſence, I do not think him at all qualified for ſuch an employment. Thus my dear* Livia, *I have declared my opinion, which is, that we defer no longer, but come to a final reſolution, whether we are to raiſe him or no. This part of my letter you may ſhew, if you pleaſe, to* Antonia. In another he writes thus: *During your abſence, I ſhall conſtantly invite young* Tiberius *to my table, that he may not ſup with his* Sulpitius *and* Athenodorus: *I wiſh the poor child would propoſe to himſelf the example of ſome well-bred perſon, and imitate him in his geſture, habit, and mein; for though he is not much eſteemed by men of penetration, yet he is not without ſome noble ſentiments.* And in a third; *may I die, my dear* Livia, ſays he, *if I am not amazed how your nephew* Tiberius *could give me ſo full ſatisfaction in his declamation; it is ſurpriſing, that a perſon who talks ſo ill, ſhould write and declaim ſo well. Auguſtus*, well appriſed of the weakneſs of his underſtanding, honoured him with no other dignity but that of augur, and in his laſt will mentioned him only amongſt his third heirs, who were no-ways related to him, and left him but a legacy of eight hundred ſeſterces. His uncle *Tiberius* honoured him with the conſular ornaments, but never allowed him to diſcharge the office of conſul; and when the young prince importuned him for ſome real preferment, he wrote him word, that he had ſent him forty pieces of gold againſt the *Saturnalia*, or feaſts of *Saturn*, for play-money, and to lay out, as he pleaſed, in the *Sigillaria*, which was a kind of fair after the *Saturnalia*, laſting ſeven days, and ſo called from the little images and puppets, in *Latin Sigilla*, which were then ſold. Upon this anſwer, *Claudius*, laying aſide all hopes of riſing to any conſiderable employment in the ſtate, betook himſelf to a retired life, ſpending his time with perſons much below his rank, either in the gardens he had in the ſuburbs, or at his country-houſe in *Campania*, where he gave himſelf intirely up to gaming and drinking, diverſions ſuitable to the low company he kept. However, the ſenate, in conſideration of his high birth, paſſed a decree, enacting, that he ſhould be added, above the limited number, to the college of the prieſts of *Auguſtus*, into which none had ever before been admitted but by lot; that a houſe belonging to him, which had been burnt down to the ground by accidental fire, ſhould be rebuilt at the public charge; and that he ſhould have a vote in the ſenate, and deliver his opinion amongſt the conſulars. But this decree did not take place, *Tiberius* alledging againſt his voting in the ſenate the weakneſs of his underſtanding, and promiſing to make good at his private expence the loſſes he had ſuſtained by fire. Nevertheleſs, *Tiberius* in his laſt will named him amongſt his heirs, and left him a legacy of about two millions of ſeſterces (81).

(K) *Suetonius* tells us, that if he happened to come to table, when the other gueſts had taken their places, no one ſhewed him the leaſt civility, but diverted themſelves with ſeeing him running about the table to find out a place; if he refreſhed himſelf, as he uſually did after meals, with a ſhort repoſe, they took pleaſure in throwing the ſtones of olives and dates at him; ſometimes they awaked him with the blow of a rod, or whip; and ſometimes, while he was aſleep, they put his ſandals upon his hands, that, when he waked, he might rub his face with them (82).

(L) He was, as *Dion Caſſius* obſerves, ſo notoriouſly neglected, that, notwithſtanding the prerogative of his birth, he did not riſe above the rank of a knight, till the age of forty-ſix years, when his nephew *Caius* created him ſenator, in order to honour him with the conſulate (83). Nevertheleſs to this contempt and neglect was owing the power he acquired; for *Caius* would never have ſpared him, had he imagined him capable of aſpiring at it (84). beſides, the baſe treatment he met with moved both the people and ſoldiery to compaſſion, and procured him their affections (85).

(81) *Idem* c. 2——7. *Dio*, p. 665. (82) *Suet.* c. 8. (83) *Dio*, p. 644. (84) *Idem*, p. 658. (85) *Aurel. Vict.* c. 3.

destitute of parts, but moreover extremely timorous; insomuch, that there was no accident so trivial, no man, woman, slave, or child, so contemptible, as not to frighten him, and when frightened, he was altogether incapable of reasoning. This timorousness was owing to his education; for he was brought up amongst women and freedmen, and obliged from his infancy to depend intirely upon them, and submit to their will and pleasure, without having any passions, or even discernment, of his own [t]. He gave out after he came to the throne, that in the reigns of *Tiberius* and *Caius* he had counterfeited folly to escape their cruelty; but his conduct too plainly shewed, that it was not assumed, but real [u]. *Suetonius* taxes him with being naturally cruel [w], while others ascribe to his wives and freedmen the many executions of which we shall have occasion to speak in the history of his reign. Though he had many great faults, yet, when compared with *Tiberius* or *Caius*, he did not pass for a bad emperor [x]. From his childhood he applied himself to the study of the liberal sciences, and gave frequently public testimonies of his proficiency in them [z]. He arrived at no small perfection in oratory, and his discourse was not without elegance, when it was the result of study. He was well skilled both in the *Latin* and *Greek* tongues, wrote several books (M), and added three letters to the ancient alphabet (N), which, however, continued in use no longer than his reign [b]. *Seneca* commends his works, and speaks of him as an encourager of learning [c]. As to his person, he was tall and well-shaped; but had something very disagreeable in his mein, something very unbecoming in his action, which, together with his low voice and inarticulate pronunciation, is the chief subject of *Seneca*'s ralleries [d]. These defects, as well as his stammering and the trembling of his head, *Dion Cassius* takes to be the effect of the infirmities, to which he was subject in his childhood and youth [e].

His timorousness.

His learning.

His person.

His wife, when he came to the empire, was *Valeria Messalina*, his cousin, whom we shall have frequent occasion to mention. He had already by her a daughter, named *Octavia*, who was afterwards married to *Nero*. Not many days after his accession to the empire, his wife *Messalina* was delivered of a son, named first *Claudius Tiberius Germanicus*, and afterwards *Britannicus Cæsar* [f]. By his second wife, *Ælia Petina*, whom he divorced, he had a daughter called *Antonia*, whom he married first to *Pompeius Magnus*, and afterwards to *Faustus Sylla*, both descended from illustrious ancestors.

His wives and children.

[t] Dio, ibid. [u] Suet. c. 38. [w] Idem. c, 34. [x] Dio, l. lx. p. 665. Aur. Vict. c. 4. [z] Suet. c. 3. [a] Tacit. annal. l. xiii. c. 3. [b] Senec. c. 41. [c] Senec. lud. in Claud. [d] Idem ibid. [e] Dio, c. 60. p. 665. [f] Suet. c. 27. Dio, p. 548.

(M) At the persuasion of *Livy* the celebrated historian, and with the assistance of *Sulpicius Flavius*, *Livy* dying before he began his work, he wrote in forty-three books the history of *Rome* from the death of *Cæsar* the dictator to his own time. He is said to have wrote with great liberty, and to have been on that account often rebuked by his mother *Antonia* and his grandmother *Livia*. He published also seven volumes of *his own life*, which were wrote with more elegance than judgment (86), and a *defence of* Cicero *against the writings of* Gallus, which, in the opinion of *Suetonius* (87), was a learned performance. His history he recited in public, submitting it to the judgment of his auditors. He had a particular value for the *Greek* tongue, spoke it fluently, and wrote in that language the history of the *Tyrrhenians* in twenty books, and that of the *Carthaginians* in eight. To make these histories the more famous, he added a new school to the old one at *Alexandria*, calling it by his own name, and ordering his two *Greek* histories to be read in both schools (88).

(N) *Tacitus*, *Quintilian*, and *Varro* agree, that *Claudius* added three letters to the *Latin* alphabet, two of which are well known, *viz.* the *Æolic digamma*, and the *antisigma*; the former was an F inversed, thus Ⅎ, and founded like the V; as *terminasit amplia*Ⅎ*itque*, and *Di*Ⅎ*i Augusti*, &c. The antisigma served instead of the *Greek* Ψ, or instead of PS. and was wrote thus, ↃC. The sigma of the ancient *Greeks* resembled our C; whence *Claudius*, to his new letter, consisting of two sigmas, having their backs turned to each other, thus, ↃC, gave the name of antisigma. As to the third letter, we are quite in the dark. Some take it to have been the dipthong *ai*, which is found in most inscriptions of *Claudius*'s time, thus *Antoniai*, *Di*Ⅎ*ai*, &c. But it is manifest, that this dipthong was in use long before his reign. Others, from a corrupt passage in *Velius Longus*, conclude it to have been we know not what letter, invented to soften the harsh sound of the letter R. There are not wanting some who pretend the letter X to have been first contrived by *Claudius*; but *Isidorus* plainly shews, that it was invented and used in the reign of *Augustus* (89). The *Greek* Φ had, as *Quintilian* observes, a different sound from that of the *Latin* PH; whence some conjecture the third letter invented by *Claudius* to have answered the *Greek* Φ, which is not altogether void of probability. But on this subject nothing has been, or can be, offered, except what is merely conjectural. *Claudius* published a book, when he was yet a private person, on the necessity of admitting these letters, and the use of them: when he was advanced to the empire, he obliged all to use them; but after his death they were disused and quite laid aside, though in the times of *Suetonius* and *Tacitus* they were still to be seen in several records and journals, and in the tables of brass, on which were published the decrees of the people (90).

(86) *Suet. c.* 41. (87) *Idem ibid.* (88) *Idem, c.* 42. (89) *Vide Isidor. de orig.* (90) *Suet. c.* 41. *Tacit. annal. l.* xi. *c.* 14.

ancestors. His first wife, *Plautia Urgulanilla*, brought him *Drusus*, and a daughter, a called *Claudia*. *Drusus* lost his life at *Pompeii* before he was fourteen, being choaked by an apple, which stuck in his throat, while, in play, he was throwing it up into the air, and catching it in his mouth. As for *Claudia*, though she was born five months before he divorced her mother, yet he would not acknowledge her for his daughter; but suspecting her to be the child of one of his freedmen, called *Boter*, he caused her to be stript naked, and to be laid, after the divorce, before her mother's door [g].

His freedmen. *Messalina*, and *Agrippina*, whom he married after her death, bore an absolute sway over *Claudius*, who acted under them more like a slave than a prince [h], disposing of honours, governments, employments, armies, &c. as they and his freed- b men, whose power he raised as high as his own, thought fit to direct him. Amongst the latter his chief favourites were *Possides* the eunuch, *Felix*, *Harpocras*, *Polybius*, and above all *Narcissus* and *Pallas* (O). To these we may add *Callistus*, or, as others call him, *Calixtus*, a man of great craft and address (P). He was privy to the conspiracy against *Caius*, as we have related above, and gained the favour of *Claudius*, by persuading him, that he had been charged by *Caius* to poison him; but had, under various pretences, put off from day to day the execution of his orders [i]. *Calixtus*'s office was to receive the requests, which were presented to the Emperor; *Narcissus* was his secretary, and *Pallas* had the whole management of the finances. These three divided the sovereign power amongst them [k]. Each of them was, ac- c cording to *Pliny* [l], richer than *Crassus* had ever been; nay, they possessed greater wealth than the emperor himself, who was thereupon told, as he complained one day of his poverty, that he would be rich enough, if he could but prevail upon his freedmen to take him for their partner [m]. Having premised thus much in general concerning *Claudius* and those who governed under him, we shall now resume the thread of our history.

The

[g] Suet. ibid. [h] Suet. c. 29. [i] Joseph. antiq. l. xix. c. 1. [k] Zonar. l. v. Suet. ibid. [l] Plin. l. xxxiii. c. 10. [m] Suet. ibid.

(O) *Suetonius* tells us, that *Possides* was rewarded by *Claudius* in his *British* triumph, and amongst the other brave officers presented with a spear; but whether the eunuch deserved that mark of distinction, we find no-where recorded. *Felix* was brother to *Pallas*, *Claudius*'s reigning favourite, and the most powerful person in the whole empire. He is by most writers named *Claudius Felix*, but by *Tacitus*, *Antonius Felix*, because he was first the slave of *Antonia*, the mother of *Claudius*, and afterwards of *Claudius* himself, whose name he likewise took upon his being manumitted. He was in high favour with *Claudius*, and by him raised to the first posts of the army, and afterwards to the government of *Judæa*, *Galilee*, *Samaria*, and *Perea*, that is, of the country beyond the *Jordan* (91). *Suetonius* observes, that from a slave he became so great and considerable, that he was the husband of three several queens, or rather princesses of royal blood. One of these was *Drusilla*, the daughter of king *Agrippa*, whom, by means of a magician, named *Simon*, he persuaded to abandon her husband *Azizus*, king of *Emesus*, and marry him (92). In marrying *Felix*, she renounced, according to *Josephus*, the *Jewish* religion, which *Azizus* had embraced out of complaisance to her. S. *Luke* nevertheless calls her a *Jew* (93). *Felix* married another *Drusilla*, grand-daughter to *Antony* and *Cleopatra*, and daughter to *Juba*, king of *Mauritania* (94). Who was the third princess we find no-where recorded. To *Harpocras*, another of his favourite freedmen, he granted the privilege of being carried in a litter and of exhibiting plays, which was contrary to the decree passed in *Tiberius*'s reign, and by us mentioned there. *Polybius* was a man of learning, and had assisted *Claudius* in his studies, who thereupon heaped extraordinary honours upon him, allowing him often to walk between the two consuls (95). Of *Narcissus* and *Pallas* we shall speak anon.

(P) *Callistus* had been slave to a private citizen, who sold him to *Caius*, but was afterwards obliged, as *Seneca* observes (96), to purchase his favour at a much higher price than that, at which he had sold him; nay, he was often seen waiting at his door, and courting even his porters, that he might be allowed to enter with the rest, and attend the levee of one, whom he had formerly kept in chains. *Scribonius Largus*, a celebrated physician of those times, inscribed to him a work, wherein he styles him *Caius Julius Callistus* (97). *Suetonius*, in speaking of the freedmen of *Claudius*, makes no mention of *Callistus*, who, it is certain, bore a great sway in that reign; but names one *Harpocras*, who is scarce taken notice of by any other writer. This has prompted some to believe, that *Harpocras* and *Callistus* were one and the same person. But we can hardly persuade ourselves, that *Callistus* was also named *Harpocras*, since *Scribonius Largus* names him only *C. Julius Callistus*. Besides, *Seneca* speaks in one place of *Callistus* (98), and in another of *Harpocras* (99); and tells us, that the latter was executed by *Claudius*'s orders. Had this been the end of so famous and celebrated a person as *Callistus*, *Tacitus* and *Suetonius* would not, we conceive, have failed to mention it. *Suetonius* perhaps makes no mention of *Callistus* in speaking of *Claudius*'s freedmen, because he was not, properly speaking, one of his, but of *Caius*'s, freedmen, by whom he was first manumitted, and afterwards employed in quality of secretary (100). He was alive in the eighth year of *Claudius*'s reign, and died soon after (1).

(91) *Suet. c.* 28. *Joseph. antiq. l.* ii. *c.* 5. (92) *Idem ibid.* (93) *Act. c.* xxiv. *v.* 24. (94) *Idem. ibid.* (95) *Suet. ibid.* (96) *Senec. epist.* 47. (97) *Tacit. annal. l.* 11, (98) *Senec. epist.* 47. (99) *Idem lud. in Claud,* (100) *Joseph. antiq, l.* xix. *c.* 6. (1) *Tacit. annal. l.* 11. *c.* 27.

The alarm which the death of Caius *occaſioned in* Rome.

THE unexpected news of *Caius*'s death, which was brought while the people were
a intent upon the ſhews, and in a trice ſpread all over the city, occaſioned a general uproar. Upon the firſt alarm the deceaſed emperor's litter-men haſtened with their poles to his reſcue, and were immediately followed by his *German* guards, named the *Celtic* band, who, finding *Caius* lying dead on the ground and his body mangled, in the manner we have related, vented their rage on all they met, without examining whether they were privy to the conſpiracy or not; and in this confuſion were killed *L. Aſprenas*, who had been conſul three years before, *Norbanus*, deſcended from one of the moſt illuſtrious families in *Rome*, *Anteius*, a ſenator of great diſtinction, and ſeveral others, who came merely out of curioſity to know whether the report was true
b or no. As for *Chærea*, he retired, before the emperor's death was publicly known, to the houſe of *Germanicus*, which was contiguous to the palace, and there with the chief of the conſpirators lay concealed, till the *Germans*, by whom *Caius* was extremely beloved on account of his prodigality, had vented their firſt fury. The people, ſuſpecting *Caius* had cauſed the report of his death to be ſpread abroad, on purpoſe to diſcover their ſentiments, continued in the theatre, without taking any notice of what was rumoured about. But they were greatly alarmed, when word was brought them, that the emperor's guards had ſurrounded the theatre, and were ready to enter it ſword in hand, to ſacrifice the whole multitude to the manes of their maſſacred general. And this indeed they deſigned in the firſt tranſports of their rage;
c but a public herald appearing unexpectedly in the theatre, clad in deep mourning, after having proclaimed the emperor's death, commanded the people quietly to retire to their reſpective houſes, and the ſoldiery to withdraw to their quarters without raiſing any further diſturbance. They both obeyed, which was more than was expected, with great readineſs, ſo that the tumult was ſoon appeaſed, and tranquillity reſtored to the city. Then the conſuls, *Q. Pomponius Secundus* and *Cn. Sentius Saturninus*, having, at the head of the city-guards who were under their command, ſeized on the forum and the capitol, aſſembled the ſenate, in order to deliberate with them about the moſt proper meaſures in ſo critical a conjuncture. While they were aſſembled, both the populace and ſoldiery, whom *Caius* had gained with the immenſe ſums he
d diſtributed amongſt them, and the magnificent ſhews he exhibited almoſt every day, cried aloud for vengeance; which ſo terrified the ſenate, that they were ready to paſs a decree, enacting, that the conſpirators ſhould be forthwith apprehended and executed as traitors and enemies to their country, when *Valerius Aſiaticus*, a ſenator of great quality and reputation, riſing up, ſpoke with great vehemence againſt the meaſures they were entering upon, commended the zeal of the brave patriots who had delivered their country from ſo cruel a tyrant, publicly wiſhed he had had the glory of diſpatching him with his own hand, and exhorted the fathers to deſpiſe the clamours of the multitude. Hereupon they took courage, and by an edict, which they cauſed to be read to the people, commanded them to return to their ſeveral employ-
e ments, and the ſoldiery to their camp. Then the conſpirators appeared publicly, and owned the fact; and *Sentius Saturninus*, one of the conſuls, having in a ſpeech, which he uttered with great zeal and ardor, diſplayed the benefits of liberty and miſeries of tyranny, encouraged the fathers to reſume their ancient authority, and to begin the exerciſe of that power to which they alone had a juſt claim, by conferring ſuch honours and rewards on *Chærea*, as the eminent ſervice he had rendered the republic well deſerved. The ſenators, animated with his ſpeech, agreed to reſtore *Rome* to her ancient liberty, and utterly to extinguiſh the name of the *Cæſars*. They ſpent all that day and the following night, in deliberating about the meaſures for bringing about ſo great a change, without kindling a civil war within the very walls of the city,
f but parted after long and warm debates without agreeing upon any. When the ſenate roſe, *Chærea*, whom they had appointed commander of the city-guards, went to the conſuls for the parole, who gave him the word *liberty*. No ſuch honour had been paid to the conſuls ever ſince the eſtabliſhment of the monarchy [n].

Several perſons of diſtinction killed.

The conſuls ſeize the capitol.

The ſenate reſolves to reſtore Rome *to her ancient liberty.*

IN the mean time, the ſoldiers in the camp took ſuch meaſures as utterly defeated thoſe of the ſenate. *Claudius*, who had been with *Caius* a few minutes before he was murdered, and was retired to a room in the palace called *Hermaum*, upon the firſt alarm of his death, ſtole away in a great fright, and hid himſelf behind the hangings in a dark corner of the palace, whence he heard the noiſe of the ſoldiery, and ſaw

The ſoldiery find Claudius

[n] JOSEPH. antiq. l. xix. c. 1, & 2. SUET. in Calig. c. 59. DIO, l. lx. p. 664.

saw some of the *German* guards pass close by him with the head of *Asprenas*, which a
they carried, as it were, in triumph. This sight increased his fright to such a degree,
that he continued motionless in the same place, scarce daring to breathe through fear
of being discovered, till a common soldier, called by some *Gratus*, by others *Epirius*,
but probably *Epirius Gratus*, running about the palace in quest of plunder, discovered
his feet, and dragged him out of his hiding-place. *Claudius*, not doubting but the
soldier designed to murder him, threw himself at his feet, and with many tears begged
for mercy, which *Gratus*, finding who he was, not only granted, but saluted him em-
peror, and carried him to his comrades, who at his instigation honoured him with
the same title. They then put him into a chair, and, as his servants were fled, carried
him upon their shoulders by turns to the camp, the people, who imagined they were b
carrying him to execution, bemoaning his misfortune; for he had hitherto done nothing
that could deserve any man's hatred. He was well received in the camp; but, as he
was naturally timorous, he passed the night in no small apprehension[o]. He was in-
clined not to accept the empire; but king *Agrippa*, who had just interred the body
of *Caius*, arriving in the camp, and hearing the army designed to raise *Claudius* to
the sovereign power, went immediately to him, encouraged him to lay hold of the
present opportunity, and, leaving him in that resolution, returned home. On the
other hand, the soldiery, being well apprised, that the state could not long subsist with-
out an emperor, and reflecting that it would prove far more advantagious for them to
give than to receive one, the very next day, the twenty-fifth of *January*, took an c
oath of allegiance to *Claudius*, who thereupon promised them fifteen great sesterces a
man[p]. He was the first emperor, as *Suetonius* observes, who gave money to the
soldiers upon his accession to the empire; but his example was followed by most of
his successors[q]. The people, who had expressed great joy upon the hopes of reco-
vering once more their ancient privileges, no sooner heard that *Claudius* was declared
The people join the soldiery. emperor by the army, than they changed their mind, approved with loud shouts what
had been done in the camp, and openly declared, that they had rather obey one
prince, than many tyrants. The senate, however, persisted in their former resolution
of asserting the public liberty, and were even for making war upon *Claudius*; but
afterwards growing cooler on account of the differences that arose amongst them, and d
not being able to come to an agreement, they sent for king *Agrippa* to advise with
him. The king obeyed the summons with great readiness, and appearing in the
senate, dressed and perfumed, as if he had not been out of his house that day, he
asked what was become of *Claudius*, as if he suspected him to have been murdered
together with his nephew. Hereupon the senate related to him what had passed, to
The senate advises with king Agrippa. which he pretended to be an utter stranger, and at the same time asked his advice (R).
The traitor protested, that he was ready to sacrifice his life to the glory of the senate
and to the public liberty; but at the same time starting innumerable difficulties and
exaggerating the dangers and evils of a civil war, he craftily endeavoured to deter
them, as solicitous about their safety, from having recourse to arms. He told them, e
that in his opinion they were no-ways in a condition to make head against the prætо-
A deputation sent to Clau- rian guards; and that he therefore advised them, rather to send a deputation to *Clau-*
dius. *dius*, begging him not to accept of the empire. This embassy he offered to take
upon himself; the senate returned him thanks for his zeal, accepted his offer, and
dispatched him the same day to the camp with two tribunes of the people, *Veranius*
and *Bruchus*. The tribunes conjured him to submit to the authority of the senate and
people, put him in mind of the evils and calamities which the republic had suffered
under the former tyrants, assured him, that the senate had resolved at all events to
attempt the recovery of their ancient privileges, earnestly intreated him seriously to
reflect on the calamities attending a civil war, and the unhappy end of *Caius*, &c. f
The speech of the tribunes made a deep impression on the mind of *Claudius*, who
was

[o] Suet. in Claud. c. 10. [p] Joseph. ibid. [q] Suet. ibid.

(R) *Josephus* tells us in his history of the *Jewish* war, that king *Agrippa* was at the same time sent for both by the senate and by *Claudius*, and that he chose to go first to *Claudius*, who sent him in his name to the senate (2). This is not to be easily reconciled with what he writes in his *antiquities*, *viz.* that *Agrippa* being sent for by the senate, immediately obeyed the summons, but pretended an intire ignorance of what had passed, either in the palace or camp, relating to *Claudius*. We have followed him in his *antiquities*, which he wrote the last.

(2) *Joseph. bell. l.* ii. *c.* 28.

CLAUDIUS.



NERO.



GALBA.



OTHO.



Simms Sculpt

was naturally timorous; but *Agrippa* in a private audience encouraged him to lay hold of the preſent opportunity, acquainted him with the fears, perplexity, and irreſolution of the ſenate, and exhorted him to aſſume forthwith the imperial power, and return an anſwer to the deputies becoming an emperor. *Claudius* followed the advice of *Agrippa*, which occaſioned no ſmall confuſion in the city, the ſenate declaring, that they were determined rather to riſque a civil war, than ſubmit to the will of one man. This was in effect declaring war, and accordingly *Claudius*, being acquainted with their reſolution, began to put himſelf in a condition to repel force with force. In the mean time, the people, ſurrounding the place where the ſenate was aſſembled, demanded with threats an emperor, declaring aloud, that they would never acknowledge the authority of the ſenate. This frightened the fathers to ſuch a degree, that they immediately ſeparated; but the conſuls ſummoned them to meet again the next morning before break of day. Only a ſmall number of them obeyed the ſummons, ſcarce a hundred perſons, the reſt being either retired into the country, or keeping cloſe in their houſes, through fear of being inſulted by the populace. While thoſe who met were deliberating how to thwart the deſigns of *Claudius*, the city guards, the only troops that obeyed the ſenate, joining the populace, began to cry aloud, that they would have an emperor; that the ſenate might chuſe whom they pleaſed; but that they were reſolved to yield obedience to none but an emperor. This put an end to the deliberations of the ſenate; all thoughts of liberty were laid aſide, and *Claudius*, with the uſual ceremonies, declared emperor (S). After this declaration the ſenators haſtened to the camp, each of them ſtriving to be the foremoſt in paying their court to the new prince. The ſoldiery received them with inſults, wounded ſome of them, and would have killed the conſul *Pomponius Secundus*, who had been the moſt ſanguine of all in the cauſe of liberty, had they not been reſtrained by *Claudius*, who received him with the greateſt tokens of reſpect, and placed him next to himſelf [r].

The ſenate betrayed by Agrippa.

The people demand an emperor.

And are joined by the city guards.

And now *Claudius*, being declared and acknowledged emperor, left the camp, accompanied by the ſenate and prætorian guards, and, entering the city in a kind of triumph, offered a ſolemn ſacrifice in the capitol by way of thankſgiving to the gods, who had thus raiſed him to the empire; and then withdrew to the palace, where he immediately ſummoned a council of his friends to deliberate with them about his conduct, with reſpect to thoſe who had murdered *Caius*: in his heart he approved of the action; but as he thought it nearly concerned all princes, that the death of one ſhould not paſs unrevenged, with the advice of his friends, he cauſed the brave *Chærea* (T), *Lupus*, who had put to death *Cæſonia* with her daughter, and a few more to be condemned and executed; but pardoned the reſt, and amongſt them *Cornelius*

Claudius *declared emperor.*

Chærea *and ſome of the conſpirators put to death.*

[r] Joseph. ibid. Dio, p. 666. Suet. c. 10.

(S) The ſenate, being well appriſed, that all their efforts towards the recovery of their liberty muſt, in the preſent diſpoſition of the people and ſoldiery, neceſſarily prove ineffectual, reſolved at firſt to name an emperor themſelves, and not accept one from the ſoldiery. Accordingly, ſeveral perſons were propoſed, all better qualified than *Claudius* for that high ſtation. *Joſephus* names the three following ſenators, all men of extraordinary parts, and equal to the ſovereignty; viz. *Annius Minucianus* or *Vinicianus*, *Valerius Aſiaticus*, who had been both privy to the conſpiracy againſt *Caius*, and *Camillus Scribonianus*, who revolted the following year. *Minucianus* had moſt votes; but the conſuls, dreading the conſequences of a civil war, which they thought unavoidable, if they named any but *Claudius* to the ſovereign power, put off, under various pretences, the final deciſion of ſuch an important affair. In the mean time, the gladiators, on whom the ſenate chiefly relied, and the city guards went over in crouds to *Claudius*; ſo that *Minucianus* and the others gave over ſoliciting for a dignity, which they were well appriſed they could not long enjoy. *Chærea* did all that lay in his power to put a ſtop to the deſertion of the ſoldiery, but to no purpoſe; for while he was encouraging the few who remained, to exert themſelves in the defence of their liberties, inſtead of liſtening to him, they took up their ſtandards, and, marching ſword in hand out of the city, joined their comrades in the camp of the prætorian guards. The ſenate, ſeeing themſelves thus abandoned by all their forces, were at length forced to join the people and ſoldiery, and declare *Claudius* emperor; which they did accordingly, decreeing him at the ſame time all the titles annexed to the imperial dignity. However, *Chærea* and *Sabinus* continued proteſting, that they would rather fall by their own hands, than ſubmit to *Claudius* (3).

(T) *Chærea* died with the conſtancy of a true hero; but *Lupus* betrayed a great deal of fear, notwithſtanding the great example he had before his eyes. As he was pulling off his garments at the place of execution, he complained of cold; which unſeaſonable complaint *Chærea* turning into ridicule, told him, that cold had never yet done harm to a wolf, alluding to his name *Lupus*, which in the *Latin* tongue ſignifies *a wolf* (4). They were both beheaded, and the *Roman* people, a few days after their execution, offering the uſual ſacrifices in the month of *February*, in honour of their deceaſed friends, did not on that occaſion forget the brave *Chærea*, acknowledging their obligations to him, for having delivered the republic from ſo deſtructive a tyrant (5).

(3) *Joſeph. antiq. c. 3. Dio, p. 665.* (4) *Idem ibid.* (5) *Dio, p. 666.*

Cornelius Sabinus, though he had acted a chief part in the murder of *Caius*; but the brave tribune, grieved for the death of his friend *Chærea*, and ſcorning to outlive him, laid violent hands on himſelf[r]. After this the emperor cauſed an act of oblivion to be paſſed with reſpect to all that had been tranſacted in the ſenate, from the death of *Caius* to the time of his acceſſion to the empire, and obſerved it ſo ſtrictly, that he even raiſed thoſe to the firſt employments who had been the moſt ſanguine in the cauſe of liberty. The ſenate immediately decreed him all the honours which they had conferred on other emperors; but he modeſtly declined the greater part of them, and cauſed a decree to be paſſed in the ſenate, forbidding any one to pay him divine worſhip, or ſtyle him a god. Having, a few days after he was declared emperor, married his daughter *Antonia* to *Cn. Pompeius*, he would not ſuffer the people to make any public rejoicings on that occaſion, nor even on his own birth-day, or on the anniverſary of his acceſſion to the empire[t]. He no ſooner began to exerciſe the authority with which he was inveſted, than he ſuppreſſed the law of majeſty, which under the two preceding emperors had proved ſo fatal to *Rome*. At the ſame time, he called home all the exiles; eaſed the people of the tributes with which *Caius* had loaded them; forbad ſuch as had any relations of their own, however diſtant, to name him among their heirs; reſtored the eſtates, which had been unjuſtly ſeized by *Tiberius* and *Caius*, to the owners or their heirs: ordered all the ſtatues, which *Caius* had cauſed to be brought to *Rome* from *Greece* and other countries to be carried back, and reſtored to the cities whence they had been taken, *&c.* With theſe and innumerable other inſtances of his clemency, juſtice, and good-nature, he won the hearts of the people to ſuch a degree, that upon a groundleſs report of his being aſſaſſinated, they raiſed dreadful diſturbances in the city, calling the ſoldiers traitors, the ſenate parricides, and loading with horrible curſes and imprecations all whom they ſuſpected to have been any ways acceſſory to his death. The tumult continued till the magiſtrates aſſured the people from the roſtra, that *Claudius* was only gone to *Oſtia*, whence he would return in a ſhort time[u]. But the zeal, which the people ſhewed on this and ſeveral other occaſions for his ſafety, was not ſufficient to cure his natural timorouſneſs. His friends could not prevail upon him, during the firſt month of his reign, to appear once in the ſenate, becauſe *Cæſar* the dictator had been murdered there. He cauſed all, whom he admitted to his preſence, to be firſt narrowly ſearched, leſt they ſhould have ſome weapon concealed under their garments. It was a long time before he could be perſuaded to excuſe women, and even children, from being ſearched in a very rude and unbecoming manner. At public entertainments he was conſtantly ſurrounded by his guards, whom he alſo obliged to attend him at table, diſtruſting the domeſtics even of his moſt intimate friends. He never failed to viſit in perſon ſuch of the ſenators as were indiſpoſed, but always ſent his guards before to ſearch every corner of the houſe[w]. However, theſe unneceſſary and ridiculous precautions did not render him ſo contemptible in the eyes of the multitude, as the weakneſs and want of judgment, which he betrayed in the adminiſtration of juſtice. He was no ways qualified for that office; but nevertheleſs could not be prevented from hearing and deciding the moſt intricate cauſes, which ſerved only to expoſe him to public deriſion, and often to inſults, which he bore with incredible patience. *Suetonius* tells us, that a *Greek*, pleading one day before him, not only reproached him with ignorance, but called him to his face an *old fool*; and that a *Roman* knight, thinking himſelf wronged by him, had the boldneſs to throw his pen-knife at him, which wounded him in the cheek[x]. We are not told, that he ever reſented theſe groſs affronts; which ſufficiently ſhews the weakneſs of his underſtanding.

Inſtances of Claudius's *modeſty, equity, &c.*

Is beloved by the people.

His timorouſneſs.

Renders himſelf contemptible.

In the firſt year of his reign, he inlarged the kingdom of *Agrippa*, who had greatly contributed to his advancement, with the addition of *Judæa* and *Samaria*, which had been

[r] Joseph. & Dio, ibid. [t] Dio, p. 667. [u] Suet. c. 12. Dio, p. 669. [w] Suet. c. 35. [x] Idem, c. 15.

(U) When news of *Caligula*'s death reached *Gaul*, ſeveral perſons of diſtinction in that province ſolicited *Servius Sulpicius Galba*, who commanded on the *Rhine*, to lay hold of that opportunity, and ſeize the ſovereignty for himſelf. The legions too offered to ſtand by him, thinking they had as good a right to diſpoſe of the empire as the prætorian guards. But *Galba* rejected their offers with indignation, which ſo pleaſed *Claudius*, that he received him into the number of his intimate friends, and ever after ſhewed a particular affection for him (6).

(6) *Suet. in Galb. c.* 7.

been formerly poſſeſſed by his grandfather *Herod the Great*. To his brother *Herod* he gave the principality of *Chalcis* at the foot of mount *Libanus*, and granted to both the privilege of entering the ſenate, allowing *Agrippa* to appear there with conſular, and *Herod* with prætorial, ornaments [y]. He alſo reſtored *Mithridates* the *Iberian* to his kingdom, *Mithridates* the *Cilician* to the kingdom of *Boſphorus*, and *Antiochus* to that of *Comagene*, who had been all unjuſtly deprived of their dominions by *Caius* [z]. Soon after his acceſſion to the empire, he recalled his two nieces, *Agrippina* and *Julia*, from the iſland of *Pontia*, to which they had been confined by their brother *Caius*; but his wife *Meſſalina*, who governed him with an abſolute ſway, jealous of the power which *Julia* aſſumed, prevailed upon him to ſend her back this very year to the place of her former baniſhment, under pretence that ſhe was guilty of adultery and ſeveral other crimes, which by the envious *Meſſalina* were laid to her charge, but never proved. The celebrated *Seneca* had his ſhare in the misfortunes of the unhappy princeſs, being after his quæſtorſhip baniſhed to the iſland of *Corſica*, upon a bare, and, as is commonly believed, altogether groundleſs, ſuſpicion of a criminal converſation with her [a]. This year, the *Romans* gained ſome advantages over the *Mauritanians*, who had taken arms to revenge the death of *Ptolemy* their king, barbarouſly aſſaſſinated by *Caius*'s orders [b]. About the ſame time, *Sulpicius Galba* overcame the *Catti*, and *P. Gabinius Secundus* the *Marſi*, two *German* nations. *Gabinius* after his victory had the good luck to diſcover and bring back with him to *Rome* one of the eagles, which the *Germans* had taken upon the defeat of *Varus*. For theſe victories *Claudius* took the triumphal ornaments and the title of *emperor*. *Gabinius* defeated likewiſe the *Chauci*, another *German* nation, and was allowed by *Claudius*, on account of his gallant behaviour on that occaſion, to aſſume the ſurname of *Chaucius* [c].

Reſtores ſeveral princes to their dominions.

Seneca *baniſhed.*

THE following year, *Claudius* entered upon his ſecond conſulſhip, having for his collegue *C. Largus*, but held it only for two months: to whom he reſigned the faſces we are no-where told; *Largus* continued conſul to the end of the year. The emperor, when he firſt aſſembled the ſenate in quality of conſul, obliged all the ſenators to bind themſelves by a ſolemn oath to obſerve all the laws of *Auguſtus*; took the ſame oath himſelf; but would not allow any of the magiſtrates or ſenators to lay themſelves under any obligation with reſpect to his own laws [d]. This year the *Mauritanians* were defeated anew by *Suetonius Paulinus*, who extended his conqueſts to the river *Nigris*, which ſeparates *Africa* from *Æthiopia*. *Cn. Hoſidius Geta*, ſucceeding *Paulinus* in the command of the *Roman* troops in *Africa*, gave *Salabes*, the *Mauritanian* general, two great overthrows, which obliged the whole country to ſubmit to the yoke. *Claudius* divided the kingdom of *Mauritania* into two provinces, *viz.* the *Cæſariana* and the *Tingitana*, the former being ſo called from *Cæſar*, a name now common to all the emperors, and the latter from *Tingis*, now *Tangier*, the metropolis of that province. Both theſe provinces were, by the appointment of *Claudius*, governed by *Roman* knights [e] (W). This year *Claudius* cauſed a law to be paſſed, commanding, that thoſe who were named by the ſenate to the government of provinces, ſhould depart from *Rome* before the beginning of *April* [f]; but the year following he allowed them to ſtay in *Rome*, till the middle of that month. At the ſame time, he publiſhed an edict, forbidding thoſe, whom he ſhould charge

Mauritania *reduced and divided into two provinces.*

[y] JOSEPH. antiq. l. i. c. 4. DIO, p. 670. [z] JOSEPH. & DIO, ibid. [a] TACIT. annal. l. 11. c. 8. DIO. p. 670. [b] DIO, ibid. [c] SUET. c. 24. [d] DIO, p. 671. [e] DIO, ibid. PLIN. l. v. c. 1. [f] DIO, l. lx. p, 672.

(W) *Dion Caſſius* tells us, that *Geta* purſued the *Mauritanians* beyond mount *Atlas*; and that while he was in thoſe dry and ſandy countries in great diſtreſs for want of water, a magician, who lived there, taught him certain charms, which, he ſaid, were frequently practiſed by the inhabitants with wonderful ſucceſs, when they wanted water. *Geta* gave no great credit to the magician; but being prompted, partly by curioſity, partly by the diſtreſs he was in, to make uſe of the charms which the *Mauritanian* had taught him, he was greatly ſurpriſed to ſee all on a ſudden the ſky overcaſt, and a great quantity of water fall from heaven. The barbarians, concluding from thence, that the gods favoured the *Romans*, ſent deputies to treat with, and ſubmitted to, *Geta*, upon his own terms. Thus *Dion Caſſius* (7). We read in *Pliny*, that *Claudius* ſent a colony to *Tingis*, which city he named *Julia Traducta* (8). But we are inclined to believe, that this colony was ſent to *Tingis* by *Julius Cæſar*, ſince it is mentioned by *Strabo* (9), who died before the reign of *Claudius*. *Voſſius* takes *Pliny* to have been miſtaken in giving to *Tingis* in *Africa* the name of *Julia Traducta*, which, in his opinion, was peculiar to the city of *Tingis* in *Spain*, built in the time of *Julius Cæſar*, and peopled with inhabitants from *Tingis* in *Africa* (10).

(7) *Dio, l.* lx. *p.* 671. (8) *Plin. l.* v. *c.* 1. (9) *Strab. l.* iii. *p.* 140. (10) *Voſſ. in hiſt. p.* 179.

charge with the government of provinces, to return him thanks, as was cuſtomary, a in the ſenate, ſince they owed no obligations to him; but he on the contrary was greatly indebted to them, for eaſing him of part of his burden [g]. The great famine, which raged this year at *Rome*, prompted *Claudius* to undertake the forming of a large and convenient haven at the mouth of the *Tiber*, which great work he happily completed, though *Cæſar* the dictator, if ſome miſtake is not crept into *Suetonius*, had many years before attempted it in vain [h]. It was an undertaking, ſays *Dion Caſſius*, worthy of the grandeur of the *Roman* empire; but the ſucceſſors of *Claudius* were not able to maintain it, ſo that ſoon after his death it was choaked up with ſand and became quite uſeleſs [i] (X). At the ſame time, *Claudius* undertook the draining of the lake *Fucinus*, in the country of the *Marſi*, and the conveying of its waters, by b a deep canal, into the *Tiber*, or rather the *Liris*, in which work he employed thirty thouſand men for eleven years together, but to no effect, as we ſhall ſee in the tenth year of his reign.

Claudius *makes a harbour at the mouth of the* Tiber.

THIS year, *Meſſalina* and *Claudius*'s freedmen began to abuſe the prince's weakneſs and the too great power he allowed them, to the deſtruction of ſuch of the nobility as gave them umbrage, or any ways incurred their diſpleaſure. The firſt who fell by their treachery was *Appius Silanus*, a perſon of great diſtinction and known integrity. He married to his firſt wife *Æmilia Lepida*, grand-daughter to *Julia* the daughter of *Auguſtus*, and had by her *L. Junius Silanus*, to whom *Claudius* had betrothed his daughter *Octavia*. Upon the death of *Æmilia Lepida*, which happened this d year, *Claudius*, who held him in the number of his moſt intimate friends, perſuaded him to marry *Domitia Lepida*, mother to his own wife *Meſſalina*. But to his great misfortune the empreſs, whoſe lewdneſs knew no bounds, fell in love with him herſelf, and was not aſhamed to diſcloſe to him her paſſion. *Silanus* rejected with the utmoſt indignation her inceſtuous ſolicitations, which provoked her to ſuch a degree, that ſhe reſolved upon his ruin, and compaſſed it with the concurrence of the freedman *Narciſſus* in the following manner. *Narciſſus* ruſhed into *Claudius*'s chamber one morning by break of day as in a great fright, and told the emperor, who was ſtill in bed, that he had dreamt *Silanus* deſigned to murder him that very day. *Meſſalina*, as had been agreed on beforehand, pretending to hear the freedman's account with ſurpriſe and amaze- d ment, aſſured the emperor, that ſhe had been for ſeveral nights together frightened with the ſame dream. In the mean time, *Silanus*, who had been told the day before, that he was to wait upon the emperor at that hour, ſuddenly came in; which ſo terrified *Claudius*, of all men the moſt timorous, that, without any further inquiries, he commanded him to be immediately ſeized and executed. The ſame day he acquainted the ſenate with what had paſſed, and was not aſhamed publicly to return thanks to his freedman for watching over his ſafety, even in his ſleep [k] (Y). The death of *Silanus* alarmed the nobility, who thinking their lives and eſtates precarious under a weak prince, intirely governed by his wife and freedmen, reſolved by his death to put an end to their reign, and deliver themſelves from the dangers that threatened. *Annius* e *Vinicianus*, or, as *Joſephus* calls him, *Minucianus*, who had acted a chief part in the murder

Lewdneſs of Meſſalina.

Death of Silanus.

[g] Idem ibid. [h] Suet. c. 20. Dio, p. 672. [i] Idem ibid. [k] Suet. c. 37. Dio, p. 674. Tacit. annal. xi. c. 37.

(X) *Suetonius* calls it the port of *Oſtia*, though it lay on the other ſide of the *Tiber* over-againſt *Oſtia* at a place ſtill called by the inhabitants *il porto*, *the haven*. The ſame writer tells us, that at the entrance of the harbour was ſunk the veſſel, in which the great obeliſk we ſpoke of in the preceding reign, was brought out of *Egypt*, as a foundation for the piles, upon which was raiſed a high tower, according to the model of the *Pharos* of *Alexandria* (11).

(Y) *Suetonius* tells us, that a perſon, who had a ſuit at law depending before *Claudius*, in the ſame manner rid himſelf of his adverſary, telling him he had dreamt the night before, that he was aſſaſſinated; and afterwards, when his adverſary appeared, whiſpering him in the ear, that he was the aſſaſſin. This was enough for *Claudius* to have him immediately apprehended and executed, as if he had been convicted. The poor unmanly wretch was at the leaſt apprehenſion of danger eaſily put upon the moſt cruel and ſanguinary precautions, fear getting the better of his reaſon and temper, which had naturally no bias to cruelty. When returned to himſelf, he often teſtifyed great grief and concern for the executions which he had commanded in a ſudden fright, without knowing what he did or ſaid: nay, we are told, that he frequently inquired what was become of thoſe very perſons who had been executed by his orders; that he ſometimes ſent to invite them to dine with him the very next day, and was under the utmoſt concern, when informed of their death, proteſting with tears in his eyes, that he had given no ſuch orders (12). Thus was his whole life governed by fears, and his fears by his wives and freedmen: hence many bloody executions, according to the degree of his own timorouſneſs, or of their ambition, revenge, and avarice.

(11) *Suet. c.* 20. (12) *Suet. c.* 37, 39.

murder of *Caius*, and after his death had been by the ſenate judged equal to the
a empire, was at the head of the conſpiracy, and drew into it *Furius Camillus Scribo-*
nianus, governor of *Dalmatia*, who had been conſul ten years before, and with him
a great number of knights and ſenators. *Camillus*, who was at the head of a powerful
army, openly declared his deſign, and by aſſuring the troops under his command that
he had nothing in view but to reſtore *Rome* to her antient liberty, perſuaded them to
take an oath of allegiance to him; and at the ſame time, as he was well acquainted
with *Claudius*'s timorous temper, he wrote a letter to him filled with reproaches, and
threatening him with a cruel death, if he did not forthwith reſign the empire, and, be-
taking himſelf to a private and retired life, ſave him the trouble and charge of
b making war upon him. The coward was ſo terrified with this letter, that he aſſembled,
in the utmoſt conſternation, his friends, to deliberate with them, whether or no he
ſhould reſign the ſovereign power to *Camillus*? But he was ſoon delivered from his
fears; for *Camillus*'s ſoldiers, not being able, by ſome ſtrange accident, to remove
their enſigns, when they were ordered to march out and meet their new emperor,
began upon that omen to repent of their revolt, and being perſuaded that the gods
diſapproved of it, fell upon their officers, and cut moſt of them in pieces. *Camillus*
himſelf found means to eſcape to the iſland of *Iſſa* on the coaſt of *Dalmatia*, where
he was ſtabbed in the arms of his wife *Junia* by a common ſoldier, named *Vologinius*,
after he had bore the name of emperor for five days [l], Upon his death moſt of the
c conſpirators, and among the reſt *Vinicianus*, laid violent hands on themſelves; ſome
were ſeized and executed, and ſome by purchaſing with large ſums the favour of *Meſ-*
ſalina and the emperor's freedmen, never were, though notoriouſly guilty, inquired
after, while many innocent knights and ſenators were, under colour of being concerned
in the conſpiracy, ſtript of their eſtates by the rapacious *Meſſalina* and *Narciſſus*, and
either ſent into baniſhment, or executed without mercy. *Dion Caſſius* tells us, that
one of *Camilla*'s freedmen, by name *Goleſes*, being apprehended and brought before
the ſenate, ſpoke there with great courage and freedom. Whereupon *Narciſſus*,
who was preſent among the emperor's attendants and ſtood behind him, making up
to the freedman, aſked him, *What would you have done, if your maſter had got poſ-*
d *ſeſſion of the empire? I ſhould have kept behind him*, ſaid he, *and, mindful of my condi-*
tion, not preſumed to ſpeak in his preſence [m]. The courage and reſolution of *Arria* is
celebrated by moſt of the antient writers. She was wife to *Cæcina Pætus*, a conſular
man, who, having joined *Camillus*, was ſeized in *Dalmatia*, and ſent to be tried at
Rome. *Arria* being by the mercileſs ſoldiers denied the ſatisfaction of attending her
huſband in the ſame veſſel, followed him in another, and arriving at *Rome*, there
publicly reproached *Junia*, the wife of *Camillus*, with want of courage and conjugal
affection, in living after ſhe had ſeen her huſband inhumanly murdered in her arms.
Her friends, concluding from thence, that ſhe was reſolved not to outlive her huſband,
watched her day and night; but ſhe, to convince them that all their precautions
e were to no effect, beat her head againſt the wall with ſuch violence, that her friends,
for ſome time, believed her dead. However, ſhe recovered; but finding ſhe could
not, with all her intereſt, for ſhe was in great favour with *Meſſalina*, ſave her huſband,
and that he had not the courage to fall by his own hand, ſhe took a dagger, plunged
it into her own breaſt, and pulling it out again, preſented it to her huſband, ſaying,
Non dolet; *I don't feel it* [n]. *Martial* makes her ſay, *I dont feel my wound, but ſhall*
feel yours [o] (Z). *Otho*, father to the emperor of that name, being appointed to ſuc-
ceed *Camillus* in the command of the troops in *Dalmatia*, had the courage to cauſe the
heads of thoſe ſoldiers, who had any hand in the murder of their officers, to be cut
off

Camillus *revolts, and writes a threatening letter to* Claudius.

Is abandoned by his men;

And murdered.

The conſtancy, firmneſs, and death of Arria.

[l] Suet. c. 13. Dio, p. 674. Plin. l. iii. epiſt. 16. Tacit. hiſt. l. ii. c. 75. [m] Dio, p. 675.
[n] Plin. l. iii. epiſt. 16. [o] Mart. l. i. epig. 14.

(Z) This action of *Arria* is mightily cried up by the antients, eſpecially by *Pliny* the younger: but nevertheleſs, that judicious writer thinks his heroine far more commendable for the conſtancy and reſolution ſhe ſhewed in diſſembling the extreme grief ſhe felt on the death of one of her children, that her huſband who was dangerouſly ill and tenderly loved the child, might not be acquainted with his misfortune, till he was perfectly recovered. The conſtancy and intrepidity ſhe ſhewed at her death proceeded probably from vanity and a certain fondneſs for fame, ſays *Pliny*; but her manly behaviour in the height of her grief was the effect of the moſt refined virtue, ſince ſhe could not be prompted to it by any proſpect of fame or glory (13).

(13) *Plin. l.* iii. *epiſt.* 16.

off in his preſence; nay in the midſt of the camp, though he well knew, that *Claudius* had approved of what they had done, and even advanced ſome of them to conſiderable poſts in the army. This conduct diſpleaſed the emperor; but *Otho* ſoon regained his favour, by diſcovering a conſpiracy formed againſt him by a *Roman* knight, who was apprehended, convicted, and thrown headlong from the *Tarpeian* rock, by the conſuls and tribunes of the people [p]. a

THE following year, *Claudius* was the third time conſul, having for his collegue *L. Vitellius*, the ſecond time conſul. *Claudius* held that dignity, according to *Suetonius* [q], only two months; but, according to *Dion Caſſius*, to the beginning of *July* [r], when both he and his collegue reſigned the faſces to *Decimus Haterius Agrippa* and *C. Sulpicius Galba*, as we learn from an antient inſcription [s]. This year, *Claudius* deprived b the *Lycians* of their liberty, to put a ſtop to the differences that reigned amongſt them, and to puniſh them for having in a tumult put ſome *Roman* citizens to death [t]. Their country was added to the province of *Pamphylia* [u] (A). In *Rome*, *Meſſalina*, abuſing the abſolute ſway ſhe had over her weak huſband, perſuaded him by her malicious inſinuations firſt to put to death his niece *Julia*, the daughter of *Germanicus*, whom he had baniſhed the year before to the iſland of *Pontia*, and afterwards *Julia*, the daughter of *Druſus* and grand-daughter of *Tiberius*: ſhe was likewiſe niece to *Claudius*, being the daughter of his ſiſter *Livilla*. They were both condemned and executed, ſays *Suetonius*, without being allowed to defend themſelves, though no-body could prove the charge that was brought againſt them [w]. However, c the latter *Julia* well deſerved on another ſcore the doom that overtook her; for ſhe was chiefly inſtrumental, as we have related above, in the ruin of her huſband *Nero* the ſon of *Germanicus*. When *Claudius* quitted his conſulſhip, the ſenate decreed him triumphal ornaments, which put him upon undertaking ſome enterpriſe that might intitle him to a real triumph. The theatre he choſe for his warlike exploits was *Britain*, at that time haraſſed with civil wars. Some *Britons* of diſtinction having abandoned their own country, to avoid the fury of the factions that raged there, and taken refuge in *Gaul*, their countrymen complained, not without threats, of the *Romans* for entertaining them, and inſiſted upon their being ſent back. This ſerved as a pretence to make war upon them, one of the fugitives, by name *Bericus*, perſuaded the emperor by many arguments to attempt the conqueſt of that great iſland, d which no *Roman* had ever dared to invade ſince the time of *Cæſar* the dictator. At his inſtigation, *Claudius* diſpatched orders to *Plautius*, who had ſucceeded *Gabinius* in the command of the troops in *Lower Germany*, to convey, without delay, all his forces over into *Britain*. This order was not reliſhed by the ſoldiery, who, in a mutiny declared, *That they would not make war out of the compaſs of the world.* Hereupon *Claudius* ſent his freedman *Narciſſus* to appeaſe the mutiny, and encourage the diſheartened legions to obey their general. *Narciſſus*, upon his arrival, aſcended the tribunal, and thence began to harangue the legions, who, provoked at the audaciouſneſs of the ſlave, abuſed him with moſt opprobrious language, bidding him quit e the camp, and return to the maſquerades and plays at *Rome*; for they were determined, without his harangues, to follow their general. Accordingly, they immediately began their march to the ſea-ſide; and imbarquing on the veſſels, which *Plautius* had with incredible expedition got ready for that purpoſe, landed in *Britain*, before

The two Julia's put to death.

Claudius *deſigns to ſubdue* Britain.

Plautius *paſſes over into that iſland.*

[p] Suet. in Oth, c. 1. Dio, l. lx. p. 675. Onuph. in Faſt. p. 189. [q] Suet. c. 14. [r] Dio, p. 679. [s] Vide [t] Suet. c. 25. [u] Dio, p. 676. [w] Suet. c. 29.

(A) The *Lycians* on this occaſion ſent a deputation to *Claudius*, at the head of which was one of their country, who enjoyed the rights of a *Roman* citizen; but *Claudius*, finding he did not underſtand the *Latin* tongue, cauſed his name to be razed out of the roll of citizens: he treated in the ſame manner many others, whom he judged unworthy of the *Roman* name (14). He forbad under ſevere penalties ſuch as were not free of the city to aſſume the name of any family in *Rome*; and even condemned ſome perſons to death, and cauſed them to be publicly executed, for no other crime, but becauſe they had falſely paſſed themſelves upon the world for *Roman* citizens. But notwithſtanding this rigor, he granted the freedom of the city to an infinite number of perſons of all nations, who had wherewithal to purchaſe it of *Meſſalina* or his freedmen. It was at firſt ſold at a very high rate, but became afterwards ſo common, that it was purchaſed, as was then ſaid by way of raillery, for a broken glaſs (15). Hence *Seneca* wrote in the invectives he publiſhed againſt *Claudius*, that if he had lived longer, he would have made all the *Greeks*, *Gauls*, and *Spaniards* free of *Rome* (16). This to *Seneca* ſeemed very abſurd; but was afterwards practiſed by other emperors, and, in the opinion of St. *Auſtin*, very wiſely (17).

(14) *Dio, ibid.* (15) *Dio, Suet. ibid.* (16) *Senec. lud. in Claud. p.* 476. (17) *Aug. civ. Dei, l.* v. *c.* 17.

a before the inhabitants had any notice of their design, whom therefore they easily defeated in several skirmishes, and advanced as far as the *Thames*. But *Plautius*, not thinking it safe to penetrate farther into the country, wrote to *Claudius*, pursuant to his instructions, acquainting him with the progress he had already made, and the dangers he apprehended from a farther pursuit of his conquests. Upon the receipt of this letter, the emperor, who had drawn together a good number of legions, and kept them in a readiness to march to the assistance of his lieutenant in *Britain*, left *Rome*, and imbarquing at *Ostia*, sailed to *Marseilles* (B); thence he marched by land to *Gesforiacum*, now, as is commonly believed, *Boulogne* [x], and from that place set sail for *Britain*, where he landed without opposition; and joining *Plautius*, whom *Is followed by* Claudius.

b he found incamped on the banks of the *Thames*, which he passed, defeated the enemy, and made himself master of several strong-holds, among the rest of *Camalodunum*, now *Maldon* in *Essex*, according to *Cambden*, where stood the palace of *Cynobelinus*, one of the *British* kings. In this expedition *Vespasian* distinguished himself in a very eminent manner; for partly under *Plautius*, partly under *Claudius* himself, he fought thirty pitched battles, subdued two powerful nations, took twenty strong towns and upwards, and reduced the island *Vectis*, or the island of *Wight* [y]. *Claudius*, having disarmed the *Britons* who had submitted, appointed *Plautius* governor of the conquered provinces, and, charging him to pursue his conquests, returned in *His conquests there.* great haste to *Rome*, which, however, he did not enter till the next year; but the

c senate decreed both to him and his son the surname of *Britannicus* (C).

THE following year, *L. Quinctius Crispinus* being the second time consul with *M. Statilius Taurus*, *Claudius* was received at *Rome* with a most magnificent triumph (D): *His triumph:* and the senate, to encourage the emperor and his lieutenants to pursue their conquests, decreed, that all the treaties made by them should have the same force, as if made by the senate and people of *Rome* [a]. *Claudius* after his triumph restored to the senate the provinces of *Achaia* and *Macedon*, which thenceforth began to be governed again by proconsuls [b]. He likewise honoured *M. Julius Cottius*, prince of the *Alps* called *Cottiæ*, with the title of king, and inlarged his barren territories [c]; but deprived the *Rhodians* of their liberty for crucifying some *Roman* citizens [d], which

d however, he restored to them nine years after, that is, in the fifty-third year of the christian æra [e].

THE

[x] Vide BUCHER. de Belg. p. 147. [y] SUET. in Vesp. c. 4. & in Claud. c. 27. DIO, p. 679. TACIT. vit. Agr. c. 4. [a] DIO, p. 680. [b] SUET. c. 25. [c] DIO, p. 681. [d] SUET. c. 25. [e] Idem ibid.

(B) *Claudius*, before he set out from *Rome*, committed the government of the city, and the command of the troops left there, to *Lucius Vitellius* the father of the emperor of that name, and this year the emperor's collegue in the consulship He was a man of parts and valour; but, as we have observed already, a most infamous and slavish flatterer of persons in power. Being appointed, we may say, regent in the absence of *Claudius*, he discharged his trust with great credit and integrity. *Suetonius* tells us, that *Claudius* put off his departure from *Rome* for a few days upon a slight indisposition; which seized *SulpiciusGalba*, afterwards emperor; so highly was he favoured and beloved by *Claudius* after the discovery of the abovementioned conspiracy. *Claudius* in his passage from *Ostia* to *Marseilles* was twice in danger of being shipwrecked, which induced him to pursue his journey from *Marseilles* to *Boulogne* by land (18).

(C) *Claudius* set out from *Rome* on his *British* expedition about the beginning of *July*, and returned to the city in the beginning of *January* (19). He staid in *Britain* a few days, says *Suetonius* (20); sixteen days, says *Dion Cassius* (21). On his return he imbarqued on the *Po*, and, entering by one of the mouths of that river the *Adriatic* sea, landed at *Ostia* (22). *Suetonius* tells us in one place, that he left the island without fighting one battle, nay without bloodshed (23); and in another (24), that *Vespasian*, partly under *Plautius*, partly under *Claudius* himself, fought thirty battles. The latter is agreeable to what we read in *Dion Cassius*, whom we have followed. *Eutropius* (25) and S. *Jerom* (26) fix to this year the conquest of the islands *Orcades*. But *Tacitus* writes, that they were not subdued by, or known to, the *Romans*, till the reign of *Vespasian* (27). They were not perhaps subdued, but they were certainly known this very year to the *Romans*, since *Pomponius Mela* mentions them in his description of the world, which he wrote while *Claudius* was waging war in *Britain* (28).

(D) That the shew might be more glorious by the concourse of people, he not only gave leave to the governors of provinces to be present at it, but permitted several banished persons to return home on purpose to behold it. In the solemnity his wife *Messalina*, magnificently adorned, followed him at some distance in a stately chariot. He mounted the steps of the capitol on his knees, being supported by his two sons-in-law. Among the spoils of the enemy, he placed a naval crown on the top of his palace hard by the civic crown, in token of his victory over the sea (29).

(18) *Suet. c.* 17. (19) *Dio, p* 680. (20) *Suet. ibid.* (21) *Dio, ibid.* (22) *Plin. l.* iii. *c.* 16. (23) *Suet. ibid.* (24) *Idem, in vit. Vespas. c.* 4. (25) *Eutrop. in vita Claud.* (26) *Hier. in Chron.* (27) *Tacit. in vit. Agr. c.* 10. (28) *Mela, l.* iii. *c.* 6. *& Voss. hist, Lat. l.* i. *c* 25. (29) *Suet. c.* 27.

The next conſuls were *M. Vinicius*, whom *Claudius* named to that dignity, a though he had cauſed his wife *Julia* the daughter of *Germanicus* to be put to death, and *T. Statilius Taurus Corvinus*. As the city was filled with ſtatues, *Claudius* enacted a law, forbidding any new ſtatues to be erected within the walls of *Rome*, without the conſent of the ſenate, and at the ſame time ordered a great many already raiſed to be taken away [d]. He puniſhed with great ſeverity ſome governors of provinces, who had oppreſſed the people they were ſet over, and enacted ſeveral wholeſome laws for bringing ſuch to juſtice as ſhould for the future be guilty of the ſame fault; ordering all governors to return to *Rome*, as ſoon as the time of their command was expired, to anſwer there the complaints that might be brought againſt them. The prerogative of granting leave to ſenators to travel out of *Italy*, which *Auguſtus* had b lodged in the ſenate, he claimed himſelf, and obliged the ſenate to yield it to him by a decree [e]. This year, on the firſt day of *Auguſt* about an hour after mid-day, happened an eclipſe of the ſun. The emperor, as this was his birth-day, took care to give notice of it to the people before-hand, that they might not be ſurpriſed at that phænomenon, or draw bad omens from it [f].

Some wiſe ordinances of Claudius.

In the following conſulate of *Valerius Aſiaticus* and *M. Junius Silanus*, died *M. Vinicius*, brother-in-law to *Claudius*, being poiſoned by *Meſſalina*. He was a man of a quiet temper and lived retired, concerning himſelf only in the affairs of his family; but, to his misfortune, the lewd *Meſſalina* conceived a violent paſſion for him, and poiſoned him, becauſe he could not by any ſolicitations be prevailed upon to injure c *Claudius* [g]. *Aſinius Gallus*, the ſon of *Agrippina Tiberius*'s firſt wife, conſpired this year againſt the emperor, with a deſign to ſeize the ſovereign power for himſelf; but the conſpiracy being diſcovered, *Claudius* only condemned him to baniſhment, as a perſon from whom he had nothing to apprehend, ſince he was of a very low ſtature, ill-ſhaped, of a very deformed countenance, and ſo inconſiderate, that he had aſpired to the ſovereignty, though quite deſtitute both of friends and money, upon the bare ſuppoſition, that he ſhould be immediately acknowledged by all on account of his noble deſcent. This generous behaviour in *Claudius* was highly commended by perſons of all ranks; and no leſs pleaſing to the people was the decree, which he got paſſed in the ſenate, forbidding freedmen to appear in judgment againſt their patrons, and d impowering their maſters to deprive them of their liberty, and bring them back to the chain, when they proved ungrateful, or gave them any juſt motive of complaint [h] (E).

Vinicius *poiſoned by* Meſſalina.

Claudius's *clemency*.

The next year, *Claudius* was conſul the fourth time with *Lucius Vitellius*, the third time conſul; but after two months reſigned that dignity, and took upon him the office of cenſor, chuſing for his collegue *Lucius Vitellius* already conſul, who, as we have often obſerved, had a wonderful talent for flattery (F). In the diſcharge of this important office, *Claudius* performed ſome things highly commendable, but in others gave ſuch inſtances of his weakneſs and want of underſtanding, as expoſed him to public deriſion. He publiſhed above twenty edicts in one day, moſt of them quite e trifling and ridiculous; by one of them, for inſtance, he warned the ſenate and people to

Claudius *cenſor*.

[d] Dio, ibid. [e] Suet. c. 23. Dio, p. 682. [f] Dio, p. 682. [g] Dio, p. 683. [h] Dio, p. 684. Suet. c. 25.

(E) S. *Jerom* tells us (30), that *Thrace*, which had hitherto been governed by kings, was this year, the fifth of *Claudius* and forty-ſeventh of the *Chriſtian* æra, reduced to a *Roman* province. *Euſebius* likewiſe writes, that *Rhœmetalces*, king of *Thrace*, being killed by his own wife, *Claudius* conquered that country. But of this memorable event no mention is made by the *Greek* or *Latin* writers, whoſe works have reached our times.

(F) He left no ſtone unturned, ſays *Suetonius*, to work himſelf into the favour of *Claudius*: obſerveing him intirely addicted to his wife *Meſſalina* and his freedmen, he begged of the former, as the greateſt favour ſhe could beſtow upon him, that ſhe would grant him the honour of pulling off her ſhoes. *Meſſalina*, well pleaſed to ſee a man of his quality and parts proud of that office, granted him his requeſt; and *Vitellius*, the firſt time he diſcharged his honourable employment, carried away one of her ſhoes, and wore it conſtantly in his boſom, not being aſhamed to pull it out in public and often kiſs it. The golden images of *Pallas* and *Narciſſus*, the emperor's reigning freedmen, he worſhipped amongſt his houſhold gods. When *Claudius* entertained the people with the *ſecular* games, ſo called, becauſe they were exhibited but once in a century, his compliment to him was, *Sæpe facias*; *May you many times exhibit theſe ſports*. Not only *Claudius*, who was a weak prince, but his wives and freedmen, were ſo taken with the groſs and fulſom flattery of this fawning ſlave, that they not only raiſed him to the firſt employments in the empire, but likewiſe his two ſons, whom he had the ſatisfaction to ſee conſuls in the ſame year, the one ſucceeding the other (31). His elder ſon was afterwards raiſed to the empire.

(30) *Hier. in chron.*

(31) *Suet. in vit. c. 2.*

a to take care that their wine-veſſels were well pitched, ſince there was that year great plenty of grapes; by another he acquainted them, that the juice of the yew-tree was the beſt remedy of all againſt the ſting of a viper. When he came to inquire into the manners of the *Roman* knights, he diſmiſſed a young man moſt notoriouſly vicious, without any puniſhment, becauſe his father gave him a good character, telling him, *You have a cenſor at home.* Another, infamous for debauching both married and unmarried women, he only admoniſhed, *either to live chaſte, or to be lewd more warily; for why muſt I know,* ſaid he, *with what women you keep company?* [l] This year was remarkable for the deaths of ſeveral perſons of great diſtinction, whom *Claudius*, at the inſtigation of *Meſſalina*, cauſed to be executed. *Cn. Pompeius*

b *Magnus*, who had married *Antonia*, the emperor's eldeſt daughter, fell the firſt. He was of an illuſtrious family, but not deſcended from *Pompey the Great*, being the ſon of *Craſſus Frugi*, who likewiſe bore the ſurname of *Great*. His credit with the prince, his great nobility, and extraordinary parts, by giving umbrage to *Meſſalina*, occaſioned his ruin. He was condemned and had his head cut off by a ſoldier ſent to him for that purpoſe, without ſo much as knowing that he was accuſed [k]: ſo great and abſolute was the ſway, which *Meſſalina* had obtained over her weak, timorous, and credulous huſband. At the ſame time, *Craſſus*, the father of *Pompeius*, and his mother *Scribonia* were by the order of *Claudius* put to death, though the former intirely reſembled him, being, to uſe the expreſſion of *Seneca*, as great a monſter as

c himſelf, and therefore no leſs qualified to be emperor [l]. Several other perſons of this ancient and illuſtrious family were at the ſame time ſacrificed to the jealouſy of *Meſſalina* and the fears of *Claudius* [m]. Upon the death of *Pompeius*, the emperor married his daughter *Antonia* to *Cornelius Sylla Fauſtus* [n], brother to *Meſſalina*, if *Zonaras* is to be credited [o], who had a ſon by her, upon whoſe birth *Claudius* would not ſuffer any public demonſtrations of joy. Many knights and ſenators of rank were after the death of *Pompeius* accuſed of conſpiring againſt the prince, ſome of whom *Claudius* pardoned, that is, ſuch as he did not fear; but *Valerius Aſiaticus* (G) was proſecuted without mercy for no other crime, but becauſe he poſſeſſed, and had embelliſhed with extraordinary magnificence, the fine gardens of *Lucullus*,

d which *Meſſalina* coveted. He was charged with a deſign of withdrawing into *Gaul*, to ſtir up his countrymen to a revolt; for he was a native of *Vienne* in that province, and ſupported there by numerous and powerful families, all his own relations. He was accuſed by *Soſibius*, preceptor to *Britannicus* (H), who eaſily prevailed upon the weak and timorous prince to ſecure his life and empire, by the deſtruction of his pretended enemy and rival. *Criſpinus*, commander of the prætorian guards, was immediately diſpatched with a body of ſoldiers to ſeize him at *Baiæ*; which he did accordingly, and hurried him to *Rome* in chains. He was tried, not in the ſenate, but in the emperor's chamber, in the preſence of *Meſſalina*. However, he pleaded his cauſe with ſuch eloquence and energy, that he forced tears both from *Claudius* and *Meſſalina*

Expoſes his weakneſs in the diſcharge of that office.

Cn. Pompeius Magnus *put to death.*

Valerius Aſiaticus *accuſed.*

His trial.

[l] Suet. c. 16. [k] Suet. c. 29. Dio, p. 679. Senec. lud. in Claud. [l] Senec. ibid.
[m] Idem ibid. [n] Suet. *c.* 27. [o] Zonar. p. 184.

(G) *Valerius Aſiaticus* was a native of *Vienne* in *Gaul*, and very powerful in that province on account of his wealth and numerous dependents. He had been one of *Caius*'s moſt intimate friends; but that prince having firſt debauched his wife, and afterwards bragged of it in a public aſſembly in his preſence, the brave *Gaul*, who had too much ſpirit to put up ſuch an affront, reſolved to be revenged on the outrageous tyrant; and accordingly with great readineſs entered into the conſpiracy, nay, became, according to *Tacitus*, the principal director in the plot; though he had no ſhare, as we are told by *Joſephus* and *Dion Caſſius*, in the execution of it. When the ſenate, after the aſſaſſination, were for puniſhing the conſpirators, *Valerius* riſing up, commended the action, owned himſelf privy to it, and publicly wiſhed he had had the glory of diſpatching the tyrant with his own hand. The ſenators, animated by his firmneſs and reſolution, took courage; granted impunity to the conſpirators, and were even for decreeing them rewards (32). *Valerius* had been conſul, the year before, the ſecond time, having been once honoured with that dignity in the preceding reign.

(H) This is probably the *Soſibius*, whoſe writings are quoted by *Arnobius*, *Clemens* of *Alexandria*, and *Suidas*. He was inſtructed by *Meſſalina* to warn *Claudius* under the maſk of zeal, that great wealth in the hands of private men proved always dangerous to princes; that *Valerius* was, on account of his immenſe riches and powerful alliances in *Gaul*, capable of diſputing the empire with him; that he was not only highly eſteemed by his countrymen the *Gauls*, but in mighty favour with the *Roman* people; that it was already a prevailing rumour through all the provinces, that he deſigned to put himſelf at the head of the armies, *&c.* (33). Theſe malicious and groundleſs inſinuations were ſufficient to put the timorous *Claudius* upon the moſt cruel and bloody precautions.

(32) *Tacit. annal. l.* xi. *c.* 1. *Dio, l.* lix. *p.* 663. (33) *Tacit. ibid.*

Meſſalina herſelf. But the empreſs, fearing pity and tenderneſs ſhould get the better of her other paſſions, left the room, and in going out, whiſpered *L. Vitellius* in the ear not to let the accuſed eſcape [p]. As *Valerius* declared that he had never before ſeen any of the witneſſes, who were produced againſt him, *Soſibius* at laſt brought in one, who, he ſaid, was well acquainted with him. He had beforehand informed his evidence, that *Valerius* was bald; and therefore upon his entering the room he deſired him in the firſt place to tell them which was *Valerius Aſiaticus: I have been long acquainted with him, and that is he*, ſaid the witneſs, pointing at another bald perſon, who happened to be preſent. This convinced *Claudius*, that *Aſiaticus* was free from all guilt; but while he was deliberating about clearing him, the treacherous *Vitellius*, throwing himſelf at his feet, and putting him in mind of the good ſervices of *Aſiaticus* to the commonwealth, of his attachment to *Antonia*, the prince's mother, of his gallant behaviour in the late *Britiſh* expedition, *&c.* begged him in the end with many tears to diſplay his mercy, by granting to ſo worthy and deſerving a citizen the free choice of his own death. *Claudius*, without further conſideration, complied with his requeſt; which was in effect condemning *Aſiaticus*, who thereupon opened his veins and bled to death [q] (I). *Meſſalina*, not ſatisfied with the ruin of *Aſiaticus*, ſuborned perſons, who urged *Poppæa*, with whom he was ſuppoſed to carry on a criminal converſation, to lay violent hands on herſelf, to avoid the diſgrace of a ſhameful impriſonment, with which they threatened her. The emperor was ſo utterly unapprized of her unhappy end, that her huſband *Scipio* being a few days after at table with him, he aſked him why he came without his wife? *Scipio* anſwered, that ſhe was dead; but dared not mention the particulars of her death [r]. Afterwards two illuſtrious *Roman* knights, ſurnamed *Petræ*, were accuſed and condemned, becauſe one of them had had a dream, which was ſuppoſed to portend ſome misfortune, either to *Claudius* or the empire (K).

He is condemned by the treachery of Vitellius.

Claudius *ſupports the pleaders.*

As the pleaders at this time exacted exorbitant fees from their clients, and often of both parties, a complaint of this grievance being begun by *Caius Silius*, conſul elect, the whole ſenate concurred, and demanded, that the *Cincian* law might be revived, injoining that no man ſhould, for pleading a cauſe, accept of any gift or payment. The demand of the ſenate was with great vehemence promoted by *Silius*, and with equal ardor oppoſed by the pleaders (L). *Claudius* favoured the latter, and

[p] Tacit. ibid. [q] Idem, c. 2, 3. [r] Idem ibid.

(I) He behaved with great firmneſs and intrepidity both at his trial and after his condemnation; beſides the charge of treaſon, he was accuſed of winking at the licentiouſneſs of the ſoldiery, of neglecting military diſcipline, of carrying on an adulterous amour with *Poppæa*, the mother of that *Poppæa*, who became ſo infamous in the reign of *Nero*, and laſtly with ſurrendering his perſon, like an harlot, to unnatural luſt. This laſt article *Aſiaticus* could not brook; but interrupting the accuſer, by name *Suilius*, a perſon, it ſeems, of ſome rank, *Aſk thy own ſons*, Suilius, ſaid he, *they will ſatisfy thee that I am a man*. After his condemnation, he continued his uſual exerciſes, walking, bathing, and even ſupping chearfully, telling his friends, that it would have been more to his credit to have fallen by the craft of *Tiberius*, or the fury of *Claudius*, than thus to periſh by the dark devices of a woman, and the treachery of ſuch a baſe and proſtitute ſycophant as *Vitellius*. After ſupper he viewed his funeral pile, and ordered it to be removed to another place, leſt the heat and ſmoke ſhould hurt his trees, and leſſen their cool ſhade: After this he opened his veins without betraying the leaſt concern, and bled to death (34).

(K) Some writers ſay, that he ſaw *Claudius* in a dream crowned with a garland of the ears of corn, their beards downwards, which was interpreted to foretel a public famine: others have wrote, that the chaplet he ſaw was of vine-branches with white leaves, which he conſtrued to portend the death of the prince at the cloſe of autumn. But whatever he dreamt, both he and his brother were ſacrificed, partly for a dream, and partly for accommodating, as was pretended, *Aſiaticus* and *Poppæa* with the uſe of their houſe for their private aſſignations.

(L) *Silius* urged the examples of the ancient orators who had required no other reward for pleading, but preſent applauſe and the praiſes of poſterity. By allowing orators to take fees, we put them upon the level with mechanics, ſaid he, and debaſe eloquence, of all accompliſhments the moſt glorious and honourable, to ſordid lucre: beſides, if eloquence once becomes venal, orators will, upon the proſpect of greater gain, be tempted to betray thoſe whom they have undertaken to defend; they will promote enmities, accuſations, mutual hatred, quarrels, *&c.* as a ſure means of enriching themſelves: if no man finds his advantage in defending ſuits; there will be few ſuits to defend: as diſeaſes are the market of phyſicians, ſo will our quarrels and animoſities prove the revenue of the pleaders, who will thereforetake care to inflame us againſt each other, and keep us always at variance. They might remember *Caius Aſinius*, *M. Meſſala*, and more lately *Arruntius*, and *Eſerninus*, who were raiſed to the higheſt dignities of the ſtate by an unblemiſhed life and an eloquence never expoſed to ſale. Thus ſpoke *Silius*. In anſwer to him, the pleaders owned, that fame was indeed the greateſt reward a man could wiſh for, but uncertain, and therefore not to be depended upon; that the practice of pleading was intended for the good of mankind, was a common refuge for all men, and prevented the powerful and mighty from oppreſſing

(34) *Idem*. c. 5.

a and therefore the ſenate, inſtead of ſubjecting them, as they deſigned, to the penalties of the law againſt extortion, if they took any fee at all, or even preſent for pleading, contented themſelves with ſettling their fees, which were not to exceed two hundred and fifty crowns, and declaring thoſe who were not ſatisfied with that ſum, guilty of extortion [r]. The ſame year the *Cheruſci*, who inhabited the preſent duchy of *Brunſwick*, had recourſe to *Claudius* for a king, who ſent them *Italicus*, ſon to *Tilavius* the brother of the famous *Arminius*. *Italicus* was born at *Rome*, and brought up there after the *Roman* manner; which induced the *Cheruſci*, though they received him at firſt with great joy to take arms againſt him, and drive him from the throne. He was afterwards reſtored by the *Longobards*, and, being ſupported by them, oppreſſed
b in a moſt tyrannical manner the *Cheruſcan* ſtate. At the ſame time, *Sanguinius*, gover- *Wars in* Germany.
nor of *Lower Germany*, being dead, the *Chauci* made incurſions into that province; but *Cn. Domitius Corbulo*, the greateſt commander of his age, who was ſent to ſucceed *Sanguinius*, obliged them to retire, purſued them into their own country, and would have forced them to ſubmit to the *Roman* yoke, had not *Claudius*, who feared *Corbulo* more than he did the *Germans*, put a ſtop to his conqueſts, and ordered him to lead back all the *Roman* forces over the *Rhine*. *Corbulo* obeyed without uttering more than that *happy were the* Roman *commanders in former times*. As he had taken great pains to reſtore the antient diſcipline amongſt the legions, whom he found utter ſtrangers to military toils, that they might not relapſe into a habit of idleneſs, he
c employed them in digging a canal three-and-twenty miles long between the *Meuſe* and the *Rhine*, to receive the high tides, and prevent inundations [s]. A modern writer takes this to be the canal known at preſent by the name of *Fliet*, which extends from *Sluys* on the *Meuſe* to *Leyden* on the *Rhine* [t]. The emperor granted to *Corbulo* triumphal ornaments, though he would not allow him to proſecute the war. He was ſucceeded by *Curtius Rufus*, who, though of a mean extraction, arrived at the conſular dignity, commanded armies, and died proconſul of *Africa* (M) [u]. Towards the end of the year, *Aulus Plautius*, returning from *Britain*, was received by *Clau-* Plautius *returns from* Britain.
dius with great marks of diſtinction, and honoured with an ovation, the emperor himſelf attending him in that ceremony, and yielding to him the moſt honourable
d place [w]. *P. Oſtorius Scapula* ſucceeded *Plautius* in the government of *Britain*, of whom we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak hereafter. About this time, a *Roman* knight, by name *Cneius Novius*, was diſcovered armed with a dagger, among thoſe who were paying their court to the prince. When put to the rack, he confeſſed his deſign of murdering the emperor; but, though cruelly tortured, would never diſcover his accomplices, nor even the motives, which had put him upon that attempt [x].

THE

[r] Idem, c. 5—8. [s] Idem, c. 19, 20. [t] Buch. de Belg. l. iv. c. 11. [u] Tacit. c. 20.
[w] Suet. c. 24. Dio, p. 685. [x] Tacit. c. 23.

preſſing thoſe who were not by themſelves in a condition to withſtand them; neither was eloquence acquired without pains and expence; ſince they who profeſſed it, neglected their domeſtic concerns to apply themſelves to the buſineſs of others. Many followed the profeſſion of war, many that of huſbandry, and by both profeſſions a livelihood was acquired; nay, nothing was purſued by any man, but with a view to the advantages it produced. As for *Aſinius*, *Meſſala*, &c. they were either inriched by the civil wars, or heirs of wealthy houſes; and therefore might well be above gain, and plead only for glory; but equally obvious were the examples of *P. Clodius* and *Caius Curio*, who never pleaded but for extravagant fees; for themſelves, as the ſtudy of eloquence had proved very chargeable to them, they thought it but reaſonable that they ſhould reap ſome advantage from it. Theſe conſiderations appearing of no ſmall force to *Claudius*, the revival of the *Cincian* law was dropt (35). This law was enacted by *M. Cincius*, tribune of the people in the year of *Rome* 549, and revived by *Auguſtus*, who cauſed it to be confirmed by a decree of the ſenate (36).

(M) He was, according to ſome writers, the ſon of a gladiator. When he grew to a man, he attended a *Roman* quæſtor into *Africa*, where while he was walking at *Adrumetum*, in the middle of the day, under a porch, a woman above human ſize appeared before him, and accoſted him with theſe words; *Thou*, Rufus, *ſhalt one day govern this province with proconſular power*. Animated with hopes from this preſage, he returned to *Rome*, where, by the liberality of his friends and his own qualifications, he gained the quæſtorſhip, and afterwards ſtanding for the office of prætor in competition with ſeveral perſons of great diſtinction, carried it by the intereſt of *Tiberius*, who gave him this encomium: *To me* Curtius Rufus *ſeems to be deſcended from himſelf*. He was, ſays *Tacitus*, a ſervile flatterer of thoſe above him, but arrogant to his inferiors: he lived to a great age, arrived at the conſulate, obtained triumphal ornaments, was in the end proconſul of *Africa*, and dying there, fulfilled the preſage. This, according to ſome authors, is the *Quintus Curtius*, whoſe hiſtory of the exploits of *Alexander the Great* has reached us. *Voſſius* indeed is of opinion, that this hiſtory was wrote in the reign of *Veſpaſian*, and not of *Claudius*; but the arguments, with which he ſupports his opinion, are of no force (37).

(35) *Tacit. ibid.* c. 7. (36) *Dio*, l. liv. (37) *Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l.* i. *c.* 28.

The following year, *Aulus Vitellius*, who was afterwards emperor, and *Lucius Vipſanius Poplicola* being conſuls, *Claudius* in quality of cenſor created ſeveral new patrician families, moſt of thoſe which had been raiſed to that dignity by *Romulus*, *L. Brutus*, *Julius Cæſar*, and *Auguſtus*, being extinct. He likewiſe ſupplied the vacancies in the ſenate, introducing into that body ſome *Æduans*, that is, natives of *Autun* in *Gaul*, and promoting a decree of the ſenate, qualifying ſuch of the *Gauliſh* nobility as were *Roman* citizens to be admitted to the ſenatorial dignity. Such ſenators as were of infamous characters he degraded; but proceeded therein with great tenderneſs, adviſing them to reſign their dignity, that their voluntary abdication might ſoften and hide the infamy of their expulſion. For theſe regulations, the conſul *Vipſanius* propoſed, that *Claudius* ſhould be ſtyled *The father of the ſenate*; but he modeſtly declined that title. He then numbered the citizens, who in that ſurvey amounted to ſix millions nine hundred thouſand [y]. This year *Claudius* was at length acquainted with the diſorders of his wife *Meſſalina*. She was the daughter of *Valerius Meſſala Barbatus* the emperor's couſin, and of *Domitia Lepida*, the grand-daughter of *M. Antony* and *Octavia*, *Auguſtus*'s ſiſter; ſo that ſhe was *Auguſtus*'s great niece, as *Claudius* was his great nephew [z]. We have related ſeveral inſtances of her cruelty, which, however great, fell ſhort of her monſtrous lewdneſs. Her chief favourite was *Caius Silius*, the moſt comely young man in *Rome*, with whoſe graceful perſon ſhe was ſo inchanted, that ſhe obliged him to divorce his wife *Silana*, that ſhe might ingroſs him wholly to herſelf. *Silius* was not unappriſed of the blackneſs of his crime, and the doom which threatened him; but to withſtand *Meſſalina* was preſent deſtruction. He therefore complied with her vitious inclination, and the empreſs, far from purſuing her amours privately and by ſtealth, openly frequented his houſe with a numerous train, accompanied him inceſſantly abroad, loaded him with wealth and honours, *&c.* After ſome time, *Silius*, apprehenſive of the dangers that hung over him, and judging they were only to be averted by dangerous remedies, told the empreſs, without diſguiſe, that they were gone too far to wait for the prince's death; that deſperate attempts were the only ſecurity in glaring guilt; that he had accomplices at hand, and was ready to marry her, and adopt *Britannicus*. This propoſal, bold beyond all example and almoſt all belief, *Meſſalina* applauded, and a few days after, the emperor being gone to *Oſtia* to aſſiſt at a ſacrifice, ſhe married *Silius* with all the uſual ſolemnities in the face of the ſenate, of the equeſtrian order, of the whole people and ſoldiery. *Tacitus*, *Suetonius*, and *Dion Caſſius*, who relate this memorable incident, being well appriſed how fabulous it would appear, that the emperor's wife ſhould in his life-time dare to eſpouſe another huſband in form, and celebrate with him in the face of the city the nuptial feaſts, declare, that how wonderful ſoever and incredible it may ſeem, they frame no fiction; but only recount what is unqueſtionably true, and what they had learnt from the living or written teſtimony of their fathers. *Suetonius* tells us, that *Meſſalina* induced *Claudius* himſelf to ſign the marriage-contract, as if it were only diſſembled to avert the calamities which certain prodigies portended to hang over his head [a]. Horror ſeized the prince's family, eſpecially thoſe who bore the chief way in it. It was no riddle whither ſuch a marriage tended, and they dreaded nothing ſo much as a revolution, which would put an end to their power. On the other hand, when they recollected the ſtupidity of *Claudius*, his blind attachment to his wife, and the many eminent perſons ſacrificed to her fury, their own apprehenſions deterred them from acquainting him with his public ignominy. *Caliſtus* and *Pallas*, the reigning favourites, were ſtill for diſſembling the empreſs's enormities, and frightening her by ſecret menaces from keeping company with her adulterer. *Narciſſus* thought the emperor ſhould by ſome means or other be immediately acquainted with the monſtrous conduct of his wife; and perſiſting in his opinion, he prevailed by gifts and promiſes upon *Calpurnia* and *Cleopatra*, two courteſans in high favour with *Claudius*, to undertake the diſcovery; which they did the more willingly, as by the fall of *Meſſalina* they apprehended, that their own authority would be thoroughly eſtabliſhed. *Calpurnia* therefore, while the emperor was ſtill at *Oſtia*, upon the firſt occaſion of her being with him in private, falling at his feet, cried out, Meſſalina *has married* Silius; and at the ſame time aſked *Cleopatra*, who purpoſely attended to atteſt it, whether ſhe had not found it to be true? *Cleopatra* confirming it, *Claudius*, ſtruck with amazement, ordered *Narciſſus* to be called, who

Gauls *admitted into the ſenate.*

Meſſalina *openly marries* Silius.

[y] Idem, c. 25. [z] Senec. lud. in Claud. p. 478. [a] Suet. c. 29.

a who, begging pardon for having concealed from him the diſorders of his wife, told him, that he was in a ſtate of divorce; that it was what all men knew; that the nuptials had been celebrated in the face of the city, and that *Meſſalina*'s new huſband, if he made not diſpatch, would be ſovereign of *Rome*. He then ſent for his moſt truſty friends, particularly for *Turrannius*, who was charged with the care of providing the city with corn, and next for *Luſius Geta*, commander of the prætorian guards, and inquired of them. As they avouched it, all who were about *Claudius*, inſiſted upon his proceeding without delay to the camp, and, by ſecuring the prætorian cohorts, conſult his preſervation before his revenge. *Claudius* was ſo confounded and diſmayed, that he often aſked whether he was ſtill emperor? whether *Silius* was yet
b a private man? In the mean time, *Meſſalina* was indulging herſelf without the leaſt apprehenſion in all manner of diverſions, not imagining, that any one would dare to diſcloſe her diſorders to the emperor, over whom ſhe had ſo mighty a ſway. As it was then the middle of autumn, ſhe exhibited in her houſe a repreſentation of the vintage, in which her new huſband *Silius* perſonated *Bacchus*, being attended by a choir of mock-prieſts and prieſteſſes, among whom was *Meſſalina* herſelf with a thyrſus in her hand, and her hair looſe and flowing. But in the midſt of their jollity and revels, meſſengers unexpectedly arrived with tidings, that *Claudius* was appriſed of all, and approached bent upon ſudden vengeance. Hereupon the company immediately diſperſed in the utmoſt conſternation; *Meſſalina* betook herſelf to the
c gardens of *Lucullus*; and *Silius*, who was then prætor and conſul elect, to diſſemble his fear, reſumed the offices of the forum. *Meſſalina*, finding no other reſource, reſolved to quit her retirement, and boldly to meet her huſband, not doubting but ſhe ſhould be able to avert the ſtorm, if ſhe only obtained to be heard. But in the firſt place, ſhe ordered her ſon *Britannicus* and her daughter *Octavia*, to go forth, and embracing their father, to implore his mercy for his injured wife: ſhe beſought *Vibidia*, the oldeſt veſtal, of whom *Claudius* entertained a high opinion, to do the ſame. She herſelf paſſed through the city on foot, attended only by three perſons, no one ſhewing the leaſt compaſſion for her in her diſgrace. When ſhe was without the walls, not being able to purſue her journey on foot, and finding no other conve-
d nience, ſhe was glad to be taken up by a gardener in his dung-cart, in which, quite forſaken by all her train, ſhe took the road to *Oſtia*. The emperor was not yet recovered from his fright, but was ſtill inceſſantly aſking, whether *Silius* was yet acknowledged emperor: he likewiſe betrayed no ſmall diſtruſt of *Geta*, commander of his guards, of which *Narciſſus*, who entertained the ſame diſtruſt, being appriſed, he ſuggeſted to the emperor, that there was no other expedient to preſerve him, than the transferring of the command of his guards upon one of his freedmen for that day only, and offered to undertake it himſelf. *Claudius* came readily into his propoſal, and *Narciſſus*, now commander of the prætorian cohorts, took his place as ſuch in the emperor's coach, in order to prevent *L. Vitellius* and *P. Largus Cæcina*,
e who were in the ſame coach, from interceding in favour of *Meſſalina*. Upon the road, *Claudius* ſometimes broke out into bitter invectives againſt *Meſſalina*; at other times ſhewed compaſſion for her and their common children. *Vitellius* uttered nothing, but, *O heinous! Oh the iniquity!* which words might be interpreted equally againſt *Meſſalina* and her accuſers. *Narciſſus* urged him to ſpeak plain; but gained nothing: *Vitellius* ſtill anſwered indirectly, and in terms that might be differently conſtrued; and his example was followed by *Largus Cæcina*. As they drew near the city, *Meſſalina* unexpectedly appeared in the road, crying aloud with many tears to *Claudius*, that he would hear the mother of *Octavia* and *Britannicus*. *Narciſſus* no ſooner ſaw her, than, to drown her cries, he began to exclaim and ſtorm with great noiſe againſt
f the impudent and bold conduct of *Silius*, and the abominations of *Meſſalina*. At the ſame time, to divert the prince from ſeeing her, he delivered to him a writing, containing a detail of her proſtitutions. As the emperor was entering *Rome*, ſome attempted to preſent to him his children by her; but *Narciſſus* ordered them to be conveyed away: he could not, however, remove *Vibidia*, who inſiſted with great vehemence, that the emperor's wife might not be condemned without being heard; ſo that *Narciſſus* was obliged to aſſure her, that *Meſſalina* ſhould be heard, and ſhould have full opportunity of clearing herſelf. He then adviſed the veſtal to withdraw, and attend the ſacred functions of her office. As for *Claudius*, he kept the whole time a wonderful ſilence, and *Vitellius* pretended to be amazed; ſo that *Narciſſus* controuled all things. By his command the houſe of the adulterer was opened, and

Their ſecurity.

She endeavours to appeaſe Claudius.

The conduct of Narciſſus.

Meſſalina *meets the emperor.*

the

He is incenſed againſt her by Narciſſus.

the emperor carried thither. As he entered the porch, *Narciſſus* ſhewed him the a
ſtatue of *Silius* the father ſtanding there, though the ſenate had by a decree ordered
it to be broken; for he had been arraigned under *Tiberius* of treaſon, as we have
related in his reign: in the houſe he ſhewed him the rich furniture of the imperial
palace, the monuments of his wife's proſtitution and his own diſgrace. Having
thus worked him up to threats and fury, he led him without delay to the camp,
where by *Narciſſus*'s direction he made a ſhort ſpeech to the ſoldiery, who with a
general clamour demanded that the criminals might be immediately executed. Here-
upon *Silius* and ſeveral others, whom *Narciſſus* had cauſed to be arreſted, were
brought before the imperial tribunal; and, being convicted as accomplices of *Meſ-*

Silius *and her other adulterers executed.*

ſalina's proſtitutions, were all dragged to execution. *Silius*, without offering any b
thing in his defence, only begged they would diſpatch him ſoon. *Mneſter*, the
player, who had been likewiſe one of *Meſſalina*'s gallants, created ſome heſitation.
He tore off his garments, and deſired the emperor to behold the marks of the ſtripes
he had endured, before he could be brought to comply with *Meſſalina*'s impure
ſolicitations; he reminded him at the ſame time of his own commands, obliging
him to gratify *Meſſalina* without reſerve (N), adding, that others had been tempted
to offend by great preſents, or mighty promiſes; but his offence was owing only to
compulſion. Theſe conſiderations biaſſed *Claudius* to mercy; but his freedmen
diſſuading him from ſaving a player after ſo many illuſtrious ſacrifices, *Mneſter* was
condemned and executed with *Traulus Montanus*, a young knight of extraordinary c
modeſty and comelineſs, whom *Meſſalina* had forced to paſs only one night with her,
and afterwards caſt off, her paſſion being, as *Tacitus* obſerves, with equal wanton-
neſs inflamed and ſurfeited [a].

Claudius *ſeems to relent.*

When theſe executions were over, *Claudius* returned to the palace, where he paſſed
the beſt part of the night in feaſting and revelling with his freedmen. Being warm
with wine, for he uſually drank very plentifully, he ordered one of his attendants to
go and acquaint the *unhappy woman*, for theſe terms he is ſaid to have uſed, that ſhe
ſhould attend the next day and plead her cauſe. She was then in the gardens of
Lucullus, whither ſhe had retired, finding ſhe could have no acceſs to *Claudius*, and
was there buſy in compoſing a memorial, which ſhe deſigned to preſent to the prince, d

Narciſſus *haſtens her execution.*

not without hopes of moving him to compaſſion. But *Narciſſus*, alarmed at the
meſſage he ſent her, and obſerving that his reſentment viſibly abated, and his uſual
affection began to return, ran haſtily forth, and directed the tribunes and centurions
then upon duty to diſpatch *Meſſalina*; for ſuch was the emperor's expreſs command.
With them he ſent one *Evodus* a freed-man, in whom he could confide, charging
him to ſee his orders ſtrictly fulfilled; for he apprehended, and indeeed not without
reaſon, ſince *Claudius* began to relent, that the doom which he had prepared for
Meſſalina, would, if ſhe lived to the next day, rebound upon his own head. *Evodus*
flew in a moment to the gardens, where he found her lying upon the ground, and
her mother *Lepida* ſitting by her. He immediately acquainted her with her doom, e
and at the ſame time abuſed her with all the brutal invectives of a ſlave. Her mother
encouraged her not to wait the blow of the executioner; but, ſince ſhe could not
prolong her life, to die with renown. Hereupon, laying hold of a dagger, ſhe
aimed, with a trembling hand, firſt at her throat, and then at her breaſt; but had
not courage and reſolution enough for ſuch an attempt. The tribune therefore who
ſtood before her, without ever opening his mouth, obſerving her timidity and irre-
ſolution,

[a] Tacit. c. 30—36. Dio, p. 674. Suet. c. 29. Senec. lud. in Claud.

(N) *Meſſalina* finding ſhe could neither by threats nor promiſes induce *Mneſter* to comply with her impure ſolicitations, had at length recourſe to ſtripes, and cauſed him to be inhumanly ſcourged; but to no effect, *Mneſter* dreading to incur the diſpleaſure of the emperor, which, he apprehended, would ſooner or later prove fatal to him, if he granted *Meſſalina* her requeſt; for her abominations were now ſo public, that he imagined *Claudius* could not be much longer unappriſed of them. Hereupon the lewd proſtitute, bent upon ſatisfying at all events the paſſion ſhe had conceived for the player; *What if the emperor himſelf*, ſaid ſhe, *ſhould command you to gratify me in what I require? I ſhould, without heſitation*, replied *Mneſter*, *obey the emperor's commands*. *Meſſalina* flew to the emperor, and complained to him of the player, who, ſhe ſaid, had unmannerly refuſed her a ſmall favour. *Claudius* immediately ſent for *Mneſter*, reprimanded him with great ſeverity, and commanded him to gratify his wife without reſerve. He obeyed, and now alledges this command as a powerful motive to induce *Claudius* to grant him his life (38). But *Narciſſus* urging, that his crime was of ſuch enormous malignity, that it availed not how he had committed it, he was executed upon the ſpot.

(38) *Dio*, *l.* lx.

Her death

a ſolution, delivered her from her anxiety and fears, by running her through with his ſword. Thus juſt vengeance overtook her at laſt, in the very gardens for which ſhe had ſacrificed, as we have related above, the brave *Valerius Aſiaticus*. She was of all women recorded in hiſtory, if not the moſt lewd, the moſt amazingly bold in the purſuit of her lewdneſs [b]. *Claudius* was ſtill at table, when word was brought him, that *Meſſalina* was dead; but without any particulars, whether ſhe had ſuffered by her own, or by the executioner's hand. Neither did he make any inquiries, but, calling for a bowl of wine, continued the banquet with his uſual gaiety, without betraying either then, or in the following days, any ſymptoms of hatred, joy, anger, ſorrow, or any other human paſſion or affection, tho' he beheld the enemies of his

b wife triumphing over her death, and his children bewailing with many tears the violent end of their mother [c]. Nay, *Suetonius* aſſures us, that as he was a few days after ſupping with ſome of his friends, he aſked, why his wife *Meſſalina* came not to ſupper? Many other inſtances of the like almoſt incredible forgetfulneſs, or rather ſtupidity, are related by the ſame writer and by *Dion Caſſius* [d].

The ſtupidity of Claudius.

Upon the death of *Meſſalina*, *Claudius* publicly declared, that ſince he had been ſo unfortunate in his marriages, he would live a ſingle life for the future; nay, he gave every *Roman* leave to put him to death, if he continued not in that reſolution. But, notwithſtanding theſe proteſtations, he ſoon changed his mind, and, not remembering what he had ſaid, declared his intention of marrying. Hereupon great ſtrife

c and emulation aroſe among the imperial freedmen, which of them ſhould chuſe a wife for one, who had been ever governed by his wives. *Calliſtus* propoſed to him *Lollia Paulina*, daughter to *M. Lollius*, a conſular. *Pallas* recommended *Julia Agrippina*, the daughter of *Germanicus*; and *Narciſſus* employed all his intereſt in behalf of *Ælia Petina*, whom he had divorced before upon a ſlight and trivial occaſion. *Claudius* himſelf was now bent upon one, then upon another, and always led by his laſt adviſer. Being thus undetermined and perplexed, he at length called together his counſellors, ordering them to declare and defend in his preſence their different opinions (O). *Claudius* heard them all with great attention; but was moſt affected with the arguments of *Pallas*, inforced by the careſſes and allurements of *Agrippina*,

d who, under colour of conſanguinity, was aſſiduous in her viſits to her uncle. This princeſs, ſo famous in hiſtory for her ambition and misfortunes, was the daughter of *Germanicus* and *Agrippina* the elder, whoſe courage and chaſtity we have often had occaſion to celebrate. *Tiberius* married her, in the fourteenth year of his reign, to *Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus*, by whom ſhe had a ſon named *L. Domitius Ahenobarbus*, who ſucceeded *Claudius*, and is known by the name of *Nero*. Upon the death of her huſband, ſhe abandoned herſelf to all manner of lewdneſs, and was on that ſcore baniſhed by her brother *Caligula*. *Claudius* recalled her, when ſhe married to her ſecond huſband *Criſpus Paſſienus*, one of an illuſtrious family, and ſoon after murdered him, to enjoy the rich inheritance to which he had named her in his will. She

e was in high favour with *Claudius*, even in *Meſſalina*'s time; and therefore would have been ſacrificed, as well as her ſiſter *Julia*, to her jealouſy, had not the empreſs been diverted from it by other purſuits [e]. *Claudius* no ſooner ſhewed himſelf inclined to marry his niece, but ſhe began, as if already married, to exerciſe the power and authority of a wife. Her firſt purpoſe was, to concert a match between her ſon *Domitius* and *Octavia*, the emperor's daughter; but *Octavia* had ſome time ſince been by her father betrothed to *Lucius Silanus*, a youth of great quality, and no leſs beloved

Claudius *declares his intention to marry again.*

And prefers his niece Agrippina *to all others.*

[b] Tacit. c. 37. [c] Idem ibid. [d] Suet. ibid. Dio, p. 674. [e] Suet. in Ner. c. 6, 7. Tacit. c. 12, 13.

(O) *Narciſſus* alledged in favour of *Ælia Petina* the emperor's former marriage with her, and their common daughter, for by her he had *Antonia*; and that by recalling one who had already been his wife; he would introduce no innovation into his family, but a wife, who would not exerciſe the hatred of a ſtep-mother towards *Britannicus* and *Octavia*, ſince they were ſo nearly allied to her own children. *Calliſtus* urged, that to recall her after ſo long a divorce and diſlike, would be the very means to heighten her indignation and pride; that *Lollia* was a much more eligible match, for having no iſſue of her own, ſhe was void of every motive of emulation to his, and conſequently would uſe her ſtep-children with the tenderneſs of a real mother. *Pallas* recommended *Agrippina* from the following conſiderations; that with her ſhe would bring the grandſon of *Germauicus*, and was herſelf worthy of imperial fortune, noble in her deſcent, of tried fruitfulneſs, and in the prime of her age; that by this match would be prevented her carrying into another houſe the illuſtrious blood of the *Cæſars* (39).

(39) *Tacit. c. 2.*

loved and eſteemed by *Claudius*. However, as the weak prince had no judgment, a
nor choice, nor averſion or affection, but ſuch as were inſpired by others, *Vitellius*,
foreſeeing into whoſe hands the ſovereignty was haſtening, in order to purchaſe the
favour of *Agrippina*, began to deviſe crimes againſt *Silanus*. That young nobleman
had a ſiſter, by name *Junia Silana*, a lady of extraordinary beauty, and no leſs
gaiety; and hence *Vitellius*, then cenſor, took the accuſation, wreſting to a charge
of inceſt the mutual affection of brother and ſiſter; an affection no-ways inceſtuous,
but ſomewhat too free and unguarded; for while *Junia* was by others ſtyled *Venus*
on account of her beauty, *Silanus* choſe, we know not why, to call her *Juno*, who
was both ſiſter and wife to *Jupiter*. This the infamous ſycophant *Vitellius* laid hold of;
and having firſt prejudiced the undiſcerning emperor againſt the innocent youth, b
Lucius Silanus disgraced. quite unappriſed of any plots againſt him, he ſoon after, in quality of cenſor, degraded him from the rank of a ſenator, tho' the ſenate had been already reviewed, and the number of ſenators fixed a good while before; nay, he obliged him by an edict to renounce his prætorſhip, though it was of courſe to expire the next day, conferring it for that day upon *Eprius Marcellus*. *Silanus* being thus marked with infamy, *Claudius* broke off the match between him and *Octavia* [f].

The next conſuls were *C. Pompeius Longinus Gallus* and *Q. Veranius Nepos*. Tho' *Claudius* and *Agrippina* lived publicly together, yet they durſt not celebrate their
The ſenate and people approve of Claudius's *marriage with* Agrippina. nuptials, there being no inſtance among the *Romans* of a marriage between an uncle and a niece; but that ſcruple was removed by *Vitellius*, who having firſt prevailed, c without much trouble, upon *Claudius* to promiſe, that he would ſubmit to the authority of the ſenate and the unanimous voice of the people, eaſily perſuaded both orders to approve of the marriage; nay, ſome of the ſenators declared, that, if the emperor delayed longer, they would compel him. *Claudius* then yielded; but nevertheleſs did not celebrate the nuptials, till the ſenate paſſed a decree, declaring for ever lawful marriages between uncles and their brothers daughters. But notwithſtanding this general law, no one followed the example of *Claudius*, except one *Roman* knight, by name *Titus Alledius Severus*, and he only, as was believed, to court the favour of *Agrippina*. This law was afterwards revoked by the emperor *Nerva*, as was that legitimating the inter-marriage of couſin-germans, long unknown to the d *Romans*, by *Theodoſius the Great*. The day after the decree of the ſenate was publiſhed, *Claudius* celebrated his nuptials with the uſual ſolemnity: and on the ſame day *Silanus* ſlew himſelf, whether by choice or conſtraint, is uncertain. His ſiſter *Junia* was baniſhed *Italy*; and to her ſentence *Claudius* added an order to the pontiffs, injoining them to offer expiatory ſacrifices in the grove of *Diana*; a ſource of mockery to all men, ſays *Tacitus*, that penalties and luſtrations ſhould be appointed for a pretended inceſt, while real inceſt was eſtabliſhed by law [g]. From this time the city aſſumed a different face, all men tamely obeying a woman, who did not, like *Meſſalina*, render the *Roman* ſtate ſubſervient only to her wanton and lewd amours, but to her inſatiable avarice, unbounded ambition, and unparalelled cruelty. She go- e verned all, and the emperor himſelf, without controul; appeared with him in the ſenate; placed herſelf by him on the ſame tribunal in all public ceremonies; gave, together with him, audience to foreign princes and embaſſadors; and did not even abandon him in the courts of juſtice, which to the *Romans* was a ſight altogether new [h].
Seneca *recalled from exile.* To ſignalize the beginning, we may ſay, of her reign, with ſome plauſible action, ſhe prevailed upon *Claudius*, not only to recal from exile, but to honour with the prætorſhip, *L. Annæus Seneca*, a man by all greatly eſteemed on account of his eloquence and accompliſhments. But in this ſhe had alſo her private views, which were the education of her ſon *Domitius* under ſuch a maſter, and the uſe of his counſels in the purſuit of her ambitious deſigns; for ſhe did not doubt, but *Seneca* would, out of f gratitude, continue faithfully attached to her, and maintain, for all his philoſophy, an irreconcileable hatred to *Claudius*, by whom he had been baniſhed [k]; and truly his hatred appears but too plainly in his writings. Not long after, *Agrippina*, purſuing her ambitious deſigns, gained by vaſt promiſes *Memmius Pollio*, conſul elect, to move the ſenate, that they would unanimouſly beſeech *Claudius* to betroth *Octavia*
Octavia *betrothed to* Domitius. to *Domitius*. To this, which was a great ſtep towards the ſovereignty, the ſenate readily agreed; and *Claudius* not appriſed of his wife's aſpiring views, with the ſame readineſs conſented. Thus was *Domitius*, by the efforts and devices of his mother,

[f] Tacit. c. 4. Dio, p. 677. Suet. c. 29. [g] Idem, c. 8. Senec. lud. in Claud. [h] Tacit. c. 8. Dio, p. 687. [k] Tacit. ibid.

mother, raiſed almoſt to an equality with *Britannicus*. He was born on the fifteenth
a of *December* in the thirty-ſeventh year of the chriſtian æra; ſo that he was in the be-
ginning of this, the forty-ninth, entered into the twelfth year of his age [l]. In the
next place, *Agrippina*, no leſs implacable in her hatred, than ambitious in her views,
being inraged at *Lollia Paulina*, for having aſpired to the emperor's bed, framed
crimes againſt her, and ſuborned an accuſer, who charged her with conſulting the
magicians and *Chaldeans* about the match. *Claudius*, without hearing her, repre-
ſented her ſuppoſed guilt to the ſenate, and required, that her eſtate might be confiſ-
cated, and ſhe baniſhed *Italy* [m]. But *Agrippina*, not ſatisfied with this puniſhment,
ſent privately a tribune, with orders to cut off her head, and bring it to her. The
b tribune obeyed; and *Agrippina* is ſaid to have with her own hands opened the
mouth of the deceaſed, that from her teeth, which had ſomething, we know not
what, very ſingular, ſhe might be well aſſured it was her head [n] (P). *Calpurnia*,
another woman of great diſtinction, was likewiſe doomed to ruin, becauſe the prince
had praiſed her beauty; but as this was from no paſſion for her perſon, but only in
occaſional diſcourſe, her life was ſpared. This year to the ſenators of *Narbonne*
Gaul was granted the ſame privilege with thoſe of *Sicily*, of viſiting their eſtates there,
without aſking leave of the prince. The ſame year the countries of *Iturea* and *Judæa*
were, upon the death of their kings, *Sohemus* and *Agrippa*, annexed to the govern-
ment of *Syria*. About the end of the year, *Claudius* widened the circumference of
c *Rome*, incloſing, according to *Onuphrius* [o], mount *Aventine*. We are told, that
ſuch only as had extended the limits of the empire, were, in virtue of an ancient in-
ſtitution, impowered to inlarge alſo the bounds of the city [p]. This power *Claudius*
probably claimed, in regard of his having conquered part of *Britain*. As for the
troubles which happened this year in the kingdoms of *Parthia* and *Boſphorus*, we
refer our readers to the account we have given of them in our hiſtory of thoſe coun-
tries (Q).

Lollia Paulina *put to death.*

Rome *inlarged.*

The following year, *C. Antiſtius Vetus* and *M. Suilius Nervilianus* being conſuls,
the freed-man *Pallas*, who had conducted the late marriage of *Agrippina*, and was
now engaged in a criminal correſpondence with her, and thence wholly addicted to
d her intereſt, perſuaded *Claudius* to adopt, in preference to his own ſon, *Domitius* for
his eldeſt, becauſe he was three years older than *Britannicus* (R). From this time
Domitius

[l] Suet. in Ner. c. 6. [m] Tacit. c. 22. [n] Dio, p. 686. [o] Onuph. in faſt. p. 101.
[p] Tacit. c. 23.

(P) *Lollia Paulina* was firſt married to *Memmius Regulus*, governor of *Greece* and *Macedon*, from whom ſhe was forced by *Caligula*, who took her to himſelf. She was grand-daughter to *M. Lollius*, appointed by *Auguſtus* governor to *Caius Cæſar*, when he was ſent into the eaſt. *Claudius*, in repreſenting her pretended guilt to the ſenate, touched upon her noble deſcent, telling the ſenators, that by her mother ſhe was neice to *Lucius Voluſius*; that *Cotta Meſſalinus* was her great-uncle; that ſhe herſelf was once the wife of *Memmius Regulus*, &c. but of her marriage with *Caligula* he ſaid nothing. He added, that ſhe purſued pernicious deſigns, and muſt be diveſted of the means and opportunities of putting them in execution. Upon this her immenſe wealth was confiſcated, and only about thirty-thouſand pounds of our money left her. *Tacitus* tells us, that the tribune diſpatched by *Agrippina* had orders to compel her to lay violent hands on herſelf (40).

(Q) *Phlegon*, of whom we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak hereafter, tells us, that this year, the ninth of *Claudius*'s reign, a woman was delivered at *Rome* of an ape (41).

(R) *Tacitus* tells us, that it was obſerved by perſons skilled in antiquity, that never was any adoption made before this into the patrician family of the *Claudii*; which, from *Attus Clauſus*, called afterwards *Appius Claudius*, the firſt who ſettled at *Rome*, had ſubſiſted upon its own ſtock. *Lipſius* is not at all pleaſed with this obſervation; but urges againſt it the adoption of *Germanicus*. However, being prompted by his good nature to excuſe the miſtake, he acquaints us, that *Tiberius*, when he adopted *Germanicus*, was not himſelf of the *Claudian*, but of the *Julian* family; a poor quibble indeed, and altogether unworthy of ſo learned a critic! It is ſurpriſing, that a writer of ſuch penetration ſhould thus miſtake the meaning of *Tacitus*, tho' conveyed to him in the plaineſt terms- *Some obſerved*, ſays the hiſtorian, *that never was any adoption made before this into the patrician family of the* Claudii. &c. Could *Lipſius* poſſibly ſuppoſe *Germanicus* to have been adopted by *Tiberius* into the *Claudian* family? We cannot think him capable of entertaining a notion ſo notoriouſly abſurd, ſince *Germanicus*, *Tiberius*'s own brother's ſon, was, as is manifeſt, by birth, and without any adoption, of the *Claudian* family. On the other hand, if he does not ſuppoſe him to have been adopted by *Tiberius* into the *Claudian* family, but only for his ſon, as he truly was, to what purpoſe alledge ſuch an adoption againſt thoſe who obſerved, to the glory of the *Claudian* family, that it had ſubſiſted upon its own ſtock ſince its firſt ſettling at *Rome*, to the adoption of *Domitius Ahenobarbus*? Beſides, if *Tiberius* was himſelf no longer of the *Claudian*, but of the *Julian*, family, how could he adopt *Germanicus* into the former? That *Tacitus* meant not ſuch an adoption as that of *Germanicus*, but an adoption into the family, is evident both from the context in that writer, and from *Suetonius*, who tells us that *Claudius*, when he adopted young *Domitius*, publicly declared, *that no one had ever before been adopted into the* Claudian *family* (42). But *quandoque bonus dormit at Homerus*.

(40) *Idem*, c. 22. (41) *Phleg. de reb. memorabil.* c. 22. (42) *Suet. in Claud.* c. 39.

Domitius was named *Nero Claudius Cæsar Druſus Germanicus* (S). This adoption was applauded by the ſenate, and a decree paſſed confirming it, and conferring upon *Agrippina* the ſublime title of *Auguſta*. However, there was no *Roman* ſo void of compaſſion, as not to be affected with the hard lot of the unhappy *Britannicus*, whom *Agrippina*, under colour of tenderneſs for him, kept locked up in a nurſery, tho' now nine years old. By degrees ſhe removed from him his former attendants, and even cauſed ſome of them to be put to death; among the reſt his preceptor *Soſibius*, putting in their room perſons who were intirely at her devotion. She would never allow him to appear abroad, nor even to wait upon his father, giving out, that he was diſordered in his ſenſes, and troubled with the falling-ſickneſs. Not long after the adoption of *Nero*, *Britannicus* having ſaluted him, as he was uſed to do before, by the name of *Ahenobarbus*, *Nero* reſented it to ſuch a degree, that he endeavoured to perſuade the emperor, that he was a ſuppoſititious child. This year *Agrippina*, to diſplay her power at *Rome* in foreign countries, procured a colony of veterans to be ſent to the capital of the *Ubii*, a town in which ſhe had been born, and which ſhe called by her own name *Colonia Agrippinenſis*. This city is now known by the name of *Cologn* [p]. About the ſame time the *Catti*, of whom we have had frequent occaſion to ſpeak in the reign of *Tiberius*, made incurſions into the *Roman* territories; but were repulſed with great ſlaughter by *Pomponius Secundus*, commander of the legions in *Upper Germany*, who, on that occaſion, releaſed from bondage ſome *Romans* who had continued in it ever ſince the maſſacre of *Varus* and his legions. His vigilance and gallant conduct ſeemed to the ſenate worthy of triumphal ornaments, which were decreed him accordingly; but he did not derive ſo much glory from them, as from his elegant poems, which are greatly cried up by the beſt judges of antiquity [q]. It was at this time too, that *Vannius*, whom *Druſus* the ſon of *Tiberius* had thirty years before created king of the *Suevians*, was driven out by the *Hermundurians* and *Ligians*. *Claudius*, tho' he had declined engaging in a quarrel among the barbarians, yet granted a ſafe refuge to the depoſed king, and lands in *Pannonia* both to him and his followers. *Vangio* and *Sido*, his own ſiſter's ſons, parted his kingdom between them, and ever continued faithful to the *Romans* [r].

The hard treatment of Britannicus.

Colonia Agrippinenſis.

THE following year, *Claudius* being the fifth time conſul with *Servius Cornelius Orfitus* (T), *Nero*, tho' not yet fourteen, was preſented with the manly robe, which qualified him for honours and employments. At the ſame time, the ſenate, with the concurrence of *Claudius* decreed, that in his twentieth year he ſhould diſcharge the conſulſhip, and in the mean time, as conſul deſigned, be inveſted with proconſular authority out of *Rome*, and be ſtyled prince of the *Roman* youth. *Claudius* moreover beſtowed, in *Nero*'s name, a largeſs upon the ſoldiery, and another upon the people; and to draw the eyes and affections of the people upon him, made him appear at the circenſian games, which were then ſolemnized, in a triumphal robe, the mark and ornament of the imperial ſtate, while *Britannicus* was carried about in his prætexta, the uſual habit of children. Some of the tribunes and centurions could not help pitying the unhappy youth; but they were all, under various pretences, ſoon removed from the palace; even ſuch of the young prince's freed-men, as were found inviolably attached to his perſon and intereſt, were partly diſcharged, and partly put to death, as if they had inſpired their patron with hatred and emulation againſt *Nero*, which might in the end flame out into war and public ruin. Upon their removal, *Britannicus* was committed to the government of others, choſen by his ſtep-mother. The next ſtep which *Agrippina* took towards the accompliſhment of her great deſign was, the removing of *Luſius Geta* and *Rufus Criſpinus* from the command of the prætorian cohorts.

Nero *takes the manly robe.*

[p] Tacit. c. 26. Suet. in Ner. c. 7. Dio, p. 667. [q] Tacit. c. 28. [r] Idem, c. 29.

(S) *Suetonius* tells us, that, when *Domitius* was born, *Caligula* being deſired by his ſiſter *Agrippina* to give the child what name he thought proper, the emperor, fixing his eyes upon *Claudius*, gave him, by way of raillery, his name; which *Agrippina* took much amiſs, *Claudius* being at that time the laughing-ſtock of the court; but now ſhe eſteems both herſelf and her ſon highly honoured with a name which ſhe then deſpiſed (43).

(T) *Claudius* held this his laſt conſulſhip ſix months (44). *Onuphrius* adds to his collegue's other names that of *Scipio* (45); and truly the *Orfiti* ſeem to have been of the family of the *Scipios* (46). *C. Minucius* or *Minicius Fundanus*, and *C. Verbenius Severus*, were ſubſtituted in the conſulſhip to *Claudius* and *Orfitus* (47). *Veſpaſian*, who was afterwards emperor, was conſul for the two laſt months of this year, as we read in *Suetonius* (48).

(43) *Suet. in Ner. c.* 6. (44) *Suet. c.* 4. (45) *Onuph. in faſt.* (46) *Grut. p.* 17. (47) *Onuph. ibid.* (48) *Suet. in Veſp. c.* 4.

a cohorts. She imagined them grateful to the memory of *Meſſalina*, and thence zealouſly devoted to her children. She therefore alledged to the emperor, that, by the cabals and emulation of two commanders, the guards were rent into factions; whereas by the authority of one, they would be more eaſily kept to their duty. Hereupon *Claudius*, without any further inquiry, transferred the command of the prætorian bands on *Burrhus Afranius*, whom ſhe recommended, an officer highly eſteemed by the ſoldiery, but well appriſed to whom he owed his preferment. And now *Agrippina* began to aſſume a more haughty deportment than ever; ſhe entered the capitol in a chariot, a diſtinction granted to none but prieſts. This, however, heightened the reverence of the people towards one, who was, without example, the daughter of a b *Cæſar*, the mother of one, ſiſter to the late emperor, and wife to the preſent. But, in the mean time, her chief companion, *L. Vitellius*, was by a ſenator, named *Junius Lupus*, accuſed of high-treaſon; and *Claudius*, ever timorous, would have hearkened to the charge, had not *Agrippina*, by menaces rather than intreaties, turned his reſentment againſt the accuſer, who was baniſhed, *Vitellius* deſiring no further puniſhment [r]. This year, a great famine raged in *Rome*, and the populace, not confining their complaints to houſes and corners, gathered in tumultuous crouds round the prince, while he was publicly adminiſtering juſtice, and drove him to the extremity of the forum; inſomuch, that with the utmoſt difficulty he eſcaped their violence, his guards opening him a way through the outrageous multitude [t]. *Suetonius* tells us, c that he was not only reviled with opprobrious language by the inraged populace, but ſo pelted with cruſts of bread, that he narrowly eſcaped being killed [u]. However, inſtead of reſenting ſuch baſe treatment, he took ſuch effectual care to have the city ſupplied with corn, that in leſs than fifteen days no one had occaſion to complain, that winter happening to prove exceeding mild and favourable. That the city might not again be reduced to ſuch diſtreſs, he gave all poſſible encouragement to merchants, granted ample privileges to ſuch as built trading veſſels, and took upon himſelf to make good all the loſſes they ſhould ſuffer.

Burrhus Afranius *appointed commander of the prætorian guards.*

A famine at Rome.

THIS year, the tenth of *Claudius*'s reign, the proprætor, *P. Oſtorius Scapula*, landing in *Britain* (U), was obliged, ſoon after his arrival, though the ſeaſon was d already far advanced, to take the field againſt the *Britons*, who broke into the territories of the friends and allies of *Rome* with ſo much the more violence and confidence, as they ſuppoſed that a new general, not yet acquainted with his army, would not in the beginning of winter dare to take the field and make head againſt them. But *Oſtorius*, who was an officer of great experience, being well appriſed, that by the firſt events of war confidence or conſternation was raiſed in an enemy, led forth ſuch cohorts as were next at hand, fell unexpectedly upon the unwary *Britons* with great ſlaughter, and purſued ſuch as were broken ſo cloſe as to prevent their rejoining. Then, as he could not depend upon a peace made by conſtraint, and therefore not ſincere, he deprived of their arms thoſe whom he ſuſpected, and by means of ſeveral e forts on the *Severn* and the two *Avons*, one of which is alſo called the *Nen*, he endeavoured to reſtrain the enemy from making any farther inroads into the territories of the *Roman* allies. This the *Iceni*, that is, the inhabitants of the preſent counties of *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, *Cambridge*, and *Huntingdon* could not brook. They were a powerful people, and not weakened by any wars or invaſions; for they had of their own accord entered into an alliance with the *Romans*. Being therefore joined by the bordering nations, they ſoon raiſed a conſiderable army, and incamped in a place defended by a ditch, and narrow lanes, not paſſable by the horſe. *Oſtorius*, though not yet joined by his legions, reſolved to attack them; and accordingly, having drawn up his auxiliaries and diſmounted his cavalry, he advanced in good order to attack the f enemy's ruſtic fortifications. The ditch was ſoon forced, and the *Britons* put in diſorder, being hampered and intangled with their own incloſures. However, as they were cooped in on all ſides, and no way was left for them to eſcape, being animated with deſpair, they performed many feats of bravery. In this battle *M. Oſtorius*, the ſon of the general, acquired the civic crown, by ſaving the life of a *Roman* citizen. The

Farther conqueſts in Britain.

The Iceni *defeated.*

[r] Idem, c. 42. [t] Idem, c. 43. [u] SUET. c. 18. [w] SUET. ibid.

(U) *Aulus Plautius* left *Britain*, and returned to *Rome*, according to *Dion Caſſius*, in the ſixth year of *Claudius*'s reign: whereas *Oſtorius* did not arrive in that iſland, as is evident from *Tacitus*, till three years after. Hence it is plain, that between *Plautius* and *Oſtorius* was another governor of this country, whom authors have not mentioned, probably becauſe he performed nothing worthy of notice.

They submit. The *Iceni* being thus overcome, and thoſe unſettled ſpirits, who had hitherto wavered between peace and war, calmed by their overthrow, *Oſtorius*, advanced into the country of the *Cangi*, probably the preſent counties of *Shropſhire* and *Cheſhire*, laying waſte their territories, and committing general ſpoil, till he approached the *Iriſh* ſea, when commotions begun among the *Brigantes*, the inhabitants of *Lancaſhire*, *Yorkſhire*, the biſhopric of *Durham*, and the counties of *Cumberland* and *Weſtmorland*, drew him back; for the *Brigantes* had ſubmitted to him before, probably by their deputies, after the overthrow of the *Iceni*; and the *Roman* general was determined to proſecute no new enterprize, till his former ones were completed and ſecure. The chief authors of the diſturbance were executed, and the reſt pardoned, which put a ſtop to any farther attempts of the *Brigantes*. But the *Silures*, the inhabitants of *South-Wales*, would hearken to no terms. *Oſtorius* therefore reſolved to lead his legions againſt them; but firſt conveyed a numerous colony of veterans to *Camalodunum*, in order to keep the conquered countries in awe, and inure the *Roman* allies to the laws and juriſdiction of *Rome*. To *Cogidunus*, a *Britiſh* king, and a great friend to the *Romans*, certain cities were given, to attach him ſtill more to their intereſt; for it was a cuſtom, as *Tacitus* obſerves*, practiſed in the earlieſt ages by the *Roman* people, to employ even kings as their inſtruments in eſtabliſhing bondage on nations. After theſe precautions, *Oſtorius* marched with all his forces againſt the *Silures*, a people reſolute and fierce by nature, and moreover confiding in the valour and conduct of *Caractacus*, whom many proſperous, and many doubtful, ſucceſſes had rendered famous, and raiſed in renown above all the other *Britiſh* commanders. As he was better acquainted with the country than the *Romans*, but inferior to them in the number of his troops, he wiſely removed the ſeat of the war into the territories of the *Ordovices*, now *North-Wales*. There he choſe a place, againſt which it was difficult to advance, and from which it was no leſs difficult to retire; every way incommodious to the *Romans*, and every way favourable to his own men; for it was upon the ridges of exceeding ſteep mountains, the ſides of which, where approachable, he fortified with walls of ſtone; at the foot of the mountains flowed a river, dangerous to be forded, and the walls, which he had reared, were defended by numerous bodies of his braveſt men. The place, as *Camden* conjectures, had thence the name of *Caer Caradoc*, which is a ſteep hill on the weſt borders of *Shropſhire*, at the foot of which runs the river *Clun*: *Caradoc* in the *Britiſh* tongue is ſuppoſed to be the ſame with *Caractacus* in *Latin*. *Oſtorius* having drawn hither all his forces, ſince the *Britiſh* commander was reſolved to put the whole to the deciſion of the ſword, began to advance in battle-array towards the enemy. At his approach the leaders of the ſeveral confederate nations, who had joined *Caractacus*, ran from rank to rank, animating their followers with repreſentations proper to diſpel fear, and rouſe in their breaſts a martial ardor. As for *Caractacus*, he flew through the whole army, proclaiming, where-ever he paſſed, that from this day, from this battle, they muſt date their liberty completely recovered, or their ſlavery eternally eſtabliſhed: he put them in mind of the glorious feats of their anceſtors, who had driven out *Cæſar* the dictator, and by whoſe valour they yet lived free from tribute and the *Roman* axes, yet preſerved the perſons of their wives and children from diſhonour. His harangue was anſwered by loud ſhouts and acclamations, which were echoed and doubled by the neighbouring woods and mountains. In the end, every one bound himſelf by the moſt ſacred oath amongſt them, never to yield to force or wounds. The reſolute alacrity of the enemy ſtartled the *Roman* general, eſpecially when he diſcovered the river before him, the ramparts raiſed upon its banks, the ſteepneſs of the mountains filled with men hanging almoſt over their heads, and in ſhort the moſt diſmal and threatening ſcene of war he had ever beheld. But the ſoldiers preſſed for the attack, crying out, *All difficulties are ſurmountable by courage*. *Oſtorius* therefore, having carefully ſurveyed the ground, and tried where the river was fordable, and where not, ordered the trumpets to ſound, and his legionaries to advance. They gained without much difficulty the oppoſite bank; but as they approached the rampart, they were galled with inceſſant ſhowers of darts, which did great execution, till forming themſelves into a *teſtudo*, they demoliſhed the wall, which covered the enemy, and encountered them hand to hand upon ground equal to both. Then the *Britons*, not able to ſtand the ſhock of the legions, betook themſelves to the ridges of the mountains,

A Roman *colony ſettled at* Camalodunum.

The Romans *march againſt the* Silures.

Caractacus *oppoſes the* Romans.

Engages Oſtorius *the* Roman *general.*

* Tacit. in vit. Agr. c. 4.

a tains, where they made a ſtand againſt the *Romans*, who purſued them; but as they covered themſelves with no armour, and only fought with diſcharges of arrows, the *Romans* cloſing with them, eaſily broke their ranks, put them to flight, and gained a complete victory. The wife and daughter of *Caractacus* were taken priſoners, and his brothers ſurrendered at diſcretion. He himſelf had recourſe to the protection of *Cartiſmandua*, queen of the *Brigantes*; but as all things conſpire againſt the unfortunate, he was by her delivered in bonds to the conquerors, according to *Tacitus* in the ninth, but by a more exact computation in the ſeventh, year after the commencement of the war in *Britain*; ſo long had he ſuſtained it; and hence his renown, ſays *Tacitus*, had reached all the iſlands, ſpread over the neighbouring countries, and
b was celebrated even in *Italy*, and at *Rome*, where all longed to behold the brave commander, who had for ſo many years defied the arms, and baffled all the attempts, of the *Romans*. He was immediately ſent to *Claudius*, who received him in a kind of triumph. As he drew near the city, the people were ſummoned, as to ſome ſolemn ſpectacle, to ſee the illuſtrious captive; as he paſſed by, the prætorian guards ſtood under arms in the field before their camp. Before the *Britiſh* king marched his ſervants and followers, carrying the gold chains and military ornaments, which he had taken in the wars with his neighbours; next his brothers, his wife, and daughters; and laſtly himſelf expoſed to view. All but he appeared dejected, and deſcended to ſupplications unworthy of their rank and character. The king himſelf,
c without betraying the leaſt fear, or uttering a word that implored mercy, being brought before the emperor, who was ſeated on his tribunal, addreſſed him thus:
" If my moderation in proſperity and ſucceſs had been equal to my quality and for-
" tune, I ſhould have arrived in this city under another character, that of a friend,
" and not a captive; nor would you have diſdained to receive into terms of alliance
" a prince, deſcended from illuſtrious anceſtors, and ruling over ſo many nations. But
" different is my preſent lot, a lot, which reflects no leſs glory upon you, than diſ-
" grace and reproach upon me. I was lately maſter of men and arms, horſes and
" treaſures; and where is the wonder, that I was unwilling to loſe them, that I ſtrove
" to retain them? Though you, *Romans*, aim at extending your dominion over all
d " mankind, it does not thence follow, that all men will readily and voluntarily ſub-
" mit to the yoke. Had I immediately yielded, my misfortune would have been
" leſs remarkable, your conqueſt leſs renowned: even now, if I am to ſuffer death,
" the fame of my reſiſtance and your victory will die with me; but if you preſerve
" my life, I ſhall be a living monument of your clemency". *Claudius*, compaſſionating the misfortunes of ſo brave a man, and admiring the conſtancy with which he bore them, generouſly granted to him, to his wife, his daughter, and brothers both their lives and liberty. Being releaſed from their chains, they firſt paid their duty and acknowledgement to the prince, and next to *Agrippina*, who was ſeated upon another tribunal cloſe to the emperor's [x]. We are told, that *Caractacus* being aſked,
e after he had viewed the city of *Rome*, which was then in the height of its beauty and grandeur, what he thought of that ſtately metropolis? returned the following judicious anſwer: *I am amazed, that men, who have ſuch magnificent habitations of their own, ſhould leave them, and come ſo far to bereave us* Britons *of our poor cottages* [y]. In the ſenate many pompous encomiums were pronounced upon the taking of *Caractacus*, ſome of the ſenators extolling it as an event no leſs illuſtrious, than the taking of *Syphax* by *P. Scipio*, or of *Perſes* by *Lucius Paulus*. To *Oſtorius*, who continued in *Britain*, triumphal ornaments were decreed.

But is defeated.

And delivered up to the Romans *by the queen of the* Brigantes, *and ſent to* Rome.

His ſpeech to Claudius

Who grants him his life and liberty.

THUS far the adminiſtration of *Oſtorius* had proved ſucceſsful; but now his fortune began to change; whether it was, that upon the captivity of *Caractacus* the *Romans*
f thought the war concluded, and thence grew leſs vigilant, or that the *Britons* inraged, rather than diſheartened, at the loſs of their king, ſtrove more vehemently to revenge it. However that be, the *Silures* fell by ſurpriſe upon the prefect of the camp and ſome legionary cohorts, whom *Oſtorius* had left to rear forts in their country; and would have cut them all in pieces, had they not received timely aſſiſtance from the neighbouring gariſons: as it was, the prefect himſelf, eight centurions, and a great number of the moſt reſolute ſoldiers were ſlain. Soon after they routed the *Roman* foragers and the troops ſent to ſupport them. Hereupon *Oſtorius* diſpatched to their relief ſome cohorts lightly armed; but they not being able to put a ſtop to the flight, the

Some advantages gained by the Silures.

[x] TACIT. ibid. c. 36, 37. [y] ZONAR. p. 86.

the legions were drawn out. Their arrival encouraged the fugitives; the fight was renewed, and the ſucceſs, after having been long doubtful, proved in the end favourable to the *Romans*; the enemy fled, but, as night approached, with ſmall loſs. Thenceforward ſcarce a day paſſed without ſome encounter or ſkirmiſh, ſometimes in the woods, ſometimes in the marſhes; at times by command of their officers, and often without their knowledge, as deſign or chance gave them an opportunity. What moſt exaſperated the *Silures* was, a ſaying of the *Roman* general current among them, that their name muſt be utterly extinguiſhed, as was that of the *Sicambri*, who had been partly cut off, and partly tranſplanted into *Gaul*. Being thus animated, they ſurpriſed and carried off two auxiliary cohorts, as they were without due circumſpection pillaging the country, to ſatiate the avarice of their commanders. The ſpoil and captives they diſtributed among the neighbouring nations, with a view to draw them too into the revolt. In the mean time, *Oſtorius*, ſinking under the weight of his cares and anxieties, ended his days to the great joy of the enemy, that ſo renowned a commander had periſhed in the war [z]. *Claudius* was no ſooner appriſed of the death of his lieutenant, than he appointed *Aulus Didius Gallus* to ſucceed him, who, notwithſtanding his expeditious arrival, found affairs in a much worſe condition than they had been at the death of *Oſtorius*. For the *Silures*, finding the *Romans* deſtitute of a general, had attacked and defeated a legion commanded by *Manlius Valens*, a diſaſter magnified both by the enemy and the new general; by the enemy, to terrify and diſcourage him; by *Didius*, to gain the greater glory, if he put an end to the war, or to have the juſter excuſe, if it continued. In the mean time, the *Silures* made frequent and wide incurſions into the territories of the *Roman* allies, committing everywhere dreadful devaſtations, till *Didius*, taking the field, ſet upon them, repulſed them, and reſtrained them within more narrow bounds.

Oſtorius dies.

Other advantages gained by the Silures.

Next to *Caractacus* in merit and valour was *Venutius*, or *Venuſius*, one long faithful to the *Romans*, and protected by them, during his marriage with *Cartiſmandua*, queen of the *Brigantes*. That princeſs was amply rewarded by the *Romans*, and in high favour with them, for having ſeized and delivered up into their hands king *Caractacus*. Wherefore, preſuming upon their protection, ſhe wantonly deſerted her huſband *Venutius*, and married his armour-bearer *Vellocatus*, on whom with her perſon ſhe conferred her crown. This action, generally abhorred by the *Britons*, occaſioned great diſturbances in the ſtate, and kindled a civil war among the *Brigantes*. The queen, by craft and ſubtil ſtratagems, got the brother and other relations of *Venutius* into her power. But *Venutius*, on the other hand, being ſupported by the *Brigantes* themſelves, who were offended at their queen's reproachful conduct and ſcorned to be governed by a woman, and receiving powerful ſuccours from the neighbouring nations, reduced the unfaithful princeſs to the utmoſt diſtreſs. She then had recourſe to her faſt friends the *Romans*, who immediately diſpatched ſome cohorts and ſquadrons to her aid. Hereupon a bloody battle enſued, which was long doubtful; but in the end proved ſucceſsful to the *Romans*, who reſcued the queen from impending danger. *Venutius*, however, maintained himſelf in the kingdom, in ſpite of the utmoſt efforts of the *Roman* general. Many battles were fought with doubtful ſucceſs, and no great advantages gained on either ſide. At length *Didius*, who was ſtricken in years, and already ſatiated with a long train of honours, gave over all thoughts of reſtoring the queen, and contented himſelf with acting only defenſively, and reſtraining the enemy by his lieutenants. In this poſture continued affairs here till the ſeventh year of *Nero*'s reign, *Didius* and his ſucceſſor *Veranius* thinking it ſufficient juſt to maintain what acquiſitions their predeceſſors had made, or only to raiſe ſome forts further in the iſland, and very few they were, purely for the name and reputation of having inlarged their government. *Veranius* indeed died in leſs than a year, and was ſucceeded by *Suetonius Paulinus* [a], whoſe feats in this iſland we ſhall relate in the reign of *Nero*, when the order of time will oblige us to reſume the detail, which it now cauſes us to interrupt.

The queen of the Brigantes *driven out in ſpite of the* Romans.

The following year, *Fauſtus Sylla* and *Salvius Otho Titianus* being conſuls, the ſenate paſſed a rigorous decree for expelling the aſtrologers out of *Italy*, which, however, was never put in execution. Another decree iſſued againſt women of rank, who married ſlaves, ordaining, that ſhe, who thus debaſed herſelf, without the conſent of the maſter of the ſlave, ſhould herſelf be reduced to a ſtate of ſlavery; but

A decree againſt women who married ſlaves.

[z] Tacit. c. 38, 39. [a] Tacit. ibid. c. 40. vit. Agr. c. 14. Hiſt. l. iii. c. 45.

a but where he conſented, ſhe ſhould be held for a ſlave manumitted. *Claudius* declared in the ſenate, that *Pallas* was the deviſer of this ſcheme; whereupon *Bareas Soranus*, conſul elect, moved, that he might be rewarded with the ornaments of prætor, and a preſent of about a hundred thouſand pounds of our money. *Cornelius Scipio* added, that public thanks ſhould be returned him for deigning, though deſcended from the ancient kings of *Arcadia*, to be reckoned among the emperor's miniſters, and poſtponing this his ancient nobility to the ſervice of the ſtate. The haughty ſlave accepted the ornaments of the prætorſhip, and alſo the privilege of wearing a gold ring; but deſpiſed the preſent, and prevailed with *Claudius* to acquaint the ſenate in his name, that he was ſatisfied with the honours, and choſe to live ſtill in his ancient

b poverty. Hereupon a decree paſſed, was engraven in braſs, and publicly hung up, in which a manumitted ſlave, lately redeemed from the infamy of whips and fetters, but now worth near ſeven millions, was extolled for obſerving the venerable parcimony of the primitive ages. This in truth was a compliment, as *Pliny* the younger obſerves [b], made to a ſlave by a body of ſlaves. Thus was dignity debaſed, infamy exalted, the awful authority of the ſenate proſtituted, and the ornaments of magiſtracy ignominiouſly defiled. It was not enough for the once great and venerable *Roman* ſenate to heap honours upon the emperor; they muſt likewiſe court, adore, and exalt his ſlaves and freedmen, creatures brought from the chain and oar, inſects naturally doomed to the vileſt offices of the kitchen, ſtable, and privies. This year

c *Claudius* finiſhed at an immenſe charge the aqueduct, which *Caligula* had begun fourteen years before, and conſecrated it, to uſe the expreſſion of the ancient writers, on the firſt of *Auguſt*, his birth day. It was a work of extraordinary magnificence, as appears from its ſtately ruins, which are ſtill to be ſeen with an inſcription, in which *Claudius* is ſtyled emperor the twenty-ſeventh time. Four hundred and ſixty perſons were appointed to keep it in repair, and large ſalaries aſſigned them out of the public treaſury. The ſame year the great canal being finiſhed, which was deſigned for the draining of the lake *Fucinus*, and had kept thirty thouſand men conſtantly employed for eleven years together, being at length finiſhed, before the waters were let out, *Claudius* exhibited a naval fight, in which nineteen thouſand condemned criminals en-

d gaged on board an hundred large gallies, repreſenting the *Sicilian* and *Rhodian* fleets. The lake was ſurrounded with an incloſure of huge rafts to obſtruct all means of flight or eſcape. Upon the rafts ſtood the emperor's guards; the lake was covered with gallies; the ſhore, the adjacent hills, and the tops of the mountains, were crouded with a mighty multitude; many from the neighbouring towns, others from *Rome* itſelf, either from a paſſion to behold the ſpectacle, or in compliment to the prince: the whole repreſented a vaſt theatre, and that greater numbers of ſpectators might be the better accommodated, a mountain between the lake and the river *Liris* was levelled. The emperor preſided in a coat of mail, and with him *Agrippina* in a mantle of cloth of gold. When the two fleets were drawn up and ready to engage,

e a *Triton* of ſilver, ſpringing by an ingenious contrivance out of the midſt of the lake, ſounded the charge, and the combat began, which, though between malefactors, was fought with all the courage and gallantry of brave ſoldiers; ſo that after a moſt obſtinate conteſt, after many wounds and much blood, *Claudius* granted ſuch of them as remained, their lives, and redeemed them from ſlaughter (W). When the ſhew was over, the earth between the lake and the canal was removed; but the canal was found not to be ſunk ſufficiently low to receive the water in the centre of the lake. Its bed therefore was dug deeper; and when this work was ended, which happened this year, to draw the multitude once more together, a ſhew of gladiators was exhibited upon bridges laid over it. After the ſhew, the emperor

f made a great banquet juſt at the fall from the lake; but the water, breaking out unexpectedly with incredible violence, bore down with it whatever was near it, ſhook

The ornaments of the prætorſhip decreed to Pallas.

The debaſement of the ſenate.

A combat exhibited on the lake Fucinus.

A combat of gladiators on the caual.

[b] Plin. l. viii. ep. 6.

(W) *Sueton.* tells us, that the combatants, when upon the point of engaging, cried out to *Claudius* *Farewel, good emperor; we, who are going to die, ſalute you*: the emperor returned the compliment, bidding them *farewel too*; which words they conſtrued as if he had excuſed them from the combat, and therefore refuſed to engage, ſtanding ſtill, till *Claudius*, tranſported with rage, leapt down from his ſeat, and running in a moſt unbecoming manner about the banks of the lake, threatened to deſtroy them with fire and ſword, if they did not immediately engage (48).

(48) *Suet. c.* 21.

ſhook the ground to a great diſtance and by its impetuoſity and roaring, terrified and diſmayed *Claudius*, his gueſts, and the ſpectators, who all betook themſelves to flight, and narrowly eſcaped being carried away with the ſtream. *Agrippina*, taking advantage of the emperor's fright, charged *Narciſſus*, the director of the work, with avarice, as if he had not laid out, but imbezzled the vaſt treaſures allotted for it: on the other hand, *Narciſſus* did not ſpare *Agrippina*, but reproached her with aſpiring and boundleſs views [c]. *Dion Caſſius* writes, that *Narciſſus* let out the waters on purpoſe to cover another fault, which the deſire of ſaving for his own uſe the immenſe ſums allowed him for the work, prompted him to commit [d]; but what fault that was, he does not tell us: we only learn from *Tacitus*, that when the water was diſcharged, the negligence of the workmen and the inſufficiency of the work manifeſtly appeared. *Suetonius* ſeems to inſinuate, that *Claudius* accompliſhed this vaſt undertaking, and drained the lake. *Pliny* likewiſe reckons the draining of the lake *Fucinus* amongſt the moſt remarkable works of *Claudius*; but it was neglected, ſays he, thro' envy, by his ſucceſſor *Nero*. On the other hand, *Dion Caſſius* calls the immenſe ſums, laid out on this ſtupendous work, uſeleſs expences; and *Seneca* writes, that the lake *Fucinus* was in his time ſtill full, though the workmen had in *Claudius*'s time with immenſe labour finiſhed the canal, which if *Suetonius* is to be credited, they hewed through a rocky mountain for three miles together [f]. *Spartianus* ſays, that *Adrian* drained this lake [g]. However, it is ſtill to be ſeen in the *Farther Abruzzo*, and is known by the name of the lake of *Celano*. Towards the end of the year the *Bithynians* ſent deputies to *Rome* to accuſe *Junius Cilo*, their governor, of extortion. He had indeed oppreſſed them in a moſt cruel and barbarous manner; but the emperor, when they were admitted to his preſence, not well underſtanding what they ſaid, deſired *Narciſſus*, when they withdrew, to acquaint him with the end of their embaſſy. *They are come*, anſwered frankly *Narciſſus*, *to return you thanks for your kindneſs, in appointing over them a man of ſuch integrity, moderation, and diſintereſtedneſs, as* Cilo. Hereupon *Claudius* relying intirely upon the faith of his freedman, commanded, that *Cilo*, ſince he had given ſuch ſatisfaction, ſhould be continued in his government two years longer, during which time he completed the ruin of that unhappy people [h]: a remarkable inſtance this of the prince's weakneſs, and the impudent boldneſs of his freedmen!

The undertaking unſucceſsful.

The weakneſs of the prince abuſed by his freedmen.

The following conſuls were *Decimus Junius Silanus Torquatus*, and *Q. Haterius Antoninus*, during whoſe adminiſtration, *Nero*, who had entered the ſixteenth year of his age on the fifteenth of *December*, married *Octavia* the daughter of *Claudius*, to whom he had been contracted three years before. Soon after, to acquire the glory of eloquence, he undertook the cauſe of the *Ilians*, and obtained for them, as the anceſtors of the *Romans*, an intire immunity from all taxes and tributes whatſoever. He likewiſe made an oration in favour of the *Rhodians*, and prevailed with *Claudius* to reſtore them to their ancient liberty, which had been often taken from them, and often re-eſtabliſhed: a third oration he pronounced in favour of the inhabitants of *Bononia*, a *Roman* colony, which had been utterly conſumed by fire; and they were at his ſuit relieved with a large bounty [i]. The two firſt orations he uttered in *Greek*, and the third in *Latin*. At the ſame time the inhabitants of *Apamea*, *Byzantium*, and *Coos*, having recourſe to the young prince, obtained by his mediation ſignal favours; the *Coans* a general immunity from impoſitions (X), and the inhabitants of *Apamea* and *Byzantium*, a diſcharge from all tribute for the ſpace of five years, the latter

Nero *marries* Octavia.

Several favours granted at his ſuit.

[c] Tacit. c. 57. Suet. c. 21, 32. [d] Dio, in excerp. Val. p. 678. [e] Tacit. ibid. [f] Suet. c. 20. Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 15. [g] Spart. in Adr. p. 11. [h] Dio, p. 687. [i] Tacit. c. 48. Suet. in Ner. c. 7.

(X) When *Claudius* propoſed in the ſenate a general immunity from all manner of taxes and tributes in behalf of the *Coans*, he made a long deſcant upon their antiquity; how the *Argives*, or at leaſt *Ceus* the father of *Latona*, firſt cultivated that iſland; how *Æſculapius* arrived thither ſoon after, and with him the art of medicine, an art which had long flouriſhed amongſt his deſcendants, whoſe names he rehearſed, and marked the ſeveral ages, in which they lived. He added, that *Xenophon*, his own phiſician, was deſcended from the ſame family; and that at his requeſt an intire diſcharge for ever from all tributes ought to be granted to his countrymen, that they might attend only the cultivation of an iſland ſacred to that deity. *Tacitus* obſerves, that he might have alledged many good offices of their's towards the *Roman* people, nay, and victories gained by their aid; but had not judgment enough to colour under ſome public conſideration his perſonal partiality to his phyſician (49). We ſhall ſoon ſee what return *Xenophon* made him for his kindneſs.

(49) *Tacit.* c. 61.

latter having ſuffered much by the late wars of *Thrace* and *Boſphorus*, of which we have ſpoken in the hiſtories of thoſe kingdoms; and the former by an earthquake [m]. All this thro' the policy of *Agrippina*, to gain for her ſon the reputation of a compaſſionate and humane prince. On the contrary, ſhe puſhed *Claudius* upon all the moſt deteſted meaſures of cruelty. As ſhe was deſirous of poſſeſſing the fine gardens of *Statilius Taurus*, a ſenator of great diſtinction, who had been proconſul of *Africa*, ſhe ſuborned *Tarquitius Priſcus*, formerly his lieutenant, to charge him with having conſulted the magicians concerning the term of the emperor's life. *Taurus*, finding *Agrippina* bent upon his deſtruction, laid violent hands on himſelf. The ſenate were to ſuch a degree grieved for the loſs of ſo worthy a citizen, and provoked againſt the b accuſer, that exerting themſelves on this occaſion, they expelled him the ſenate in ſpite of the protection and intrigues of *Agrippina* [n]. *Suetonius* pretends, that *Taurus*, entering into a conſpiracy with *Gallus Aſinius*, corrupted ſeveral of the emperor's freedmen and domeſtics with a deſign to make an inſurrection [o], whereas *Tacitus*, whom we have followed, tells us, he was proſecuted merely on account of his fine gardens, which upon his death *Agrippina* ſeized, as *Meſſalina* had done thoſe of *Valerius Aſiaticus*. *Claudius* had often declared, that the ſame force ſhould be allowed to the deciſions of his procurators, or receivers, as to his own; and now to ſhew that this was no declaration at random, he cauſed it to be confirmed and eſtabliſhed by a decree of the ſenate. Theſe receivers of the emperors were their ſtewards, perſons intruſted c with their domeſtic concerns, for the moſt part franchiſed ſlaves; and nevertheleſs to ſuch ſons of earth the weak prince, intirely controuled by them, was not aſhamed to aſſert by a ſolemn decree of the ſenate, a power equal to his own, and to that of the laws. At the ſame time he conferred univerſal juriſdiction upon the equeſtrian order, the ſame juriſdiction, for which ſo many ſeditions had been formerly raiſed, and ſo much blood ſhed. *Auguſtus* had ordained, that the knights, who governed *Egypt*, ſhould act judicially; ſoon after their juriſdiction was extended to other provinces; and even in *Rome* itſelf many things formerly determined by the prætors, were referred to the tribunal of the knights. *Claudius* now inveſted them with the ſame unbounded juriſdiction, which had been hitherto enjoyed by the ſenatorial order, and d was looked upon by them as their peculiar prerogative [p].

Statilius Taurus *accuſed, lays violent hands on himſelf.*

Claudius *equals the power of his freedmen to his own.*

An unlimited juriſdiction granted to the knights.

The following year, *M. Aſinius Marcellus* and *M. Acilius Aviola* being conſuls, a change of affairs was portended, if the ancients are to be credited, by many prodigies (Y). But *Agrippina* was not ſo much alarmed by them, as by a ſaying of *Claudius*, uttered heedleſsly in his wine; *That it was his fate to bear the iniquities of his wives for ſome time, and at laſt to puniſh them.* About the ſame time, having condemned a woman for adultery, he anſwered one of his freedmen, who applauded the juſtice of his ſentence, *It is my lot to be unfortunate in my marriages, and to puniſh adulteries*; which plainly ſhewed, that he was not unappriſed of the intrigues and amours of his wife. He likewiſe betrayed evident tokens of his repenting his marriage with e *Agrippina*, and the adoption of *Nero*; for his ſon *Britannicus* preſenting himſelf to him, he embraced him with more than ordinary kindneſs, bidding him grow up, for he would give him an account of his whole conduct; adding in *Greek*, *It is love that prompts me*; he declared at the ſame time his intention of giving him ſoon the manly robe, *That the people of* Rome, ſaid he, *may have at laſt a true* Cæſar [q]. As the emperor let no word drop, which was not immediately carried to *Agrippina*, ſhe reſolved to be before-hand with him; but firſt to deſtroy by his means *Domitia Lepida*, who gave her no ſmall umbrage. She was daughter to *Antonia* the younger, great niece to *Auguſtus*,

Is appriſed of the wickedneſs of Agrippina.

[m] Tacit. c. 58. [n] Idem, c. 59. [o] Suet. c. 13. [p] Tacit. c. 50. [q] Idem, c. 64. Suet. c. 43.

(Y) The enſigns of the ſoldiers and their tents were ſcorched with fire from heaven; a ſwarm of bees ſettled upon the ſummit of the capitol; children were born of different forms; a pig was farrowed with the talons of a hawk (50). A blazing ſtar appeared; the monument of his father *Druſus* was ſtruck and ſplit with lightning; the number of every order of magiſtrates was leſſened that year; for one of the quæſtors, one of the ædiles, a tribune, a prætor, and a conſul, died within a few months. In his deſignation of conſuls he named none for that dignity beyond the month of *October*, in which he died, as if he had been appriſed of his approaching end. The laſt time he came to the ſenate, having with great earneſtneſs exhorted his natural and adopted ſon to live in unity and concord, he recommended them both to the care and protection of the fathers. The laſt time he adminiſtered juſtice in public, he is ſaid to have told the people from his tribunal, that *his courſe was ended* (51).

(50) *Idem*, c. 64.

(51) *Idem ibid.* & *Suet.* c. 46.

Augustus, cousin-german to *Agrippina* the elder, and sister to *Cneius Domitius*, the present *Agrippina*'s former husband; so that she accounted herself no ways inferior to *Agrippina* in nobility, to whom she was equal in beauty, age, and wealth. They were, according to *Tacitus*, both prostitutes in their persons, infamous in their manners, violent in their tempers, and no less rivals in vices, than in the lustre of their families and the advantages of their fortunes. But their chief contention and struggle was, which of them, the aunt, or the mother, should acquire the sway over *Nero*. *Lepida* endeavoured to gain him with caresses and presents, while the imperious *Agrippina* treated him with severity and threats, like one, who was desirous indeed to raise him to the sovereignty, but seemed determined not to allow him to exercise his sovereign authority over her. To get rid of her troublesome rival, she accused *Lepida* of having sought by charms and imprecations to destroy the emperor's wife, and of disturbing the public peace of *Italy* by neglecting to restrain the tumultuous bands of her slaves in *Calabria*. For these imputations she was by the servile senate doomed to die, and executed in spite of the opposition and interest of *Narcissus*, who grew daily more and more distrustful of *Agrippina*, and therefore strove to save *Lepida*[r]. We are told by *Suetonius*, that *Nero* himself was obliged by his mother to appear as a witness against his aunt, though he had a particular kindness and value for her[s].

Domitia Lepida *accused and condemned.*

In the mean time, *Claudius* being taken ill, for the recovery of his health, had recourse to the soft air and wholsome waters of *Sinuessa*; and this occasion was greedily seized by *Agrippina* long since bent upon his destruction, and for that purpose well furnished with wicked agents. She thought it would be safest to procure his death by poison; but she was at a loss what sort to use; if it were powerful and sudden in its operation, her crime might thence be betrayed; if slow and consuming by degrees, there was danger, that *Claudius*, when his end approached, might suspect her, and thence annul the adoption of *Nero*. At length she adjudged a subtile poison the best, such as would disorder his senses, and not suddenly put an end to his life. An experienced artist in such preparations was chosen, by name *Locusta*, a woman who had been lately condemned for poisoning. By her the poison was prepared, and *Halotus*, an eunuch and the emperor's taster (Z), was charged to administer it; which he did accordingly in a dish of mushrooms, of which *Claudius* was a great lover. But whether it was from his natural stupidity, or because he was drunk, he did not seem to feel the virulence of the dose; at the same time a looseness seemed to relieve him, and to defeat the operation and force of the poison. *Agrippina* therefore, terribly dismayed, as one who knew that her own life lay at stake, had recourse to *Xenophon*, the emperor's physician, who being already engaged in her wicked designs, under pretence of assisting *Claudius* in his efforts to vomit, thrust down his throat a feather dipt in most potent poison, which soon put an end to his life[t] (A). Thus died the emperor *Caius Tiberius Claudius Nero*, on the thirteenth of *October*, in the sixty-fourth year of his age, after having reigned thirteen years, eight months, and twenty days, reckoning from the day of *Caius*'s death[u]. He was a weak prince, almost a change-

Claudius *is taken ill.*

Is poisoned by the contrivance of Agrippina.

[r] Idem, c. 65. [s] Suet. in Ner. c. 7. [t] Tacit. c. 69. Dio, p, 688. [u] Idem ibid. Dio, p. 689.

(Z) The office of taster, utterly unknown in the times of the republic, was probably established by *Augustus*, as we conjecture from the following epitaph still to be seen at *Rome*: *Cenio. Cæli. Herodian. Prægustator. Divi. Augusti. Idem. Postea. Villicus. In. Hortis. Sallustianis. Decessit. Nonis. Augustis. M. Cocceio. Nerva. C. Vibio. Rufino. Coss. Tiberius* too had his taster, as appears from the following inscription: *Ti. Claudius. Flamma. Clausus. Ti. Aug. Prægustator.* Their example was, no doubt, followed by all the other emperors. This custom obtained among the *Persians*, as we read in *Xenophon* (52), and of them in all likelihood the *Roman* emperors borrowed it.

(A) *Tacitus* tells us, that all the particulars of *Claudius*'s death were soon after so thoroughly known, that the writers of those times were able to relate the most minute circumstances of this black deed. But *Suetonius* writes, that though it is agreed on all hands, that he died by poison, yet authors are not unanimous either as to the place where, or the person by whom it was given. Some, says that writer, tell us, that the eunuch *Halotus*, his taster, poisoned him, while he was banquetting among the priests in the capitol. Others will have it, that in a feast at his own house *Agrippina*, knowing he was a great lover of mushrooms, presented him with one that was poisoned. Neither are the other circumstances of his death better known, continues the same writer; some relate, that he expired soon after he had taken the poison, others, that he continued all night in great agony, and died about break of day. Some affirm, that he fell asleep as soon as he had taken the dose, and was afterwards relieved with vomiting, whereupon the dose was doubled, &c. We have followed *Tacitus*, who seems to have been better acquainted with the circumstances of *Claudius*'s death than any other writer, since he relates them without the least doubt or hesitation, as publicly known in his time.

(52) *Xenoph. Cyropæd. l.* i.

a changeling; had no diſcernment or paſſions of his own, but was intirely governed by his wives and freedmen. However, *Tacitus* ſeems to allow him a ſhare of ſenſe at intervals. *Suetonius* reproaches him with cruelty, and tells us, that thirty-five ſenators, and above three hundred *Roman* knights, were by his orders put to death. But it is certain, that the prince himſelf was altogether a ſtranger to moſt of theſe executions; for a centurion bringing him one day word, that, purſuant to his orders, he had executed ſuch a conſular, the emperor, with no ſmall ſurpriſe, anſwered, that he had given no ſuch order; but one of his freedmen ſaying, that the officer had done well in revenging of his own accord injuries offered to the perſon of the empe-
b ror, he acquieſced, and without further inquiry approved of the execution [w]. *Seneca* in the bitter ſatyr he wrote againſt him ſays, among other things, that he no more ſcrupled the killing of a man, than the killing of a fly [x]. But his hatred to *Claudius*, by whom he had been baniſhed to the iſland of *Corſica* and kept there for the ſpace of eight years, prompted him to charge the prince with thoſe crimes, which other writers, free from paſſion and prejudice, lay at the door of his wives and freed-men. He had, according to *Tacitus*, *Dion Caſſius*, and *Suetonius*, many good qualities, was an utter enemy to all pride and oſtentation, a ſtranger to revenge, free from the im-
c putation of avarice, a great lover of juſtice, and when he acted of himſelf, and was not by fear bereft of his ſenſes, inclined to mercy and compaſſion. But *Seneca* paints him as a monſter, in whom centred all vices, without allowing him one ſingle virtue,
d one good quality; whence it is but too manifeſt, that his paſſion got the better of his philoſophy. *His character.*

While *Claudius* lay dead in his appartment, the ſenate, the conſuls, and pontiffs, were offering vows for his recovery, nay, reſtoratives were ſtill applied, and every thing elſe performed, as if they were not without hopes of his recovery, till matters were diſpoſed for ſecuring the empire to *Nero*. With this view *Agrippina*, as ſoon as the prince expired, perſonating inconſolable grief, and pretending to ſeek on all hands
e ſome allay to her ſorrow, claſped *Britannicus* faſt in her arms, ſtyled him the true image of his father, and by various devices kept him in the chamber, and likewiſe his two ſiſters, *Octavia* and *Antonia*. At the ſame time, ſhe poſted guards in all
f the avenues, ſhut up all the paſſages, and from time to time gave out, that the prince was recovering. At laſt, when ſhe had taken all poſſible precautions to prevent any diſturbance, at noon the gates of the palace were unexpectedly thrown open, and *Nero*, accompanied by *Burrhus*, captain of the prætorian guards, walked forth to the cohort which was then upon duty. There, by the command of *Burrhus*, he was received with ſhouts of joy, and inſtantly put into a litter. Some indeed heſitated, frequently looking and aſking, where was *Britannicus?* but as he was detained in the chamber of the deceaſed emperor, and no one appeared to propoſe him, they preſently joined the others, and embraced the choice which was offered them. Thus *Nero* was carried to the camp, where, after a ſpeech ſuitable to the exigency and the promiſe of a largeſs equal to that of the late prince, he was ſaluted emperor. The declaration of the ſoldiers was followed and confirmed by the decrees of the ſenate, which were, without reluctancy, accepted by the people both at *Rome* and in the provinces. To *Claudius* was decreed a ſolemn and pompous funeral, the ſame as had been ordained for *Auguſtus*, *Agrippina* emulating the magnificence of her great-grand-mother *Livia Auguſta*. His laſt will, however, though atteſted by the hands and ſeals of all the magiſtrates, was not read in public, leſt his preferring there the ſon of his wife to his own ſon might be reſented by the people [y].

Agrippina perſonates great ſorrow.

Procures Nero *to be declared emperor.*

Nero had ſcarce been ſaluted emperor, when the imperious and revengeful *Agrippina* made what haſte ſhe could to diſpatch *Narciſſus*, who had ſpoken reproachfully of her, and betrayed no ſmall affection for *Britannicus*. She cauſed him to be immediately arreſted, and dragged to priſon, where he was, through fear of a more ignominious and cruel death, conſtrained to lay violent hands on himſelf, ſore againſt the will of *Nero*. He is ſaid to have been at once profuſe and rapacious, to have ſurpaſſed in wealth *Cræſus*, the kings of *Perſia*, and *Claudius* himſelf, and at the ſame time to have excelled all the prodigals of his age. As he bore an abſolute ſway under *Claudius*, his friendſhip was courted by foreign kings, cities, and provinces, all ſtriving who ſhould make him the moſt magnificent preſents. We have ſeen in the courſe of *Claudius*'s reign, by how many crimes he deſerved the doom that overtook him

Narciſſus *ſacrificed to the revenge and jealouſy of* Agrippina

[w] Suet. c. 23. [x] Senec. lud. in Claud. p. 478. [y] Tacit. c. 69. Suet. c. 44.

him at last. But after all, he was faithful to his master, preserved his life with great care, and was ready, as *Tacitus* informs us, to lay down his own for his service [z]. *Agrippina* would never have attempted to poison *Claudius*, if *Dion Cassius* is to be credited [a], had she not first removed *Narcissus*, by persuading him to try the baths of *Campania* for the recovery of his health. Before he laid violent hands on himself, he consigned to the flames several letters and secret papers against *Agrippina*, which, as the prince's secretary, he had in his custody, that her accusers might not be exposed to the fury of a woman, whose tempestuous spirit, to use his expression, and violent lust of dominion, if not restrained, would soon drown *Rome* in blood [b]. *Zonarus* tells us, upon what authority we know not, that *Narcissus* put an end to his life upon the tomb of *Messalina* [c]. About the same time, another victim, far more illustrious, was sacrificed, b

And Junius Silanus.

and indeed unknown to *Nero*, by the deadly fraud of *Agrippina*. This was *Junius Silanus*, proconsul of *Asia*, a man of great wealth and equal quality, but of a quiet disposition, and so little inclined to raise any disturbances in the state, that he had, during the late reigns, spent his life in slothful indolence, and even in scorn; insomuch, that *Caligula* used to call him *the golden sheep*. However, as upon the death of *Claudius*, it was whispered among the populace, that as *Nero* was scarce out of his childhood, and had by iniquity acquired the empire, such a man as *Silanus* ought to be preferred to him, one of ripe years, of an unblemished character, and, what was then highly esteemed, descended from the *Cæsars*; for he too was the great grandson of *Augustus*; this was enough for *Agrippina* to dispatch him; and accordingly she sent orders, without her son's consent or knowledge, to *P. Celer*, a *Roman* knight, and to *Helius*, a freedman, both the emperor's receivers in *Asia*, to murder *Silanus*. Her orders were obeyed, and poison was given him at a banquet by the two assassins, so openly, as if they were neither ashamed nor afraid to own the murder. A torrent of slaughters would have followed, had not *Afranius Burrhus* and *Annæus Seneca* prevented it. These were the young prince's governors, who was now only in the seventeenth year of his age. Though partners in power, yet, by a rare instance, they lived free from all jealousy and emulation, and were of equal weight and authority, though different in their accomplishments. *Burrhus* was his instructor in the military art, and *Seneca* in the precepts of eloquence. In these different offices they assisted d and supported each other, the easier to manage between them the dangerous age of the prince, neither of them having any thing in view, any thing at heart, but the service of their illustrious pupil and the welfare of the public. They had both one constant struggle to maintain against the turbulent spirit of *Agrippina*, who, transported with the lust of ruling without controul and supported by *Pallas*, was for sacrificing, even before the obsequies of her husband were performed, to her rage and jealousy, all those who gave her the least umbrage. But *Burrhus* and *Seneca*, unanimously

Burrhus *and* Seneca *the young prince's governors.*

They restrain the fury of Agrippina.

exerting their authority, restrained her blind rage, and kept her within bounds. *Nero* indeed heaped all kinds of honours upon her, and to the tribune, who came to attend him, the first day of his government, for the word, he gave that of *optima mater*, *excellent mother:* the senate too, the first time they assembled, decreed her two lictors, and several other marks of distinction; but the emperor's governors, bearing a greater sway than she over his youthful mind, prevented her from committing such excesses, as she had been guilty of during the late reign [d]. e

Nero's first care after his accession to the empire was, to perform, with all possible pomp and magnificence, the obsequies of the deceased emperor: he pronounced himself his funeral oration, in which he displayed the antiquity of his lineage, the many consulships, the many triumphs of his ancestors; he likewise touched upon his personal accomplishments, especially his eloquence, and thorough knowledge of the *Greek* tongue; all which was heard with attention and pleasure. But when he began f to cry up the wisdom, foresight, and providence of *Claudius*, the whole audience broke into a loud laughter; though the speech was of *Seneca*'s composing, and discovered much accuracy and elegance; for he had, says *Tacitus*, a fine genius and a style well adapted to the taste of that time. On this occasion it was observed, that *Nero* was the first *Roman* emperor who stood in need of another man's eloquence; *Cæsar* the dictator stood in rank with the most distinguished orators, and none of his successors wanted eloquence, address, and energy in speaking. But *Nero* having from his early childhood applied himself to graving, painting, singing, and manage-

Claudius's *funeral praises.*

ing

[z] Tacit. c. 65. [a] Dio, p 688. [b] Idem ibid. [c] Zonar. p. 187. [d] Tacit. annal. 13. c. 1, 2. Suet. c. 8. Dio, l. lxi. p. 690.

a ing of chariots, was obliged to employ the pen of *Seneca*, where-ever he had occasion to ſpeak in public, or even to write letters concerning affairs of any importance. *Seneca* had one under him, named *Beryllus*, who is ſtyled by *Joſephus* [e], *Nero*'s preceptor, but was only his *Greek* ſecretary.

When the obſequies were over, the young prince repaired to the ſenate, where, after an introduction, in which he acknowledged himſelf indebted for the empire to the authority of the ſenate and the concurrence of the ſoldiery, he declared in what manner he deſigned to govern; that he claimed not the judgment and deciſion of affairs; that the whole power and authority ſhould not be confined to a few perſons, but every magiſtrate ſhould have their peculiar juriſdiction; that nothing ſhould
b be ſaleable within his walls, nor any acceſs there to informers; that between his family and the republic a juſt diſtinction ſhould ever be maintained; that the ſenate ſhould preſerve their ancient juriſdiction; that *Italy* and the provinces belonging to the people ſhould apply only to the conſuls, and by them procure acceſs to the fathers; that to himſelf he reſerved what was eſpecially committed to his care, the direction of the armies: he concluded with aſſuring them, that he deſigned to govern his people according to the model of the deified *Auguſtus*. The ſenate ordered this ſpeech, which was likewiſe compoſed by *Seneca*, to be engraved on a plate of ſilver, and to be annually read in the ſenate by the new conſuls [f]. At the ſame time, they accumu-
c lated all kinds of honours upon him, which he accepted, without refuſing any, except that of *Father of his country*, in conſideration of his youth [g], which, however, he aſſumed before the ſecond year of his reign expired, as appears from ſome ancient medals [k]. He ſeemed at firſt inclined to perform the mighty promiſes he had made to the ſenate; for this year he gave innumerable inſtances of clemency, moderation, and good-nature: to the people he diſtributed four hundred ſeſterces a man; to ſuch of the ſenators as were deſcended from illuſtrious families, but reduced to poverty, he allowed annual ſalaries, to ſome five hundred thouſand ſeſterces, beſides a certain quantity of corn, which he likewiſe allowed monthly to his guards: many impoſitions he utterly ſuppreſſed, and retrenched others to a fourth: he redreſſed ſeveral diſ-
d orders; reſtrained the profuſe luxury of feaſts and banquets, which had obtained during the late reign, *Claudius* himſelf being greatly addicted to feaſting; with the approbation of the ſenate he publiſhed an edict, forbidding the ſelling of any thing boiled in public houſes, except pulſe and greens; he ſuppreſſed a kind of ſports, in which certain perſons, running up and down the city, pretended to have by cuſtom acquired a right of robbing, as it were in jeſt, all they met, and carrying off whatever they could ſeize [i]. The ſenate likewiſe, depending upon the prince's declaration began to exerciſe their ancient juriſdiction: and made various regulations, among the reſt the two following; that no orator or pleader ſhould receive any fee, payment, or preſent, for defending a cauſe; and that thoſe, who were deſigned quæſtors, ſhould be no longer obliged to exhibit public ſhews of gladiators. All this was oppoſed by *Agrip-*
e *pina* as annulling the acts of *Claudius*; but *Nero* preferred the counſels of *Burrhus* and *Seneca* to thoſe of his mother; and the fathers prevailed. However, out of reſpect to her, he cauſed her late huſband *Claudius* to be ranked among the gods, with all the ſolemnity and pomp of prieſts, altars, and ſacrifices: which gave occaſion to the pleaſantry of *Gallio* the brother of *Seneca*, who hearing of the deification of *Clau-* Claudius *deified.*
dius, could not help ſaying, that he had been drawn up to heaven with a hook, as the criminals were dragged to the *Tiber* [k]. Towards the end of this year, *Nero* beſtowed the *Leſſer Armenia* on *Ariſtobulus* the ſon of *Herod*, king of *Chalcis*; to *Sohemus* he gave, with the enſigns of royalty and title of king, the country of *Sophene*, lying between *Armenia*, *Meſopotamia*, and *Comagene*, and added ſome towns of *Galilee* to
f the territories which *Claudius* had given to *Agrippa*, the ſon of *Agrippa*, king of *Judæa* [l]. Before the year expired, embaſſadors arrived from *Armenia* to plead before *Nero* a cauſe of their nation; and while the emperor was hearing them, ſeated on the imperial throne, *Agrippina* appeared all on a ſudden, and was advancing to ſit in joint judgment with the prince. The whole aſſembly was ſtruck with amazement; but no one daring to reſtrain her, *Seneca* ſuggeſted to him, to deſcend and meet his mother; and thus, under the diſguiſe of filial reverence, that public diſgrace was prevented; for the *Romans* thought it highly ignominious, that foreign nations ſhould *The unbounded ambition of* Agrippina.
believe

[e] Joseph. antiq. l. xx. c. 7. [f] Tacit. c. 3. Suet. c. 10. Dio, p. 650. [g] Suet. c. 8. [h] Vide Goltz. p. 44. [i] Suet. c. 16. [k] Dio, p. 688. [l] Tacit. c. 5. Joseph. ibid. l. xx. c. 5.

believe them to be governed by a woman [l]. The audience was put off to another day, when *Seneca* and *Burrhus* took effectual care to prevent her disturbing it. As her son was but a youth, and wholly indebted to her for the sovereignty, she claimed an equal share in it with him, and therefore pretended to answer foreign embassadors jointly with him, to write letters to princes and kings, to dispatch orders to the governors of provinces and commanders of armies; to preside among the *Roman* eagles, and in short, to be called and acknowledged a partner in the empire, which her ancestors had acquired, and she had conferred on her son. She always accompanied him in the same litter, was attended by the same guards, and at first prevailed upon the young prince to assemble the senate in the palace, that, posted by a door behind a curtain, she might over-hear the debates without being seen [m]. *Seneca* and *Burrhus*, well apprised what dreadful disorders she would raise, if she once got the ascendant over the prince, left no stone unturned to lessen her power; and their attempts were not without success, as we shall find anon. The same year, *Nero* applied to the senate for a statue to his father, and for the consular ornaments to *Asconius Labeo*, who had been his tutor. The senate not only complied with his request, but at the same time decreed statues to himself of solid silver and gold, which he absolutely refused, and checked those who proposed them. The senate likewise decreed, that the year should for the future begin on *December*, the month in which *Nero* was born; but, notwithstanding the ordinance of the senate, he preserved the ancient custom of beginning the year with the first of *January*. Neither would he admit a criminal prosecution against *Corinas Celer*, a senator, upon the accusation of a slave; nor against *Julius Densus*, a *Roman* knight, who was charged with his devotion to *Britannicus*, as a great crime [n].

Nero's *modesty.*

Nero's *first consulship.*

The following year, *Nero*, who was, by a decree of the senate, to exercise the consulship in the twentieth year of his age, tho' he was now but in his eighteenth, took possession of that dignity, agreeable to the custom of other emperors, who never failed to assume the fasces the year after their accession to the empire. He chose for his colegue *L. Antistius Vetus*; but would not suffer him to swear, as was usual, upon his acts, an action mightily cried up by the fathers, with a design to animate his youthful mind to the pursuit of glory resulting from things of greater moment. At the same time, he gave a signal instance of his mercy towards *Plautius Lateranus*, whom, formerly degraded from the order of senator for adultery with *Messalina*, he now restored to his ancient rank. *Tacitus* observes, that he made great professions of clemency in the frequent speeches, which *Seneca*, the composer, uttered in public by his mouth, either to manifest what good counsels he gave him, or to display his own wit [o]. After two months he resigned the fasces; but to whom we are no-where told. This year, *Nero* first began to slight the authority of his mother, which was no-ways displeasing to *Seneca* and *Burrhus*, who dreaded her violent spirit, and expected to see the calamities of the late reign renewed, if she came to bear the chief sway in the administration. The young prince conceived a violent passion for a franchised slave, by name *Acte*, and at the same time assumed as confidents in his amour *Otho* and *Claudius Senecio*; the first of a consular family, the same who arrived afterwards at the empire, and the other the son of one of the emperor's freedmen. They were both youths of graceful persons, but utterly abandoned to all manner of lewdness and debauchery, and on that score admitted by *Nero* to an intire intimacy. *Seneca* and *Burrhus* were soon informed of their pupil's intrigue; but, upon mature deliberation thought it advisable not to thwart him in his amour, since with a woman of low condition, to the injury of no man, the prince satisfied his youthful inclinations; whereas, if he were restrained from that gallantry, there was room to dread that he would outrageously insult women of the greatest distinction; for he had already conceived an utter aversion to his wife *Octavia*, however illustrious in her birth, however celebrated for her virtue. Thus reasoned *Burrhus* and *Seneca*, men, without all doubt, of great penetration, experience, and discernment [p]. But *Dion Cassius* ascribes to their unseasonable condescension and indulgence the many horrible excesses, which will render the name of *Nero* execrable to the latest posterity. Crimes, says that judicious writer, are linked together, and a passion, when once let loose, is scarce ever again restrained within due bounds. The prince's governors meant well; but the prince, finding they did not check the first sallies of his passion, took by degrees greater

Begins to slight the authority of his mother.

He is indulged by his governors in his passion for Acte.

[l] Tacit. ibid. [m] Idem ibid. [n] Idem, c. 11. [o] Idem ibid. [p] Tacit. c. 12.

greater liberties, and at length, impatient of all controul, gave a looſe to his irregular appetites. Thus *Dion Caſſius* [r]. But, however that be, *Agrippina* could not diſſemble the irregular conduct of her ſon, not from any motive of virtue, as will ſoon appear, but becauſe ſhe dreaded the extravagant power of a concubine. She left no ſtone unturned to check his growing paſſion; ſhe filled the city with the angry invectives of an incenſed woman; complained, fretted, and ſtormed, that a manumitted ſlave was become her rival, a hand-maid her daughter-in-law. But the fouler her reproaches were, the more they fired his paſſion; ſo that, being at length overcome by its force, he ſhook off all reſpect to his mother, and threw himſelf, without reſerve, into the arms of *Seneca*, with whom he knew *Annæus Serenus* (B) lived in cloſe confidence, one who had hitherto cloaked the prince's paſſion for *Acte*, by pretending to be in love with her himſelf, and had openly preſented to her in his own name whatever *Nero* in ſecret beſtowed upon her. *Agrippina* was no ſooner appriſed of this, than ſhe changed her arts and addreſs, attempting to regain the confidence of her ſon by ſoft and alluring ſpeeches; ſhe even offered him her own chamber, that there, and, if he pleaſed, within her own arms, he might more privily indulge his paſſion, a paſſion pardonable in one of his youthful years and ſovereign fortune. She even acknowledged her unſeaſonable ſeverity, and made him a tender of all her wealth, which was not much ſhort of the imperial treaſures. Thus from being over-ſtrict in checking her ſon, ſhe became all at once beyond all meaſure ſubmiſſive and fawning. This ſudden change deceived not *Nero*; and his intimate friends, dreading it, beſought him to be upon his guard againſt the ſnares of an implacable and deceitful woman [f].

But checked by his mother.

Who endeavours afterwards to honour him.

It happened about this time, that as *Nero* was ſurveying the rich ornaments, in which the emperors wives and mothers uſed to appear on ſolemn days, he choſe out the moſt pompous and ſtately, and ſent them as preſents to his mother. This the young prince did to convince her, that though he would not be controuled by her, yet he bore her no rancour or ill-will; but *Agrippina*, tranſported with rage, uttered bitter complaints againſt her ſon, who, ſhe ſaid, by ſending her ſuch trifles, did not ſo much intend to make her a preſent, as to exclude her from all the reſt, and to divide with her what he had wholly received from her. Theſe words, as ſlanderers and tale-bearers are never wanting in courts, were immediately carried to *Nero* with aggravations; who thereupon provoked with *Pallas*, by whom chiefly *Agrippina* was upheld in her ambitious deſigns, diſmiſſed him from his employment, the management of the finances, which he had received from *Claudius*, and in which he had acted more like the ſovereign director of the empire, than a miniſter. We are told, that as he left the palace, attended by a great throng of followers, *Nero* ſaid, not unpleaſantly, *Pallas is going to abdicate the ſovereignty*. The emperor, however, aſſured him upon his word, that he ſhould not be queſtioned for his paſt behaviour, and that as to his accounts, the public ſhould have no more demands upon him, than he upon the public. Thus *Pallas* forfeited his power, but preſerved immenſe wealth, amounting to ſeven millions of our money, to the hour of his death, which happened in the eighth year of *Nero*'s reign, as we ſhall relate in its proper place. The diſgrace of *Pallas* provoked *Agrippina* to ſuch a degree, that, not able to refrain her rage, ſhe abandoned herſelf to it without controul, uttering dreadful threats and curſes even in the emperor's hearing. *Britannicus*, ſaid ſhe, is now grown up, the true and worthy ſon of *Claudius*; he is now fit to aſſume the empire of his father, an empire, which one, who is a ſon only by adoption, holds to the prejudice of the lawful heir, and exerts his ill-acquired power chiefly by abuſing and inſulting his mother: ſhe threatened to lay open to the world all her infamous practices, all the ſteps ſhe had taken to ſecure the empire to the ungrateful monſter her ſon, the ſurreptitious adoption, her own guilt in poiſoning her huſband, the crying calamities ſhe had brought upon her own family, the unhappy houſe of *Germanicus*, &c. She added, that only one comfort

A new motive of miſunderſtanding between Nero *and* Agrippina.

Pallas *diſmiſſed.*

His diſgrace highly reſented by Agrippina.

[r] Dio, in excerpt. Val. p. 681. [f] Tacit. c. 13.

(B) He was commander of the city guards, and generally eſteemed, notwithſtanding his thus cloaking *Nero*'s paſſion for *Acte*. To him *Seneca* inſcribed his book *de tranquillitate*, and was to ſuch a degree grieved for the loſs of ſo dear and worthy a friend, as he himſelf owns in one of his letters (38), that he deſerved to be ranked among thoſe who had ſuffered themſelves to be overcome by an unmanly grief.

(38) *Senec. epiſt.* 63.

fort by the providence of the gods remained to her, that her ſtep-ſon was yet alive; a with him ſhe would repair to the camp, and there leave it to the deciſion of the ſoldiery, whether the prating pedagogue *Seneca* and the maimed *Burrhus*, or the ſon of the deified *Claudius* and the daughter of the renowned *Germanicus*, ſhould have the ſovereign rule of mankind. At the ſame time, ſhe ſhook her fiſt at the emperor himſelf, toſſed her hands, uttered all manner of reproaches, curſes, imprecations; devoted the monſter, ſo ſhe called her ſon, and his governors to the infernal furies; invoked the manes of her huſband *Claudius*, of the *Silani*, and many others, whom ſhe had murdered to no purpoſe. This alarmed *Nero*, and as *Britannicus* the next day ended the fourteenth year of his age, when he was to take the manly robe, the emperor began ſeriouſly to reflect with himſelf, now on the violent temper of his b mother, then upon the promiſing genius of the youth, of which he had given in the late feaſts of *Saturn* a glaring proof, and gained by it the favour and eſteem of all. Beſides many other innocent diverſions practiſed on that occaſion by the *Roman* youth of the like age and condition, it was an ancient cuſtom among them to chuſe a king, whoſe commands, whatever they were, the whole company was bound to obey. The king was choſen by lot, and in the palace, where the emperor, who was himſelf but a youth, *Britannicus*, and other children of the firſt quality, diverted themſelves with this paſtime, the lot fell upon *Nero*, who thereupon gave to all the reſt different commands, yet ſuch as expoſed them to no ridicule; but that to *Britannicus* was to ſtand up in the middle of the company, and there ſing a ſong. He hoped the boy, unac- c cuſtomed as he was to company, and quite ignorant how to behave himſelf in public, would become an object of laughter. But *Britannicus*, to the great ſurpriſe of all, with a becoming modeſty, and an undiſturbed addreſs, though the eyes of the whole court were upon him, raiſed his voice, and ſung a few verſes, importing, that he was bereft of his natural inheritance, and unjuſtly deprived of the authority to which he was born. The modeſt and comely aſpect of the youth, the deep concern which he betrayed in every note, and the reflections which all, who were preſent, made within themſelves, drew ſighs and tears from the whole company. *Nero*, ſtruck with the addreſs of the youth, but more with the verſes he ſung, immediately withdrew, as did all the reſt in ſilence, to give free vent to their grief in private, and let their d tears flow unreſtrained. From that time *Nero* conceived an irreconcileable hatred to the innocent youth, and being now alarmed at the threats of his mother, he reſolved to rid himſelf of one, whom he no longer looked upon as a brother, but as a competitor. But not daring openly to command the execution of a perſon of his rank, whom he could reproach with no crime, he ordered poiſon to be privately prepared, employing as his agent *Julius Pollio*, tribune of a prætorian cohort, in whoſe cuſtody was kept under condemnation for poiſoning the famous *Locuſta*, who had adminiſtered poiſon to *Claudius*. As for thoſe who were about the perſon of *Britannicus*, *Agrippina* had long ſince taken care, that they ſhould be ſuch as had no ſenſe of honour or honeſty. The doſe was therefore haſtily prepared by *Locuſta*, and adminiſtered to e the young prince by the hands of his governors; but whether it was not powerful enough in itſelf, or, to prevent a diſcovery by its ſudden operation, it had been qualified, it was without effect, being voided by a looſeneſs. Hereupon *Nero* threatened the tribune with immediate death, and would have ordered *Locuſta* to be executed, purſuant to her former ſentence, for preferring her own ſafety to the ſecurity of the prince, had ſhe not undertaken to prepare a doſe, which, ſhe engaged, ſhould diſpatch him as ſuddenly as a dagger. Accordingly the deadly potion, compounded of ſeveral poiſons, all of experienced energy and quickneſs, was prepared in a chamber next to the emperor's, and in his preſence. The opportunity to give it him was f taken while he was dining with the emperor; but at a ſeparate table, and more ſparingly ſerved, as it was the manner of the children of the reigning family, who were never admitted to the emperor's table, but took their meals apart with other young noblemen, not in a lying, but ſitting, poſture. Whatever the princes of the imperial family eat or drank, was firſt tried by a ſpecial officer of theirs, a taſter. To the end therefore, that neither this cuſtom might be omitted, nor the iniquity be diſcovered, by the death of both, the matter was thus concerted. To *Britannicus* drink was preſented without poiſon, and tried by the taſter, but ſcalding hot, and for that reaſon returned. It was then tempered with cold water, into which poiſon had been poured before-hand, of ſuch force and quickneſs in its operation, that *Britannicus* had ſcarce drunk it when he fell to the ground, bereft at once of ſpeech and life. Fear and g trembling

Nero *endeavours to expoſe* Britannicus *to ridicule.*

Reſolves upon his deſtruction.

Britannicus *poiſoned.*

trembling ſeized his companions; ſome inſtantly made off, but others, who compre-
a hended the myſtery, remained with their eyes fixed ſtedfaſtly upon *Nero*, who with the air of one utterly ignorant, declared, that it was only an uſual fit of the falling ſickneſs, to which *Britannicus* had been ſubject from his early childhood, and that by degrees his ſight and underſtanding would return. *Agrippina* and the young prince's ſiſter *Octavia* were both preſent, but ſtrove to conceal their grief and ſurpriſe; wherein *Octavia* indeed topped her part, having learnt, however raw in years, artfully to diſſemble every ſymptom of grief and tenderneſs, and every other affection of her ſoul. But *Agrippina*, ſenſible that her laſt refuge was ſnatched from her, could not help betraying manifeſt tokens of dread and conſternation. However, with diſguiſed looks, ſhe endeavoured to ſmother her concern; ſo that after a ſhort ſilence
b the gaiety of the entertainment was reſumed [t]. *Suetonius* tells us, that *Titus*, afterwards emperor, being among the other young noblemen at table with *Britannicus*, when he drank the baneful potion, taſted it, but recovered after a lingering and dangerous illneſs [u]. This is no-ways conſiſtent, as every reader muſt perceive, with the detail, which *Tacitus*, of all the antient writers the moſt accurate, gives us of that remarkable incident.

UPON one and the ſame day were ſeen the untimely fate of *Britannicus* and his funeral pile, to which his corpſe was conveyed in the evening, all things belonging to his funeral having been prepared beforehand. His remains were repoſited in the field
c of *Mars* without any pomp, ſolemnity, or even a funeral oration; though he was the laſt branch of the *Claudian* family, which had ſubſiſted in great ſplendor, and upon its own ſtock, without adoptions, ever ſince the time of *Romulus*, that is, for the ſpace of eight hundred and three years. During the funeral a violent and tempeſtuous ſhower of rain fell, which the populace looked upon as a declaration of the wrath of the gods for ſuch a crying iniquity, while others, reflecting on the eternal diſſentions of rival brothers, and the unſociable genius of ſovereignty, called it a pardonable crime [w]. *Nero* by an edict juſtified the haſty diſpatch of the obſequies, com- Nero's *hypocriſy*.
plained, that in *Britannicus* he had loſt the ſupport of a brother, and exhorted the fathers to cheriſh with the greater tenderneſs a prince, who alone ſurvived of a family,
d born to ſuſtain the ſovereign power. He then diſtributed the poſſeſſions of *Britannicus*, his palaces in *Rome*, his manors and villas throughout *Italy*, like ſpoils taken in war, among the chief perſons of his court, to purchaſe by ſuch donations their approbation, or at leaſt their ſilence. *Tacitus* tells us, that ſome were ſeverely cenſured for ſharing in theſe diſtributions, notwithſtanding the ſeverity and uprightneſs they profeſſed. He means, no doubt, *Burrhus* and *Seneca*; but endeavours to excuſe them, by adding, that they were perhaps conſtrained to accept the preſents by the authority of the emperor, who, being ſtung with the guilt of his own conſcience, hoped, that his crimes would be overlooked, if by largeſſes he could engage, as it were, in the ſame guilt, perſons of ſuch credit and reputation. In this diſtribution *Nero* did
e not forget his mother, but could by no liberalities calm her tempeſtuous ſpirit. She careſſed *Octavia*, the deceaſed prince's ſiſter and the emperor's wife; held frequently ſecret cabals with her confidents, and was on all hands amaſſing treaſure, as if ſhe had ſome great deſign to ſupport with it: ſhe paid great court to the tribunes and centurions, and received in the moſt obliging manner ſuch of the nobility as came to wait upon her. Theſe meaſures were known to *Nero*, who thereupon withdrew the prætorian guards, which attended her, as conſort to the late emperor and mother to this, and alſo the band of *Germans*, which, as a farther honour, had been added to the former: at the ſame time, he commanded her to quit the palace, and Agrippina *driven out of the palace.*
retire to the houſe, which had belonged to her grandmother *Antonia*. He repaired
f thither now and then to viſit her, but always ſurrounded with a crowd of officers, and withdrew after a ſhort compliment. *Agrippina* was immediately deſerted in her new habitation; the throng of courtiers, who daily frequented her levee while ſhe lived in the palace, inſtantly vaniſhed; no one appeared to comfort her in her diſgrace, no one to viſit her, except a ſmall number of ladies, and theſe not from any friendſhip or affection, to which inſects, who frequent courts, are commonly no leſs ſtrangers than to virtue and honeſty, but to watch all the words and actions of the diſgraced princeſs, and carry them with the uſual aggravations of tale-bearers to the emperor. Among theſe was *Julia Silana*, whom *Caius Silius* had divorced, as we have

[t] Idem, c. 16, 17. [u] SUET. in Tit. c. 2. [w] TACIT. c. 17.

have related above, to marry *Meſſalina.* She was no leſs infamous for her lewdneſs, than renowned on account of her high birth and extraordinary beauty; had been long dear to *Agrippina*, and had for a conſiderable while lived with her in great intimacy; but being afterwards diſguſted with her for diverting *Sextius Africanus*, a noble youth, from marrying her; ſhe reſolved now to make *Agrippina* pay dear for the wrong done her. With this view ſhe inſtructed two of her own creatures, *Iturius* and *Calviſius*, to accuſe her, as if ſhe deſigned to marry *Rubellius Plautus*, great-grandſon to *Auguſtus*, with a view to raiſe diſturbances in the ſtate. This was by *Iturius* and *Calviſius* imparted to *Atimetus*, the freedman of *Domitia*, *Nero*'s aunt; and by him to *Paris*, the celebrated player, who was alſo *Domitia*'s freedman. *Paris* haſtened to the emperor, laid before him a minute detail of the pretended conſpiracy, and ſo terrified him, that, without any further inquiries, he reſolved not only to put his mother and *Plautus* to death, but to remove *Burrhus*, the captain of his guards, as one who owed his promotion to *Agrippina*. Some authors write, that a commiſſion was already diſpatched to *Cæcina Thuſcus*, intruſting him with the command of the prætorian bands; but that *Burrhus* retained his dignity by the intereſt and mediation of *Seneca*: others write, that no jealouſy was entertained of that officer's fidelity. However that be, *Nero* could not be diverted from the cruel purpoſe of killing his mother, till *Burrhus* took upon him to ſee her executed, in caſe ſhe were convicted of the crimes laid to her charge; but every one, he ſaid, ought to be heard before condemnation, and much more a mother. Early next morning, *Burrhus* and *Seneca*, attended by ſome of the emperor's freedmen to watch their diſcourſe, went to wait on *Agrippina*, and notify to her the charge brought againſt her, and give her the names of her accuſers. She received them with great haughtineſs, and when her crimes were explained to her, defended herſelf with her wonted fierceneſs, but at the ſame time with ſuch energy, that *Seneca* and *Burrhus*, fully convinced of her innocence, not only declared her free from all guilt, but at her requeſt prevailed with the emperor to grant her an interview, during which ſhe took not the leaſt notice of the crimes laid to her charge, as if her innocence were ſufficiently known, nor of the obligations he owed her, leſt ſhe ſhould ſeem to reproach him with ingratitude; but confidently demanded, that vengeance ſhould be taken of her accuſers and ſuitable rewards conferred on her friends, and obtained both. Among her friends *Fenius Rufus* was honoured with the charge of ſupplying the city with with corn; to *Aruntius Stella* was given the direction of certain public ſhews; to *Caius Balbilius* was aſſigned the government of *Egypt*, and that of *Syria* to *Publius Anteius*, who was nevertheleſs under various pretences detained at *Rome*. Of her accuſers, *Silana*, *Calviſius*, and *Iturius* were ſent into exile; againſt *Atimetus* ſentence of death was pronounced and executed; but *Paris*, the emperor's inſeparable companion in his debauches, was diſmiſſed without any puniſhment [x]. This year *Pallas* and *Burrhus* were charged with a deſign of raiſing to the empire *Cornelius Sylla*, who had married *Antonia*, the late emperor's daughter; but the charge appearing evidently forged, they were both declared innocent. The arrogance of *Pallas*, however innocent, gave on this occaſion no ſmall offence; for the accuſer naming to him ſome of his freedmen, whom he pretended to have been his accomplices, the franchiſed ſlave had the impudence to anſwer, that he never condeſcended to ſpeak to any of his domeſtics, but conſtantly ſignified his pleaſure to them by a nod, a motion of his hand, or, if his commands conſiſted of many particulars, in writing, that they might thus learn to keep their diſtance. *Burrhus*, though accuſed, ſat and voted with the other judges, by whom the accuſer *Petus* was condemned to baniſhment. Towards the cloſe of the year, the emperor cauſed the cohort to be removed, which uſed to attend, as a guard, at the public ſports, to exhibit thereby a plauſible appearance of popular liberty, and alſo to prevent the ſoldiery from tainting their diſcipline with the licentiouſneſs of the theatre [y]. Such was *Nero*, during the firſt year of his reign, when he gloried in not having ſhed one drop of blood, as we learn from the books of clemency, which *Seneca* inſcribed to him ſome time after he had entered the nineteenth year of his age, that is, about the fifty-fifth of the *Chriſtian* æra. The chief aim of that excellent writer throughout the whole work is to imprint deeply in the mind of his pupil, that a general and extenſive beneficence is the genuine characteriſtic of a good prince; that thoſe who are intruſted with the ſovereign power, are not only bound to protect the innocent

She is accuſed unjuſtly.

Burrhus intercedes for her.

She is found innocent, and returns into favour.

The arrogance of Pallas.

[x] Tacit. c. 20—22. [y] Idem, c. 22—24.

innocent and guiltleſs, but often extend their mercy and good-nature to thoſe who may
a ſeem unworthy of their favour and protection. This he inſinuates to have hitherto been practiſed by *Nero*; and relates a celebrated ſaying of the young prince, who being deſired by *Burrhus* to ſign a warrant for the execution of two public robbers, put it off from time to time; but *Burrhus* preſſing him to diſpatch that affair, he at laſt ſet his hand to the warrant with the utmoſt reluctance, which he expreſſed with the following words mightily extolled by *Seneca*: *Oh had I never learnt to write*[z]! *A ſignal inſtance of* Nero's *clemency.*

THE following year, *Quintus Voluſius Saturninus* and *P. Cornelius Scipio* being conſuls, *Nero* began to indulge with more liberty his youthful inclinations, his debauched companions, eſpecially *Otho* and *Senecio*, of whom we have ſpoken above, inceſſantly
b repeating in his ears, that he was no longer a child, to be awed by a *Burrhus* or a *Seneca*; that they ought to tremble before him, as their ſovereign, and not he before them, as his tutors and maſters, *&c.* As youth are more ſuſceptible of bad than good counſels, the young prince, in ſpite of the wholeſome advice of his governors, abandoned himſelf to unſeaſonable revellings, and filled *Rome* with innumerable diſorders. For, unmindful of his rank and diſguiſed in the habit of a ſlave, he ſcoured in the night the ſtreets, the public inns, and the ſtews, followed by his debauched companions, who ſeized as a lawful prey whatever they found expoſed to ſale, and aſſaulted whomſoever they met. In theſe frolics he often ran great dangers, and once was ſo wounded in the face, that he ever afterwards bore the ſcar, no one ima-
c gining it was the emperor who thus roamed and rioted about the ſtreets. But when that came to be known, his name was falſly aſſumed as a cloak by others, who in ſeparate gangs practiſed the ſame exceſſes; ſo that ſuch combuſtions happened almoſt every night in the city, as if it had been ſtormed by an enemy. The prince having one night offered ſome affront to a woman of diſtinction, as ſhe was returning home in the dark, her huſband, by name *Julius Montanus*, a ſenator, who attended her, not only repulſed the aggreſſor, but handled him ſo roughly, that he was for ſeveral days obliged to keep his room: *Suetonius* ſays, he was almoſt killed. However, he diſſembled this treatment ſo long as it remained unknown to whom it had been offered; but *Montanus* having at laſt diſcovered it was the emperor, and thereupon implored
d by a letter his forgiveneſs, *Nero*, thinking he reproached him by owning he knew him, obliged him by threats and menaces to lay violent hands on himſelf. Thenceforth the emperor became more cautious, and was conſtantly attended in his nocturnal rambles by a party of his guards, and a numerous train of gladiators following him at ſome diſtance, who, however, were ordered not to interpoſe, till the prince's party was quite overcome. He likewiſe took great delight in ſtirring up and inflaming the different factions in the play-houſe, that favoured particular players; and when they were engaged, as it were, in battle, it was a great diverſion to him to throw ſtones and pieces of broken benches among them, with which he once dangerouſly wounded a prætor in the head. Theſe tumults rent the whole city into parties and
e factions, ſome favouring one player, and ſome another; inſomuch, that greater and more dangerous commotions being apprehended, no other remedy was found, but that of driving the players out of *Italy*, and recalling the ſoldiers to guard the theatre at the celebration of the public ſhews[a]. Under the ſame conſuls, *Vipſanius Lenas* was accuſed of extortion in his government of *Sardinia*, and condemned to baniſhment: *Ceſtius Proculus*, charged with the ſame crime, was acquitted: *Clodius Quirinalis*, commander of the fleet which rode at *Ravenna*, being convicted of ſeveral acts of cruelty, prevented by poiſon his impending condemnation: *Caninius Rebilus*, one of the ableſt civilians and richeſt citizens in *Rome*, redeemed himſelf from the uneaſineſs of an old age broken with infirmities, by opening his veins, which
f was thought the more ſurpriſing, as he had ever been infamous for his effeminacy and laſciviouſneſs. The ſame year, died *Lucius Voluſius Saturninus*, in the ninety-third year of his age, a man of great integrity, wealth, and intereſt, and nevertheleſs, what to *Tacitus* ſeems a kind of prodigy, never obnoxious to, or diſturbed by, any of the bloody emperors under whom he lived[b]. He was father to *Quintus Voluſius*, this year's conſul, who was born to him in the ſixty-ſecond year of his age: he was governor of *Rome* when he died[c].

Nero abandons *himſelf to revelling and debauchery.*

Players driven out of Italy.

THE

[z] SENEC. de clem. l. ii. c. 1. SUET. c. 10. [a] TACIT. c. 25. SUET. c. 26. DIO, in excerpt. Val. p. 685. [b] TACIT. c. 30. [c] PLIN. l. vii. c. 8.

Several instances of Nero's *generosity, goodnature, &c.*

THE next conſuls were *Nero*, the ſecond time, and *L. Calpurnius Piſo*, who, after a ſix months, reſigned the faſces to *Ducennius Geminius* and *Pompeius Paulinus*. This year, *Nero* remitted the duty upon the ſale of ſlaves, diſtributed to the populace a largeſs of four hundred ſmall ſeſterces a man, and iſſued an edict, forbidding all governors of provinces to exhibit any public ſhews, being well appriſed, that ſuch acts of munificence were only deſigned to ſtop the mouths of the people, who in the end bore the whole charge; ſo that the liberality of their governors and their avarice concurred equally to undo them. He likewiſe conſented, with great readineſs, to a decree of the ſenate, enacting, that if any one was killed by his ſlaves, thoſe who had been manumitted, if they ſtill continued under the ſame roof, ſhould be executed with his other ſlaves. *Lucius Varius*, who had been conſul, but formerly degraded for extortion, he reſtored to his rank; and referred *Pomponia Græcina*, a lady of great diſtinction, but accuſed of having embraced a foreign ſuperſtition, ſays *Tacitus*, meaning probably the chriſtian religion, purſuant to the ancient cuſtom, to the inquiſition of her huſband. She was married to *Aulus Plautius*, the ſame who, by his conqueſts in *Britain* in the reign of *Claudius*, had deſerved an ovation. *Plautius* aſſembled his relations, took together with them cognizance of the behaviour and reputation of his wife, and declared her innocent. *P. Celer* was accuſed of many crimes by the province of *Aſia*; but as he had diſpatched by poiſon the proconſul *Silanus*, as we have related above, that crime covered all his other enormities; ſo that *Nero*, aſhamed to diſcharge him and unwilling to condemn him, lengthened out the proceſs, till he died of old age. *Eprius Marcellus* was accuſed by the *Lycians* of extortion; but abſolved, though evidently guilty; nay, ſo powerful a faction was formed in his favour, that ſome of his accuſers were puniſhed with exile, as if they had conſpired the ruin of an innocent man. The *Cicilians* had better ſucceſs in the proſecution of *Coſſutianus Capito*, who, for his extortions, was condemned to baniſhment [c].

Reliefs poor ſenators.

THE following year, *Nero* entered upon his third conſulſhip; but held it only four months. His colleague was *Valerius Meſſala*, to whom, as he was of an illuſtrious family but by misfortunes reduced to poverty, *Nero* generouſly preſented a yearly penſion of five hundred great ſeſterces. At the ſame time, he aſſigned annual appointments to other ſenators, who did not deſerve them, having waſted their paternal wealth in voluptuouſneſs and riotous living.

P. Suilius *accuſed.*

This year *Publius Suilius*, an abandoned accuſer, who had made a great figure during the reign of *Claudius*, and with his venal eloquence procured the ruin of many illuſtrious citizens, was arraigned of various crimes. He was charged with the death of *Poppæa Sabina*, of *Julia* the daughter of *Druſus*, of *Valerius Aſiaticus*, of *Lucius Saturninus*, of *Cornelius Lupus*, and of whole bands of *Roman* knights condemned at his inſtigation; in ſhort, all the cruelties committed in the late reign were imputed to *Suilius*. In his defence he urged, that he had engaged in none of theſe accuſations of his own accord, but purely in obedience to the prince. But *Nero* checked this plea, by declaring, that from the memoirs of *Claudius* it evidently appeared, that no accuſation whatſoever had been undertaken by his orders. The accuſed then pleaded the commands of *Meſſalina*: but this too was reckoned a weak defence; for why, it was ſaid, had no other advocate but *Suilius* been ſingled out to accompliſh the bloody purpoſes of that proſtitute? *Seneca* ſeems to have been the chief and moſt ſanguine promoter of this proſecution; for againſt him chiefly *Suilius* inveighed, reproaching him with contaminating the beds of princeſſes, meaning *Julia*, *Germanicus*'s daughter; with hunting after inheritances, and catching the rich and childleſs, as it were, in his net; with his exhauſting all *Italy* and the provinces by his exceſſive uſury; with amaſſing, by what precepts of wiſdom, by what principles of philoſophy, he ſaid, he knew not, a treaſure of more than ſeven millions, in the ſhort ſpace of four years. Theſe reproaches, ſays *Tacitus*, did not a little taint the reputation and character of his antagoniſt *Seneca*. *Suilius*, however, was condemned, and baniſhed to the *Balearic* iſlands on the coaſt of *Spain*. In hatred to him his ſon *Nerulinus* was alſo arraigned; but *Nero* interpoſed, alledging, that public vengeance was ſufficiently ſatiated by the doom of the father [d]. This year was firſt kindled *Nero*'s paſſion for the celebrated *Poppæa Sabina*; a paſſion which proved the ſource of heavy calamities to the *Roman* ſtate. She was the daughter of another *Poppæa Sabina*, put to death by *Meſſalina*'s orders,

His invectives againſt Seneca.

[c] Tacit. c. 32—34. [d] Idem, c. 42, 43.

a orders, as we have related above, and of *Titus Ollius*, a ſenator. As *Poppæus Sabinus*, her mother's father, had ſhone in the republic, borne the conſular dignity, and been honoured with triumphal ornaments, ſhe borrowed his name, and called herſelf *Poppæa Sabina*; for to her own father the friendſhip of *Sejanus* had proved fatal, before he had attained to any dignity. She poſſeſſed every ornament becoming her ſex, except that of virtue; in beauty ſhe excelled all the women of her time; her wit, engaging addreſs, and ſprightly converſation charmed all who converſed with her. But her lewdneſs knew no bounds, nor was ſhe controuled in the purſuit of it by the awe of fame. Between huſband and adulterer ſhe made no diſtinction, ſays *Tacitus*, but was ever ready to gratify her own inclinations, without regarding any b ties, however binding. Hence, tho' ſhe was married to *Rufus Criſpinus*, a *Roman* knight, and by him had a ſon, ſhe was not aſhamed to leave him, and live publicly with *Otho*, a gay youth and the emperor's reigning favourite. This commerce of adultery was ſoon followed by their marriage, *Criſpinus* readily conſenting to a divorce. *Otho*, now her huſband, was continually extolling to *Nero* the beauty and charms of his wife, being prompted thereunto either by the indiſcreet warmth of a lover, or by a deſire of kindling in the young prince's breaſt the like paſſion, and procuring, from their common enjoyment of the ſame woman, an additional ſupport to his preſent authority. *Nero*'s paſſion was eaſily inflamed; he deſired to ſee *Poppæa*, an interview was appointed, and the emperor, in his firſt converſation with t her, was ſo taken with her ſoft arts, with her addreſs and careſſes, that he carried her to the palace and there detained her. But the artful *Poppæa*, after a night or two, when ſhe had worked up the prince's affection to the higheſt pitch, changed her former behaviour into haughtineſs, importuning the emperor to let her return to her huſband, whom of all men ſhe thought the moſt deſerving, the moſt worthy of her affection. Hereupon *Otho* was immediately forbidden the palace, debarred of all intercourſe, and even acceſs to the emperor, and ſoon after, to prevent his having any communication with *Poppæa*, preferred to the government of *Luſitania*; a go- Otho *ſent into* vernment which he adminiſtered for the ſpace of ten years with eminent uprightneſs *Luſitania.* and honour, having acquired no leſs reputation in authority, by his gravity and tl regular conduct, than he had deſerved infamy in a private ſtation, by a moſt voluptuous and diſſolute life (C) [e]. Thus *Nero* enjoyed *Poppæa* without a rival, and was for ſome time intirely governed by her pernicious and deſtructive counſels, as we ſhall relate anon. This year *Cornelius Sylla*, who had married *Antonia* the daughter of *Claudius*, being falſly accuſed of forming a conſpiracy againſt the emperor, was baniſhed his country, as if he had been a traitor fully convicted, and confined within the walls of *Marſeilles* (D). The ſame year, as the people complained loudly

PoppæaSabina *her character.*

She captivates Nero.

[e] Tacit. c. 45, 46. Suet. in Oth. c. 3. Joseph. antiq. l. xx. c. 7.

(C) *Suetonius* tells us, that *Nero*, conceiving a paſſion for *Poppæa*, took her from her huſband, and ſent her to *Otho*, who, receiving her into his houſe under colour of marriage, who ſo taken with her charms, that he pretended to ingroſs her wholly to himſelf, and not only refuſed to admit ſuch as were ſent to her from *Nero*, but once ſhut out the emperor himſelf, tho' he earneſtly intreated him to deliver her up to him, and added menaces to his intreaties. Upon this *Nero*, to deliver himſelf from ſo troubleſome a rival, preferred him to the government of *Luſitania*, now *Portugal*, fearing that a more ſevere puniſhment might diſcover the whole intrigue; yet ſo far it was known, that the following lampoon was made and diſperſed;

Cur Otho mentito ſit, quæritis, exul honore?
Uxoris mœchus cæperat eſſe ſuæ.

That is, *Why was* Otho *baniſhed under colour of an honourable preferment? Becauſe he became the adulterer of his own wife.* *Plutarch*, in the life of *Galba*, tells us, that *Nero* would not have been ſatisfied with ſo ſlight a puniſhment, had not *Seneca*, who had a great friendſhip for *Otho*, prevailed upon the emperor to condemn him only to an honourable exile, which would put him in full poſſeſſion of his miſtreſs (39).

(D) *Sylla* was accuſed by one *Graptus*, *Nero*'s freedman, an old, ſubtle, and wicked courtier, well practiſed, ever ſince the reign of *Tiberius*, in the dark devices of the emperors. He, upon this occaſion, forged the following plot. The *Milvian* bridge was then the ſcene of nocturnal revellings; and thither *Nero* frequently reſorted, that he might there the more licentiouſly riot without the city. *Graptus* therefore pretended, that a plot was laid for him, as he ſhould return from thence by the *Flaminian* way; but he had, by the providence of the gods eſcaped it, in coming home through the gardens of *Salluſt*; and that *Sylla* was at the head of this conſpiracy. The only foundation of all this was, that certain debauched youths had in ſport filled with groundleſs fears ſome of the emperor's attendants, as they were repairing back to the palace. But *Sylla* was, by his marriage with *Antonia*, *Claudius*'s daughter, nearly allied to the family of the *Cæſars*; and *Nero* miſtook his natural heavineſs and indolence, which rendered him unequal to any attempt of treaſon, for deep artifice and diſſimulation; and hence his ruin (40).

(39) *Plut. in Galb.*

(40) *Tacit. ibid.*

Nero designs to suppress all taxes.

loudly of the arbitrary exactions of the publicans, *Nero* was for intirely suppressing all taxes and duties, thinking that the greatest bounty he could bestow upon mankind; but the senate, after many high encomiums on the greatness of his soul, restrained him, by remonstrating, that the suppression of all taxes must necessarily be attended with the dissolution of the empire. The prince therefore contented himself with ordaining by an edict, that all the regulations relating to the revenues, which till then had been kept secret, should be hung up in public, to the end every one might know the precise sum he was to contribute; that the publicans should exact no claims for above a year backward; that all causes against them should be immediately heard and determined by the prætor at *Rome*, and in the provinces by the proprætors and proconsuls for the time being, with other the like intirely equitable injunctions, which, however, grew soon obsolete, tho' the suppression of the *quadragesima* or fortieth penny, and of the *quinquagesima* or fiftieth, as also of some other impositions, continued in force at least till the reign of *Adrian*. At the same time, to enconrage the transportation of grain from the transmarine provinces, it was ordained, that no duty should be paid for the same [f].

Issues several equitable regulations.

a

b

The state of affairs on the Rhine.

In *Germany*, affairs having continued in a state of tranquillity till this time, the commanders of the *Roman* armies, having no enemy to contend with, kept their troops employed in various works. *Paulinus Pompeius*, who commanded in *Lower Germany*, perfected a dam, which *Drusus* had begun threescore and three years before, to restrain the overflowing of the *Rhine*. A modern writer places it in the neighbourhood of *Duerstede* or *Wick* above *Utrecht* [g]. *Lucius Vetus*, who commanded in *Upper Germany*, undertook a work truly great, stupendous, and worthy of the *Roman* grandeur, which was to dig a canal of communication between the *Sône* and the *Moselle*, that the armies from *Italy*, sailing by sea into the *Rhone*, and then into the *Sône*, might fall through this canal into the *Moselle*, thence through the *Rhine* into the ocean; so that a communication might be opened between the *Mediterranean* and the said sea. But *Ælius Gracilis*, governor of *Belgic Gaul*, through which the *Moselle* flowed, jealous of the glory which *Vetus* would have acquired by so great and useful an undertaking, warned him not to bring his troops into another man's province, and at the same time threatened him with the displeasure of the emperor, who would be alarmed at such an enterprize, imagining it undertaken with a private view to court the affections of the *Gauls*. Thus was that glorious project dropped [h]. These things seem to have happened in the first year of *Nero*'s reign; for our historian relates in this place the transactions of several years. Afterwards, that is, according to *Onuphrius*, in the third year of the same prince's reign, *Paulinus* being succeeded by *Dubius Avitus*, and *Vetus* by *T. Curulius Mancias*, the *Frisians*, under the conduct of *Verritus* and *Malarigis*, possessed themselves of certain lands, which, being void of inhabitants, had been applied to the use of the *Roman* soldiers, who were wont to send their horses and cattle to graze there. They had already founded their dwellings and sown the fields, when *Avitus* threatened to drive them from thence, unless they first obtained from the emperor a grant of those territories. Hereupon the two chiefs proceeded to *Rome*, where, while they waited for access to *Nero*, among the several sights which were usually exhibited to strangers, they were conducted to *Pompey*'s theatre, to assist at a public shew. There, while they were gazing round them, surveying with astonishment the multitudes of people, and informing themselves which were the *Roman* knights, where sat the senators, *&c.* they spied certain persons in a foreign dress sitting among the latter, and asked who they were? This is a distinction, answered the interpreter, conferred by the *Roman* people on the embassadors of such nations, as have signalized their bravery in war and fidelity towards us. If so, replyed the two chiefs, we claim a right to sit there too; for amongst men there is not a nation, which in fidelity and feats of arms surpasses the *Germans*; and thus leaving their seats, they placed themselves amongst the senators; a proceeding highly applauded by the numerous assembly, as the effect of an honest emulation. *Nero* honoured them both with the rights of *Roman* citizens; but commanded them to abandon their new possessions: which their countrymen refusing to do, *Avitus*, by a sudden irruption, put many of them to the sword, and forced the rest to comply with the emperor's orders [i]. Some time after, the *Ansibarii*, being driven out of their own country by the *Chauci*, took possession of the same lands, being

c

d

The Frisians *possess themselves of lands belonging to the* Romans.

e

f

Are driven from thence by Avitus.

[f] Tacit. c. 51. 52. Suet. c. 10. [g] Buch. de Belg. l. v. c. 5. [h] Tacit. c. 53. [i] Idem, c. 54.

a being ſupported by the neighbouring nations, who pitied their forlorn condition, and led by a man of great renown and of known fidelity towards the *Romans*, his name *Boiocalus*. He alledged to *Avitus*, in behalf of himſelf and his people, that, upon the revolt of the *Cheruſci*, when *Varus* and his legions were ſlaughtered, he had been thrown into bonds by *Arminius*; that he had afterwards ſerved under *Tiberius*, then under *Germanicus*, and, to the merit of fifty years ſervice, was ready to add that of ſubmitting his people to the empire of *Rome*. He remonſtrated, that the territory in diſpute was large and lay waſte; that he might allow to an unhappy people, driven from their own habitations, ſettlements in it, and at the ſame time retain wide tracts for the horſes and cattle of the *Roman* ſoldiers to graze and range in; that it was inconſiſtent with humanity to famiſh men in order to feed their beaſts, b and with religion to devote to diſmal deſerts and ſolitude any part of the earth, which was by the gods appropriated to the children of men; that ſuch parts of it as none poſſeſſed, were free and common to all. Then lifting up his eyes to the ſun and the other celeſtial luminaries, he aſked them, how they could bear to behold a deſolate ſoil? and would they not more juſtly let looſe the ſea to ſwallow up uſurpers who thus engroſſed the earth? *Avitus*, provoked at this language, made no other reply, than that the weakeſt muſt ſubmit to the more powerful; and that ſince the gods, to whom they appealed, had left the ſovereign judgement to the *Romans*, other judges than themſelves they would ſuffer none. This anſwer he gave in public; but to *Boiocalus* in private he offered lands, as an acknowledgement of his long attachment c to the *Romans*. But this offer the brave *German* looked upon as a price propoſed for betraying his people, and rejected it with indignation, adding, *A place to live in we may want, but a place to die in we cannot*. Thus they parted with mutual animoſity. The *Anſibarii* invited into a confederacy the bordering nations; but *Curtilius Mancias*, who commanded in *Upper Germany*, paſſing the *Rhine* at the head of his legions, threatened them with deſolation and ſlaughter, if they lent any aſſiſtance to the enemies of *Rome*. On the other hand, they were awed by *Avitus*, who likewiſe appeared with his legions on the banks of the *Rhine*; ſo that the unhappy *Anſibarii*, deſerted by all, had recourſe to the *Uſipites*, the *Tubantes*, the *Catti*, the *Cheruſci*, begging leave to ſettle in their territories; but being every-where driven out as enemies and d intruders, in theſe long and various wanderings the people periſhed [k]. This year, the *Jubones*, a people in alliance with *Rome*, who are ſuppoſed to have inhabited the counties of *Naſſau* and *Iſemburg*, were afflicted with the ſudden eruption of a ſubterraneous fire, which conſumed their farms, towns, and dwellings, and was advancing with great fury to the walls of *Cologn*, when certain boors, after having in vain attempted to extinguiſh it with the throwing of water and other uſual expedients, tranſported with rage, vented their wrath by attacking it at a diſtance with vollies of ſtones. This, to their great ſurprize, allayed its fury; which no ſooner began to abate, than they proceeded to a cloſer attack with clubs and blows, as in an encounter with an enemy, and at length, which was ſtill more ſurpriſing, they quite got e the better of the devouring conflagration, by throwing their garments upon it [l]. This year, *Domitius Corbulo*, the greateſt general of his age, completed the reduction of *Armenia*, by driving from thence *Tiridates*, brother to *Vologeſes* king of the *Parthians*, and making himſelf maſter of *Artaxata*, the moſt important place of the whole kingdom. Of the glorious exploits of this brave officer, we have given a diſtinct account in our hiſtory of *Armenia*; and therefore, not to treſpaſs upon the reader's patience with tedious repetitions, we ſhall only add here, that for the ſucceſs which had attended *Corbulo*'s arms, *Nero* was proclaimed emperor, and by a decree of the ſenate days of public thankſgiving were appointed, with ſtatues of victory to the prince, triumphal arches, and perpetuity of the conſulſhip. It was moreover f decreed, that the day when the city of *Artaxata* was taken, the day when the news arrived at *Rome*, and the day which produced that decree, ſhould all be for ever kept as feſtivals. This motion was oppoſed by *Caius Caſſius*, who argued, that were every inſtance of public proſperity to be attended with public thankſgiving, the whole year would not afford days enough for days of devotion; a juſt diſtribution ought therefore to be made between days of devotion and days of buſineſs, that the worſhip of the gods might not interfere with the occupations of men [m].

The Anſibarii *poſſeſs themſelves of the ſame lands.*

But are utterly exterminated.

Armenia *reduced by* Corbulo.

HITHERTO

[k] Idem, c. 57. [l] Idem ibid. BURAGH. numiſ. p. 92. [m] TACIT. c. 34.

HITHERTO *Nero*'s adminiſtration was univerſally applauded, and is generally cried up by hiſtorians; nay, *Trajan*, an excellent prince, is ſaid to have propoſed to himſelf the five firſt years of *Nero*'s reign as the moſt accompliſhed model of an equitable government [n]. This, if true, muſt, no doubt, be underſtood under ſeveral reſtrictions. But however that be, this year, the ſixth of his reign, when *Caius Vipſanius Apronianus* and *Caius Fonteius Capito* were conſuls, produced an inſtance of the blackeſt and moſt unnatural iniquity recorded in hiſtory, that of a mother murdered by a ſon, who was indebted to her not only for his life, but for the empire, and that very power, which, by an apoſtacy from nature, he impiouſly employed againſt her. This horrid attempt, which will render the name of *Nero* execrable to the lateſt poſterity, we ſhall relate, as it has been tranſmitted to us by the moſt unexceptionable hiſtorians of antiquity. *Agrippina* had, after the late groundleſs charge brought againſt her, in ſome degree regained the emperor's favour, and continued to bear no ſmall ſway at court, till *Poppæa* was introduced there. That ambitious proſtitute aimed at nothing leſs than ſolemnly marrying the emperor; but as ſhe could never hope to ſee *Octavia* divorced, nor herſelf honoured with imperial wedlock during the life of *Agrippina*, ſhe made it her whole ſtudy to inflame *Nero* againſt her, ſometimes jeering him by the ſarcaſtical name of pupil, one blindly ſubject to the capricious humour of a woman, and ſo far from being ſuffered to ſway the empire, that he was not allowed that liberty, which every private *Roman* enjoyed as his birth-right. As for herſelf, ſhe deſired to be reſtored to the conjugal embraces of *Otho*, that ſhe might in any corner of the earth rather hear of the emperor's abaſement and reproach, than ſtay to behold it. She added atrocious calumnies againſt *Agrippina*, as if ſhe deſigned to attempt upon his life; and threatened to abandon him, that ſhe might not be with him expoſed to the dangers that ſurrounded him. Her complaints and expoſtulations, inforced with ſighs, tears, and all the ſoft artifices, which the deceitful adultereſs poſſeſſed in an eminent degree, pierced the ſoul of *Nero*, and in behalf of *Agrippina* no one interpoſed, all at court being overjoyed to ſee her authority cruſhed, and no one imagining the ſon would ever be hardened to ſuch a pitch of iniquity, as inhumanly to ſpill the blood of his mother [o].

Poppæa *inflames* Nero *againſt his mother.*

IN the mean time, *Agrippina*, well appriſed of the views and artifices of *Poppæa*, left nothing unattempted, which thirſt of power could ſuggeſt to retain her wonted dominion. Authors, who lived in thoſe times, and to whoſe authority *Tacitus* pays great deference, tell us, that the luſt of ruling tranſported her to ſuch extravagant and almoſt incredible lengths, that while *Nero* was well heated with wine and banqueting, ſhe accoſted him gayly attired; and, without any regard to fame or modeſty, prompted him, we relate it with horror! to a crime no leſs repugnant to nature, than that which he ſoon after committed. *Seneca*, who was preſent, obſerving the prince, while he was thus drunk, inclined to yield to the ſolicitations of his mother, for an antidote againſt the inticements of one woman, had recourſe to another, and introduced *Acte*. By this means the unnatural abomination was prevented; but the reputation of *Seneca* ſomewhat tarniſhed, who might, by ſome other expedient more worthy of a philoſopher, have diverted the prince from ſo monſtrous an impurity. *Fabius Ruſticus*, a writer of thoſe times, aſcribes this unheard-of paſſion, not to *Agrippina*, but to *Nero*, and adds, that he was reſcued from ſo great an infamy by *Acte*. But in the detail we have given, all other authors agree, and it was moreover confirmed in *Tacitus*'s time by the teſtimony of popular fame. Be that as it will, *Nero* dreading the infamy, which the bare ſuſpicion of ſuch a deteſtable iniquity would reflect on his character, and being told, that the ſoldiery would never bear the rule of a prince thus contaminated, began thenceforth to avoid all private conferences with his mother; which gave *Poppæa* a favourable opportunity of inflaming him more and more againſt her, till at length ſhe worked him to a reſolution of delivering himſelf by a parricide from one, who, ſhe ſaid, was his dread and his torment. He was now therefore only in ſuſpenſe about the means of diſpatching her, whether by poiſon, by the ſword, or by any other effectual method. That of poiſon was preferred at firſt; but to adminiſter it was thought difficult; for if it were done at the prince's table, her death would never be believed ſudden and accidental, ſince in the like manner *Britannicus* had already periſhed. To apply to her own domeſtics appeared dangerous. As ſhe was a woman long acquainted with

By what impious means Agrippina *ſtrove to retain her power*

Nero *reſolves to deſtroy her. Is in ſuſpenſe about the means.*

[n] AUR. VICT. in epit. [o] TACIT. l. xiv. c. 1. DIO, l. lxviii.

with frauds and blood, she was upon her guard against all snares, and armed by
a counter-poisons against the operation of poison. How to dispatch her with the
sword and cover the execution, no one could contrive. It was feared too, that none
could be found sufficiently hardened for the execution of such iniquitous orders. In
this perplexity, *Anicetus* proffered his service, and his dexterity. He was a fran-
chised slave, had been tutor to *Nero* in his infancy; but was now commander of the
fleet which rode at *Misenum*. As he was an implacable enemy to *Agrippina*, and
Agrippina to him, he undertook to contrive a vessel so, that, by a sudden and artifi-
cial bursting in the open sea, it should overwhelm and drown her, without the least
warning or apprehension. If she were thus dispatched by shipwreck, no one, he
b said, could ascribe her death to the malice and contrivance of men. *Nero* was pleased
with this device the more, because he had a favourable opportunity to put it in exe-
cution, as he was then celebrating at *Baiæ* the solemn festival of *Minerva* called
Quinquatrus, which began on the nineteenth of *March*, and lasted five days. In order to intice his mother thither, he pretended a desire to be reconciled to her, declaring, that children ought to bear with the humours of their parents; and that, for himself, it behoved him to forget all past provocations, and be sincerely reconciled to a tender mother, whose gift was the power and empire which he swayed. A general rumour of this pretended disposition was immediately spread abroad, reached *Agrippina*, and found credit with her, women being naturally prone to believe what feeds their
c wishes, and promises matter of joy. At the same time, he wrote a letter to her, filled
with the most tender expressions of filial affection and duty, inviting her to pass the
festival with him at *Baiæ*. *Agrippina*, not suspecting any treachery, tho' well prac-
tised in the dark devices of the court, deferred no longer her departure; but im-
barquing at *Antium*, where she then was, sailed to *Bauli* (E), an imperial villa be-
tween the cape of *Misenum* and the gulf of *Baiæ*. Thither *Nero* hastened to receive
her, met her upon the shore, presented her his hand, embraced her, and conducted
her to the castle. Not far from the shore, amongst several other vessels belonging
to the emperor and the noblemen of his court, rode that which had been contrived by
Anicetus, more pompous and gaudy than the rest, as if *Nero* by that distinction in-
d tended fresh honour to his mother. But she having had some intimation of the
plot, tho' doubtful whether she should believe it or not, when invited on board,
declared she chose to go to *Baiæ* by land; and accordingly was carried thither in a
sedan. Upon her arrival, the behaviour of *Nero*, obliging beyond expression and
free from all manner of affectation, allayed her fears; for *Nero*, during her stay
there, treated her with the utmost magnificence, yielded to her at table the most
honourable place, entertained her with great variety of diversions, granted her all
the favours she asked in behalf of herself or her friends, and, in conversing with her,
broke sometimes out into sallies of youthful gaiety, discoursing at other times with
a composed and grave air of weighty affairs, as if he reposed in her an intire confi-
e dence and sought her counsel. Having, with these insnaring caresses and hollow
fondness, removed all her suspicions, he drew out the last banquet till the night was
far spent; and in the mean time gave private orders to the commander of one of his
galleys, to run foul of that which had conveyed *Agrippina* to *Bauli*, and disable it,
that she might be obliged to imbarque on the fatal vessel. When the banquet was
over, *Nero* acquainted her with the misfortune which had happened to her own
vessel, begged her to accept of the other, and ordered the admiral himself, *Anice-
tus*, to attend her to *Antium*. The emperor attended her in person to the shore, and
at parting hung upon her neck, kissing her eyes, kissing her bosom with such tender-
f ness, that he left it uncertain, as our historian observes, whether he meant by that
passionate behaviour to cloak his horrid design, or whether his spirit, however fierce
and savage, could not withstand the more powerful efforts of nature, at the last sight
of a mother just going to perish [p].

He pretends kindness for her.

His prodigious falshood and shew of filial tenderness.

THE

[p] Tacit. c. 4. Suet. c. 34. Dio, l. lxi. p. 695.

(E) This villa belonged first to *Hortensius* the celebrated orator, and afterwards to *Antonia*, the wife of *Drusus* (41). At this time it was possessed by the emperor, and long after by *Symmachus*, who describes it, and gives the etymology of its name in the following verses:

Huc deus Alcides stabulanda armenta coegit
Eruta Geryonis de lare tergemini.
Inde recens ætas corrupta Baaulia Baulos
Nuncupat, occulto nominis indicio.
Ab Divo ad proceres dominos fortuna cucurrit,
Fama loci obscuros ne pateretur heros.
Hanc celebravit opum felix Hortensius aulam,
Contra Arpinatem qui stetit eloquio.

(41) *Plin. l.* ix. *c.* 55.

The ſea proved ſmooth and calm, the night clear, and the ſtars ſhone in full luſtre, as if all this, ſays our hiſtorian, had been concerted by the providence of the gods, that ſo black a murder might not remain undiſcovered, by being aſcribed to the malignity of winds and waves. *Agrippina*, when ſhe imbarqued, was attended only by two perſons, *Crepercius Gallus*, who ſtood in the ſteerage, and a lady named *Aceronia Polla*, who lay at her feet, and was entertaining her with the pleaſing diſcourſe of the remorſe of her ſon and his ſincere reconciliation, when all on a ſudden, upon a ſignal given, the deck over that quarter was looſened; and being purpoſely loaded with a great quantity of lead, ſunk violently down, and cruſhed *Crepercius* to death. *Agrippina* and *Aceronia* were defended by the poſts of the bed where they lay, which happened to be too ſtrong to yield to the weight; neither did the veſſel open as had been concerted, ſuch of the mariners as not had been intruſted with the plot, obſtructing the meaſures of thoſe who were. The latter, finding this expedient defeated, ſtrove to bear the veſſel down on one ſide, and ſo ſink her; but the other mariners, not privy to the deſign, at the ſame time ſtruggling to preſerve her, by ballancing the contrary way, ſhe was not at once ſwallowed up, but ſunk by degrees; ſo that *Agrippina* and *Aceronia* fell ſoftly into the ſea. The latter ſcreaming out, for the more ſpeedy relief, that ſhe was *Agrippina*, and paſſionately calling upon the mariners to ſuccour the prince's mother, was by them purſued with their poles and oars, and ſo ſlain. *Agrippina* never opened her mouth, and being therefore leſs known, eſcaped, with one wound only on her ſhoulder; and, what with ſwimming, what with the timely aſſiſtance of ſome fiſher-boats which rowed out to ſuccour her, reached the lake *Lucrinus*, and was thence conveyed to her own villa. There reflecting upon the danger which ſhe had eſcaped, the fate of *Aceronia*, miſtaken for herſelf and deſignedly ſlain, the manner in which the veſſel, under the ſhelter of the ſhore, not toſſed by winds, nor ſtriking upon rocks, had yielded in its upper part and been purpoſely overſet, ſhe concluded, that for this very end ſhe had been inticed by the fraudulent letters of her ſon, and for this treated by him with ſuch extraordinary marks of honour. However, ſhe thought it adviſeable to diſſemble the whole, and however well appriſed of theſe black devices, to act as if ſhe ſaw them not. With this view ſhe diſpatched *Agerinus* her freed-man, to acquaint the emperor with the danger ſhe had eſcaped by the providence of the gods and his imperial fortune, and to intreat him, that, however alarmed at the misfortune which had threatened his mother, he would poſtpone the trouble of viſiting her; for what ſhe only ſtood in need of at preſent was reſt. In the mean time, diſguiſing her fear and counterfeiting perfect ſecurity, ſhe cauſed her wound to be dreſſed; and calling for the laſt will of *Aceronia*, ordered all her effects to be regiſtered and ſealed up [q].

Agrippina deſignedly ſhipwrecked.

She eſcapes.

And diſſembles her apprehenſions.

As to *Nero*, he had paſſed the night in great uneaſineſs and anxiety, attending the ſucceſs of his deſign; and while he was hourly expecting expreſſes to appriſe him, that the parricide was executed, tidings arrived, that his mother had eſcaped only with a ſlight wound. At this he was ſtruck with terror and diſmay, not doubting, but her fierce ſpirit, bent upon haſty revenge, would either arm the ſlaves, ſtir up the rage of the ſoldiery againſt him, or recur with a tragical repreſentation of the whole plot to the ſenate and people. Thus terrified and diſmayed, he immediately ſent for *Burrhus* and *Seneca*, who perhaps had not before, ſays *Tacitus*, been acquainted with the conſpiracy. To them he notified his diſappointment, and told them, that in the preſent emergency, he had no reſource, no protection, no one to adviſe with, but them. They both kept long ſilence, either becauſe they thought it was in vain to diſſuade him from a deſign on which they ſaw him bent, or becauſe they believed matters already puſhed ſo far, that unleſs *Agrippina* ſoon periſhed, *Nero* certainly muſt. At length *Seneca*, who uſed always to ſpeak the firſt, looked at *Burrhus*, as if he aſked him, whether orders for the diſpatching of *Agrippina* might not be truſted to the ſoldiery under his command? *Burrhus* underſtood him, and anſwered, that the prætorian guards were ſo zealouſly attached to the name of the *Cæſars*, ſo fond of the family and memory of *Germanicus*, that they would never engage in any cruel or bloody attempt againſt their deſcendants. He added, that *Anicetus* ought to accompliſh what he had begun. *Anicetus* undertook without heſitation to acquit himſelf of his engagement; and *Nero* crying out, that *Anicetus* preſented him that day with the empire, urged him to uſe diſpatch, taking with him whom he pleaſed to

Nero's fears upon the eſcape of his mother.

Anicetus undertakes to finiſh the murder.

[q] Tacit. c. 5. Dio, p. 695.

to assist him. In the mean time, *Agerinus* arriving from *Agrippina*, with the news of
a her disaster and escape, was immediately admitted to the emperor, by whose orders, as he was delivering his message, a dagger was dropped between his legs; and then, as if he had been sent to murder the prince, he was immediately loaded with irons, and dragged to prison. This fable was forged to support another; for *Nero* intended to give out, that his destruction had been concerted by his mother, and that she, upon the discovery of her treason, had put an end to her own life, to avoid the punishment she deserved [h].

Zeal of the populace upon discovering her danger.

In the mean time, the danger which threatened *Agrippina* at sea, and was looked upon as the effect of chance, flying abroad, the people from all quarters flocked to
b the shore to assist her; some crouded into barques and skiffs; others entered the sea, and waded as deep as their height would permit; nay, some stretched out their arms, as it were to catch and receive her: so that the whole coast resounded with lamentations for her misfortune, vows for her deliverance, and the indistinct clamour of a multitude, solicitous about her safety. When they understood, that she was out of danger, they all hastened to congratulate her upon her escape. But, in the mean time, *Anicetus* arriving with an armed band of mariners, they all dispersed; and the franchised slave, having beset the villa with a guard, burst open the gates, secured such of her slaves as offered to stop him, and advanced to the very door of her chamber, which he found guarded by a small number of her friends, who, at the
c sight of so many armed men, betook themselves to flight, and left her with one maid only, who lay in the room with her. She was already very anxious and uneasy, that no soul had yet arrived from her son, nor had even *Agerinus* returned, when she heard a sudden noise and tumult at the door of her chamber; which so terrified her maid, that starting up, she too was about to depart; which *Agrippina* perceiving, *Thou likewise*, said he, *art going to abandon me:* and that moment *Anicetus*, having forced open the door, entered her chamber, accompanied by *Herculeus*, captain of a galley, and *Oloaritus*, a centurion of the navy. The princess, tho' well apprised of their design, yet addressing them with great intrepidity, *If you are come*, said she, *from the emperor, to be informed of my health, I can acquaint him, that*
d *I am well refreshed and recovered; if upon any bloody design, I will never believe you commissioned by my son; my son cannot command a parricide.* But the assassins, without returning her any answer, placed themselves round her bed; for in her chamber was a small light, and *Herculeus* the first discharged a blow upon her head with a great club. *Oloaritus* the centurion instantly drew his sword to dispatch her; but she, notwithstanding the blow she had received, starting up, presented her belly, crying with a loud voice, *Strike me here; this carried and brought forth such a monster as* Nero. In uttering these words, she was pierced with a multitude of wounds, and
e expired [i]. In these particulars all authors agree; some add, that *Nero* afterwards surveyed the naked body of his mangled mother, viewed her limbs, and extolled their symmetry and beauty; but this is denied by others, and seems inconsistent with the concern which he afterwards shewed. That very night her corpse was burnt without any pomp or solemnity, being carried to the pile upon no other bed than that which she lay upon at her meals. Her bones were interred by her domestics, who, after the death of *Nero*, raised her a vulgar tomb upon the road to cape *Misenum*, adjoining to a villa which formerly belonged to *Cæsar* the dictator. *Mnester*, one of her freed-men, as soon as her funeral pile was lighted, run himself thro' with a sword, whether from grief and affection for her, or from dread of some terrible doom, which he apprehended hanging over his head, was never known. Thus died the celebrated *Agrippina*, daughter to *Germanicus*, grand-daughter to *Agrippa*, and
f great grand-daughter to *Augustus*, sister to one emperor, wife to another, and mother to a third. This doom she had deserved by a long train of crying iniquities, long before it overtook her; nay, we are told, that she was warned of it many years before by the *Chaldeans*, who being consulted by her concerning the fortune of *Nero*, and answering, that he would certainly reign and kill his mother; *Let him kill me*, said she, *so he do but reign* [k].

Her house beset with armed men.

Her murder.

Her end foretold long before.

The scene of this horrible iniquity being over, the emperor began to reflect within himself on the enormity of his guilt; a mother inhumanly murdered, to whom he owed his life and empire! With this thought he passed the rest of the night in dreadful

[h] Tacit. c. 6. Dio. p. 695. Suet. ibid. [i] Tacit. c. 7, 8. Dio, p. 696. Suet. c. 24. [k] Tacit. c. 9. Dio, Suet. ibid.

Nero's agonies upon her death.

dreadful agonies, now dumb, motionleſs, with his eyes fixed, then ſtarting up amazed and trembling. Thus wild and ghaſtly, he waited the return of day, which, a he apprehended, would bring upon him ſome dreadful and final doom. *Burrhus* was the firſt who afforded him ſome comfort in the midſt of theſe horrors, by perſuading the tribunes and centurions under his command to congratulate the prince upon his thus happily eſcaping the enormous treaſon deviſed by his mother. Their example was followed firſt by the emperor's friends, and next by the neighbouring communities of *Campania*, who teſtified their joy by ſacrifices to the gods, and embaſſies to the prince. *Nero* himſelf, by a quite oppoſite diſſimulation, pretended

He aſſects ſorrow.

to be inconſolably grieved for the death of his mother, anſwering thoſe who ſtrove to comfort him, that he hated a life, which upon ſuch terms had been ſaved. However, as the face and aſpect of places cannot change like the countenances of men, b the ſight of that coaſt and thoſe ſhores, where the parricide had been perpetrated, filled him with continual horrors; beſides, there were ſome, who imagined they heard horrid ſhrieks and wailings from *Agrippina*'s tomb; and a mournful ſound of trumpets from the neighbouring clifts and hills. *Nero* therefore flying from ſuch tragical places, which inceſſantly reproached him with the crying greatneſs and enormity of his crime, withdrew to *Naples*, whence he ſent letters to the ſenate, acquainting them, that *Agerinus*, a freedman of *Agrippina*, had been ſent by her to aſſaſſinate him; but had been timely apprehended, and that ſhe had thereupon laid violent hands on herſelf, with the ſame guilty conſcience which had prompted her to attempt upon the life of her ſon. To this he added a detail of her crimes traced c a long way back; he even aſcribed to her all the vile meaſures and black iniquities of the reign of *Claudius*, and concluded, that her death ought to be looked upon as a public bleſſing, and aſcribed to the auſpicious fortune of the *Roman* ſtate. This letter was compoſed by *Seneca*, who thereupon was ſeverely cenſured, and indeed not undeſervedly, by all men of honour and virtue. No one believed the pretended conſpiracy; but nevertheleſs the ſenators, with wonderful heat and competition, ſtrove to ſurpaſs one another in decreeing new honours to *Nero* on this occaſion.

He charges her with many crimes.

The flattery of the ſenate.

The following ſolemnities were therefore ordained, that at all the altars public devotions ſhould be obſerved; that the feaſt of *Minerva*, during which the conſpiracy was detected, ſhould be celebrated with anniverſary plays for ever; that the ſtatue d of that goddeſs in gold ſhould be placed in the ſenate-houſe, and cloſe by it that of the emperor; and laſtly, that the anniverſary of *Agrippina* ſhould be inſerted in the number of unlucky days. *Thraſea Pætus*, of whom we ſhall have frequent occaſion to ſpeak in the courſe of this reign, walked out of the ſenate as ſoon as the emperor's letter was read, chuſing rather to provoke the vengeance of *Nero*, than give his aſſent to ſuch ſervile, flattering, and iniquitous decrees; but there was not a man in the ſenate, who had ſo much honour and integrity as to follow his example. And now *Nero*, to heighten the public hatred towards his

Endeavours to blacken her memory.

mother and blacken her memory, as if ſhe had checked his natural inclination e to mercy, reſtored to their native country and eſtates ſeveral perſons of diſtinction, who had been formerly by her doomed to exile. He likewiſe pardoned *Iturius* and *Calviſius*, of whom we have ſpoken above, and ſuffered the body of *Lollia Paulina*, who had ended her courſe at *Tarentum*, to be brought home, and repoſited in the tomb of her illuſtrious anceſtors. Notwithſtanding theſe acts of clemency, the emperor could not prevail upon himſelf to return to *Rome*, dreading to appear, after his parricide, before the ſenate and people. But the abandoned profligates of his court, and no court upon earth, ſays *Tacitus*, ever abounded with more, aſſured him, that the very name of *Agrippina* was generally abhorred; inſomuch, that by her death he had ſecured for ever the affections both of the people and f

He is received at Rome *with extraordinary flattery.*

ſenate. Hereupon he proceeded to *Rome*, where he was received with a more forward and officious zeal, than even his flattering courtiers had promiſed him. The ſeveral tribes in diſtinct bodies came forth to meet him, and likewiſe the ſenate in their robes, with mighty crouds of women and children, ranged into ſeparate claſſes according to their ſex and age. Where-ever he paſſed, plays and ſhews were exhibited with all the pomp and parade of a ſolemn triumph. Elated with pride upon ſuch a reception, he repaired, like a triumphant victor, to the capitol, and there paid his vows and oblations [1]. But all theſe tokens of joy and approbation could

[1] Tacit. c. 11—13. Dio, l. lxi. p. 796.

a could not ſmother the reproaches of his own conſcience; the horrors of his guilt never forſook him; he owned, that the furies purſued him with ſtripes, and rage, and burning torches; his dread was ſometimes ſo great, that every joint of him trembled; he applied to the magicians, and endeavoured, by one of their ſacrifices, to call up the ghoſt of his mother, and intreat her to forgive him; nay, ſome time after, when he travelled into *Greece*, tho' he was mighty deſirous of aſſiſting at the *Eleuſine* ceremonies, yet his heart failed him, and he withdrew as ſoon as he heard the crier commanding, with a loud voice, all impious and profane perſons to depart[m].

As no one would take upon him to give the emperor wholſome advice; but, on the contrary, all conſpired to deceive him with ſervile flattery, and to commend b even his moſt enormous exceſſes, he abandoned himſelf without controul to all his extravagant paſſions. He was chiefly fond of two diverſions, both highly unbecoming his rank and ſtation, *viz.* of driving a chariot and ſinging to the harp in a theatrical habit. *Seneca* and *Burrhus* had thought it adviſeable to indulge him from the beginning in the former, in order to divert him from the latter, which they thought a more ſhameful and unmanly employment. Thus a piece of ground in the *Vatican* was incloſed with a wall, that he might there exert his dexterity in driveing, without being expoſed to the view of a promiſcuous croud of ſpectators; but now he was deſirous of being publicly ſeen, and even invited to the ſight the populace, who failed not to magnify him with encomiums and loud acclamations. As the t emperor imagined, that by bringing many others under the ſame infamy he ſhould leſſen his own, he introduced, as actors, into the threatre, ſeveral noble *Romans*, deſcended from illuſtrious families, but decayed and through indigence become venal. He likewiſe engaged with great rewards ſeveral *Roman* knights to undertake the acting of parts in public repreſentations. However, that he might not yet debaſe himſelf in the common theatre, he inſtituted a ſort of plays called *juvenales*, which were exhibited in private houſes or gardens, perſons of the firſt quality, nay, many who had borne the chief offices in the ſtate, acting in them, and degrading themſelves to imitate the port and buffoonry of the *Greek* and *Roman* mimics, even in their moſt obſcene geſticulations. The contagion even reached ladies of the greateſt d diſtinction, who, in imitation of the prince and his court, had their aſſemblies and repreſentations too in a grove planted by *Auguſtus*, where booths were built, and in them ſold whatever incited to ſenſuality and wantonneſs. Thus was even the outward appearance of virtue baniſhed the city, and all manner of avowed lewdneſs, depravity, and diſſoluteneſs introduced in its room, men and women being engaged in a contention to outvie each other in glaring vices and ſcenes of impurity. At length *Nero* could forbear no longer, but took the harp, and mounted the public ſtage, trying the ſtrings with much attention and care, and ſtudying his part. About him ſtood his companions and a cohort of the guards, with many tribunes and centurions, and *Burrhus* their commander, ſad on this infamous occaſion, but e praiſing *Nero* while he grieved for him. At this time, he inrolled a body of *Roman* knights, intitled the *knights of* Auguſtus, young men diſtinguiſhed by the bloom of their years and ſtrength of body, but all profeſſed profligates. As the emperor ſpent whole days and nights in ſinging and playing upon the harp, the whole buſineſs of theſe knights was to commend his perſon and voice, to extol the beauty of both by names and epithets peculiar to the gods, and to ſing his airs about the ſtreets[n].

He diverts himſelf with chariot-driveing.

He engages ſeveral noble Romans *to debaſe themſelves upon the ſtage.*

The next year, *Nero* entered upon his fourth conſulſhip, having *Coſſus Cornelius Lentulus* for his collegue, and held that dignity for ſix months. This year he inſtituted, for the improvement of wit and genius, conteſts of eloquence and poetry, with f other games to be exhibited every fifth year; whence they were ſtyled *quinquennial games*. On this occaſion the players and pantomimes, who had often cauſed great animoſities, were recalled and reſtored to the ſtage. During theſe ſports a comet appeared, which, according to the perſuaſion of the vulgar, always portended a change of princes; hence, as if *Nero* had been already depoſed, it became the topic of general inquiry, who ſhould be choſen to ſucceed him, and the name of *Rubellius Plautus* was on this occaſion in every one's mouth. He was, by his mother *Julia* the daughter of *Druſus*, deſcended from the family of the *Cæſars*, and had acquired great reputation by the integrity of his life, and a ſtrict adherence, notwithſtanding the general

A comet appears.

[m] Suet. c. 34. [n] Tacit. c. 15.

general corruption, to the venerable inſtitutions and ſevere manners of the primitive *Romans*. At the ſame time, as *Nero* was ſitting at an entertainment at a place called *Sublaqueum*, on the banks of the *Simbruine* lake, a flaſh of lightning darted upon the repaſt, ſcattered the diſhes, overturned the table, and, while the emperor was drinking, ſtruck the cup out of his hand. As this happened in the neighbourhood of *Tibur*, whence *Plautus* was originally ſprung by his father's ſide, the people believed, that he was appointed and marked out by the gods to ſucceed *Nero*. All this alarmed *Nero*, who thereupon wrote to *Plautus*, that he would do well to conſult the peace and tranquillity of *Rome*, by withdrawing to his poſſeſſions in *Aſia*, where he might enjoy the bloom of his life free from intrigues of faction, fraught with ambiguity and danger. Upon this warning, *Plautus*, who had long ſince buried himſelf in retirement, ſhunning and dreading power, left *Rome*, and, with *Antiſtia* his wife and a few friends, haſtened to *Aſia*. This year, *Nero* appointed *Tigranes* (F) king of *Armenia*, which the brave *Corbulo* had reduced, and beſtowed upon him a body of guards, *viz.* a thouſand legionaries, three cohorts of confederates, and two wings of horſe, to ſupport him in maintaining his new realm. *Corbulo*, having thus completed the reduction of *Armenia*, left that country, and withdrew into *Syria*, a province aſſigned him upon the death of *Numidius Quadratus* the late governor [o]. In the cloſe of the year, *Vibius Secundus*, a *Roman* knight, was, upon the accuſation of the *Moors*, condemned for extortion and expelled *Italy*.

Nero *alarmed.*

He adviſes Rubellius Plautus *to retire to* Aſia.

a

b

The following year, *Cæſonius Pætus* and *Petronius Turpilianus* being conſuls, the *Romans* ſuffered a dreadful ſlaughter in *Britain*. *A. Didius*, who ſucceeded *Oſtorius*, as we have related above, did no more than juſt maintain what his predeceſſors had conquered. His ſucceſſor *Veranius*, having only in ſome incurſions ravaged the territories of the *Silures*, was prevented by death from any further proſecution of the war. He was highly eſteemed in his life-time for the ſeverity of his manners; but in his laſt-will he betrayed a ſervile ambition and court to power: for after many expreſſions of flattery beſtowed upon *Nero*, he added, that to his obedience he would have ſubjected all *Britain*, had he lived but two years longer. He was ſucceeded by *Suetonius Paulinus*, *Corbulo*'s competitor in the ſcience of war, and univerſally eſteemed in all reſpects equal to that great commander. *Paulinus* therefore, hoping to reap as much renown from the intire reduction of *Britain*, as *Corbulo* had done from that of *Armenia*, bent his mind upon that enterprize, tho' *Nero* had then, as we are told, ſome thoughts of withdrawing the *Roman* forces and abandoning the iſland. During the firſt two years of his government, the *Roman* general commanded with no leſs ſucceſs than he had done formerly in *Africa*, ſubdued freſh nations, reduced with indefatigable pains ſeveral caſtles, and eſtabliſhed gariſons to keep in awe the countries which he had brought under ſubjection. Truſting to theſe gariſons, he left the country behind him expoſed to the enemy, and went to attack the iſland *Mona*, now *Angleſey*, which ſupplied the revolters with ſuccours, and was a common place of retreat to the fugitives. He built a great number of boats with broad and flat bottoms, the eaſier to approach a ſhore full of ſhallows. Upon theſe the foot were wafted over, and the horſe followed, partly by fording, partly by ſwimming. On the oppoſite ſhore ſtood numerous bodies of men well armed, and amongſt them appeared troops of women, running, like furies, to and fro, diſmally clad in funeral apparel, with their hair flying about their ſhoulders, and torches in their hands. Round them were ſeen their prieſts, the *Druids*, uttering, with their hands lifted up to heaven, dreadful imprecations, and invoking vengeance. The amazing novelty of the ſcene ſtruck the *Roman* ſoldiers with diſmay; they ſtood motionleſs with their bodies expoſed, like ſo many marks, to the darts of the enemy, till encouraged by the repeated exhortations of the general to ſhake off the ſcandalous terror inſpired by

The ſtate of affairs in Britain.

Suetonius Paulinus *ſent into* Britain.

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[o] Idem, c. 26.

(F) *Tigranes* was grandſon, or rather great grand-ſon to *Archelaus*, formerly king of *Cappadocia*; for he was the grandſon of *Alexander*, who was put to death by his own father *Herod* king of *Judæa*, and of *Glaphyra*, the daughter of *Archelaus*. His father was likewiſe named *Alexander*. He was nephew to another *Tigranes*, likewiſe king of *Armenia*, who was put to death under *Tiberius*, in the twenty-ſecond year of that prince's reign, and thirty-ſixth of the chriſtian æra (42). *Tacitus* tells us, that as this prince had paſſed many years at *Rome* in the quality of a hoſtage, his ſpirit was miſerably debaſed, even to a degree of abjectneſs and ſervitude (42).

(42) *Joſeph. antiq. l.* xviii. *c.* 7. (43) *Tacit. annal. l.* xiv. *c.* 26.

He reduces the island of Anglesey.

a by a band of raving women and fanatic priests, they advanced the ensigns, put to the rout the disorderly rabble, and drove them into the fires they had kindled. The island being thus easily reduced, a garison was established to bridle the vanquished, and the groves, dedicated to their bloody superstitions, cut down; for in them they sacrificed the captives taken in war, and consulted their intrails, in order to discover the will of the gods [p].

The occasion of the revolt of the Britons.

While *Suetonius* was thus employed, tidings were brought him of the sudden revolt of the province, the occasion of which is thus related by *Tacitus*, who lived near those times: *Prasutagus*, the late king of the *Icenians*, a prince renowned for his opulence had grandeur, and by his last will left the emperor joint heir with his own b two daughters, hoping by that signal instance of loyalty to secure his kingdom and family from all injury and violence. But this scheme produced a quite contrary effect; for, under colour of taking possession of the emperor's new inheritance, the kingdom became a prey to the centurions; the deceased prince's house was plundered by rapacious officers; his wife *Boadicia*, or *Boudicea*, ignominiously violated with stripes; his daughters dishonoured; all the principal *Icenians* stripped of their hereditary possessions, and the relations of the late king kept in bonds and treated like slaves. Inraged by these indignities and dreading oppressions still more severe, they took advantage of the absence of *Paulinus*, and began to deliberate about shaking off the yoke, which they could no longer bear. In their private assemblies they strove c to inflame one another, by recounting their several grievances, exaggerating the miseries of bondage, and heightening the injuries they must expect, when reduced to a province. *Their grievances.* " Our patience, said they, avails us nothing, further than to encourage " our tyrants to lay heavier burdens upon a people, who thus tamely bear any. To " such height is our oppression grown, that nothing whatever is exempt from their " avarice, nothing from their lust. They seize our houses, insult our wives, force away " our children, and oblige our youth to list; and to all this we tamely submit, tho' it " be in our power to redeem ourselves from such contumelious tyranny; for what a " small force would all the soldiers arrived in the island appear, would the *Britons* but " compute their own numbers? It was from this consideration that *Germany* threw off d " the yoke, tho' defended only by a river, and not, like this, by the ocean. Our " country, our wives, our parents and children, animate us to take arms, and behave " like men; whereas our oppressors are only prompted by their sordid avarice and " brutal sensuality. Let us but imitate the bravery of our forefathers, and not be dis- " mayed with the issue of an encounter or two, and we shall see these robbers withdraw " from the island, as their deified *Julius* did formerly." With these and the like speeches, they easily prevailed upon the *Trinobantes*, and several other nations, to join their forces, and attempt the recovery of their antient liberty, as the only means to redeem themselves from the oppressions they groaned under; for the *Britons*, even in those days, chearfully complied, as *Tacitus* observes, with the imposition of taxes and e all duties enjoined by their governors, provided they received no illegal treatment. This they could not brook, nor did the *Romans*, says the same historian, any further subdue them, than to bring them to obey just laws: they abhorred unjust encroachments, and would never submit to be slaves [q]. The *Trinobantes* were moreover animated to take arms by their implacable hatred towards the veterans lately planted in the colony of *Camalodunum*, who, encroaching upon the inhabitants, thrust them out of their houses, spoiled them of their hereditary lands, and, adding f scorn to oppression, treated them with the vile titles of captives and slaves. Another alarming grievance was a temple built and dedicated to the late emperor *Claudius*, which was a great eye-sore to them, and looked upon by all as a badge and bulwark of eternal slavery. Besides, the priests appointed to minister in the temple, under the cloak of religion, devoured the whole substance of the inhabitants, and reduced the most wealthy amongst them to beggary. Neither did it appear an arduous undertaking to destroy a colony no-wise secured by fortifications; for the *Romans*, not yet well acquainted with the temper of the *Britons*, had consulted only their accommodation and pleasure. To these grievances *Dion Cassius* adds, that *Catus Decianus*, the imperial procurator, exercised a tyranny no less cruel over their substance and fortunes, than the governor did over their bodies and lives: and that *Seneca*, having with fair promises inveigled the *Britons* to borrow vast sums of him, telling them, that

[p] Idem, c. 29. & vit. Agr. c. 14. [q] Tacit. annal. c. 31. & vit Agr. c. 15, 16.

that for repayment they ſhould take their own time, all on a ſudden demanded both a principal and intereſt, which iniquitous demand reduced the injured *Britons* to deſpair[r]. Thus provoked by the heavieſt ſufferings, and invited by the opportunity of the abſence of *Paulinus*, the *Icenians* and *Trinobantes*, the former inhabiting the preſent counties of *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, *Cambridge*, and *Huntingdon*, and the latter thoſe of *Eſſex* and *Middleſex*, and all thoſe who hated ſervitude, unanimouſly took arms under the conduct of *Boudicea*, a princeſs of royal deſcent. *Tacitus* tells us, that the enſuing troubles were foretold ſome time before by ſeveral ſigns and prodigies. At *Camalodunum* the ſtatue of *Victory* fell down of itſelf with her face turned towards the enemy; certain women, tranſported with prophetical fury, terrified the people with denunciations of impending calamities; in the place, where the colony aſſembled for the buſineſs of the public, was heard a tumultuous noiſe and the accent of ſtrangers; the theatre echoed with diſmal howlings; in the river *Thames* dreadful appearances were ſeen; the ocean appeared all dyed with blood; and at the departure of the tide ſhapes of human bodies were left imprinted on the ſtrand. The veterans in the colony, alarmed at theſe omens, ſent to *Catus Decianus*, procurator of the province for ſuccours, *Suetonius* being then at a great diſtance; but he could ſpare them only two hundred men, and thoſe not completely armed; and in the colony itſelf was but a handful of ſoldiers. The veterans indeed were for ſecuring themſelves by a ditch and paliſade againſt any ſudden aſſault, and removing out of the colony their women and old men; but were diverted from theſe and all other meaſures tending to their ſafety by ſome *Britons*, in whoſe fidelity they repoſed too much confidence. So that, while they were utterly unprepared, and as void of circumſpection as if full peace had reigned, the *Britons*, to the number of a hundred and twenty thouſand fighting men, flew unanimouſly to arms, aſſailed on every ſide the ſoldiers diſperſed in the forts, and having ſtormed and ſacked the ſeveral gariſons, fell upon the colony itſelf as the ſeat and centre of public ſervitude, took it at the firſt aſſault, and after two days ſiege the temple, whither the *Romans* were retired in a body. The colony, with the temple, they razed, and put every *Roman* to the ſword. After this, upon intelligence that *Petilius Cerealis*, commander of the ninth legion, was advancing to relieve his friends, they haſtened to meet him, routed his legion, and cut the infantry, all to a man, in pieces; but *Cerealis* eſcaped with the horſe to the camp, and there defended himſelf in his intrenchments. *Catus Decianus*, the procurator, who had by his rapacious avarice driven the province into deſpair, and was univerſally hated, upon the firſt notice of the revolt, fled, like a coward, over into *Gaul*[r].

They riſe under the conduct of queen Boudicea.

Great ſlaughter of the Romans.

Suetonius *marches againſt them.*

Suetonius, upon the firſt notice of the revolt, left the iſland of *Angleſey*, and with undaunted bravery marched through the heart of the enemy's country quite to *London*, a city not honoured indeed with the title of colony, but full of *Roman* inhabitants, and even then highly famed for the vaſt conflux of traders, and plenty of all commodities and proviſions. Here he deſigned at firſt to ſettle his head quarters, and make this place the ſeat and centre of the war: but afterwards reflecting on the ſmall number of his men, he reſolved to abandon it, and retire to ſome more advantagious poſt. This reſolution threw the inhabitants into the utmoſt conſternation; but *Suetonius*, hoping by the loſs of one town to ſave the whole province, was not, by the tears and wailing of multitudes imploring his protection, diverted from ordering the ſignal for departure to be given, taking with him all thoſe who were able or willing to accompany him. He was no ſooner gone, than the enemy made themſelves maſters of the place, and maſſacred, without diſtinction of ſex or age, all who had ſtaid behind. The like ſlaughter befel the municipal or free city of *Verulamium*, now *St. Albans*, and ſeveral other towns, in which ſeventy thouſand ſouls periſhed, all *Romans*, or the confederates of *Rome*. For the provoked *Britons* gave no quarter, and neither took, nor ſold, nor exchanged priſoners, nor obſerved any other law of war, but killed, burnt, or crucified all who had the misfortune to fall into their hands, being more inflamed with a deſire of revenge, than of victory or booty. In ſhort, no kind of cruelty was omitted, with which rage and victory could poſſibly inſpire the hearts of an injured people. *Suetonius*, having in the mean time drawn together an army of about ten thouſand men, *viz.* the fourteenth legion, with the veterans of the twentieth, and auxiliaries from the various gariſons, reſolved without further delay to put the whole, as he was diſtreſſed for want of proviſions, to the iſſue of a battle.

He abandons London, *which is taken and plundered.*

[r] Dio, l. lxii. p. 701. [r] Tacit. c. 32, 33.

battle. With this view he chose a place accessible only by a narrow vale, and defended behind by a wood, being well apprised that the enemy would attack him only in front, and that in the open vale no stratagems or ambushes were to be dreaded. He drew up the legionaries in thick ranks, placing round them the light-armed soldiers, and the cavalry on each wing. The *British* army, which was drawn up in great separate bands, some of foot, some of horse, appeared an immense multitude. They amounted, according to *Dion Cassius*, to 230,000 men, and, according to *Tacitus*, exhibited the greatest multitude, that till then had been seen in arms, and withal, so confident of victory, that they had brought their wives with them to be spectators of it from their waggons, which they had placed round the borders of the field. *Boudicea*, who had chiefly stirred up the *Britons* to this war, was carried about in a chariot with her two daughters sitting before her. As she traversed the field from nation to nation, she declared to all, that though it was usual for the *Britons* to war under the conduct of a woman, yet upon this occasion she assumed not the authority of one descended from such illustrious ancestors, but appeared upon the same foot with one of the vulgar, seeking vengeance, not for the loss of her kingdom, but for the extirpation of public liberty, for the stripes inflicted upon her person, and the brutish affronts offered to her virgin daughters, since the *Romans* were arrived at such a pitch of unbridled violence, that no age nor sex could escape their fury and contamination: she inlarged on the evils of tyranny and servitude, and concluded, that in the impending battle the *Britons* must either remain utterly victorious, or utterly perish; that to do one of these was the firm purpose of her, who was a woman; for the men, they might, if they pleased, still live, and be doomed to slavery. *Suetonius*, though he confided in the bravery of his men, yet he failed not to join to it exhortations mixed with intreaties, that they would despise the savage clamours of the barbarians with all their impotent menaces, keep their ranks, and after having discharged their darts, close in with the enemy, and pursue the slaughter with their spears and swords, without any thought of the spoil, as well knowing, that after victory all must fall to their share. The general's speech was followed by such ardor in his men, long inured to all the arts and events of battles, that *Suetonius*, not doubting of the issue, gave the signal for the onset. The legion kept their ground immoveable, sheltering themselves within the streights of the place, till the enemy, advancing within arrow-shot, had spent all their darts: upon this advantage they rushed out upon them all at once in the form of a wedge, and being supported by the cavalry and auxiliaries, overthrew all who stood next to them: hereupon the rest turned their backs and fled, but found it difficult to escape, the inclosure, made by their own carriages, obstructing their retreat. The *Romans* gave no quarter, but put all to the sword, not sparing even the lives of women, nay they pierced with their darts the very beasts of burden, which helped to swell the mighty heaps of the dead: for we are told, that of the *Britons* were slain near eighty thousand; whereas the *Romans* lost only four hundred men. *Boudicea*, resolved not to outlive that fatal day, is said by some to have ended her life by poison; but others write, that she died a few days after the battle of a natural death. *Poenius Posthumius*, prefect of the camp to the second legion, upon tidings of the exploits and success of the fourteenth and twentieth legions struck with remorse for having defrauded his own of equal honour, and disobeyed, contrary to the laws of military duty, the orders of his general, ran himself through with his sword [t]. *Dion Cassius* differs from *Tacitus*, whom we have followed in his account of this battle; for he tells us, that the victory continued long doubtful, that the *Britons*, though only a disorderly rabble, led on by a woman, stood their ground against the embattled legions with great intrepidity, and would have tried the fortune of a second battle, had they not in the mean time been disheartened by the unexpected death of *Boudicea* [u]. The *Roman* army, after a general review, kept the field under tents, to put an end to the war. Their forces were moreover increased by *Nero*, who ordered two thousand legionaries, eight cohorts of auxiliaries, and a thousand horse, to pass from *Germany* over into *Britain*. By their arrival the ninth legion was recruited, and thereupon the auxiliaries sent into different parts to destroy with fire and sword such nations as continued in arms, or appeared suspicious. But nothing afflicted the unhappy *Britons* so much as famine; for all their hands being employed in the war, they had utterly neglected to cultivate and sow the ground, reckoning upon

Suetonius *resolves to give the* Britons *battle.*

Boudicea's *speech to her army.*

The Britons *defeated with great slaughter.*

[t] Tacit. c. 36, 37. Dio, p. 701. [u] Dio, ibid.

The Britons, *though afflicted with famine, continue in arms.*

upon the ſtores and proviſions of the *Romans* as their own. However, they continued ſtill in arms, and became daily more backward in their inclinations to peace from the behaviour of *Julius Claſſicianus*, who ſucceeding *Catus Decianus* as procurator of the province, and being at variance with *Suetonius*, obſtructed the public good to gratify his private pique, giving out, that a new governor would be ſent, who, free from the arrogance of a conqueror, and unacquainted with the preceding conduct of the enemy, would treat ſuch as ſubmitted with more gentleneſs and mercy. And truly *Suetonius*, as *Tacitus* obſerves, though in other reſpects a ſignal commander, yet treated ſuch as ſurrendered themſelves in a very imperious manner, as one who likewiſe avenged his private injuries. At the ſame time, *Claſſicianus* wrote to *Rome*, that there would be no end of war and bloodſhed, unleſs *Suetonius* was removed, aſcribing all the diſaſters to his ill conduct, and the happy ſucceſs to the auſpicious fortune of the republic. Hereupon *Polycletus*, one of the emperor's freedmen, was diſpatched to inſpect the ſtate of *Britain*, *Nero* conceiving great hopes, that by the authority of his domeſtic, not only a reconciliation would be brought about between the governor and procurator, but the minds of the diſcontented *Britons* would be calmed, and inclined to peace. *Polycletus* was not backward to aſſume the employment, but immediately ſet out with ſuch an immenſe train, that he was a burden, as *Tacitus* tells us, even to the wealthy nations of *Italy* and *Gaul*, through which he paſſed: thence he croſſed the channel, and travelled in *Britain* with ſuch awful ſtate and attendance, as ſtruck even the *Roman* ſoldiers, accuſtomed to the grandeur of *Rome*, with amazement. But to the *Britons*, among whom reigned popular liberty, he proved an object of deriſion; as they were utter ſtrangers to the power of the imperial freedmen, they were amazed, that a victorious general and army, who had fought ſuch battles, ſhould obey a manumiſed ſlave; his authority was therefore of no weight with men, who, being brought up in the noble principles of liberty, ſcorned to pay any deference or reſpect to ſuch ſons of earth, however diſtinguiſhed and exalted by the favours of a court. Hereupon *Polycletus*, finding the *Britons* were not to be dazled with outward appearances, returned to *Rome*, where he repreſented to the emperor the tranſactions and conduct of *Suetonius* in ſo favourable a light, that he was continued in the government. However, having ſome time after loſt a few gallies on the ſhore with the men who rowed them, as if this accident had been a proof, that the war ſtill continued, he was ordered to reſign the government to *Petronius Turpilianus*, who had juſt ended his conſulſhip. As this new governor neither provoked the *Britons* by any act of hoſtility, nor was provoked by them, he beſtowed on this cowardly inaction the ſpecious name of peace. This tranquillity continued till the time of *Veſpaſian*, the governors, who ſucceeded *Turpilianus*, following his example, and carefully avoiding to give any juſt cauſe of complaint to the *Britons*; nay, they did not even attempt to recover the iſland of *Angleſey*, which about this time ſhook off the yoke[w]. We ſhall reſume the detail of the *Britiſh* affairs in the hiſtory of the above-mentioned emperor's reign, when we ſhall ſee the *Britons* enter the liſts with noble armies ſent againſt them from *Gaul* and *Italy*, and conducted by generals of great renown.

Polycletus *ſent into* Britain.

Suetonius *recalled.*

Several perſons condemned at Rome, *for forging a will.*

During theſe tranſactions in *Britain*, ſeveral perſons of great diſtinction at *Rome* were either degraded or baniſhed for forging a will. Among theſe was *Antonius Primus*, of whom we ſhall have frequent occaſion to ſpeak in the reign of *Veſpaſian*, and *Aſinius Marcellus*, deſcended of an illuſtrious family, being the great grandſon of the celebrated *Aſinius Pollio*, and himſelf without any other blemiſh in his conduct and manners, ſave that he believed poverty to be the greateſt of evils. The illuſtrious memory of his anceſtors, and the intreaties of the emperor, procured him an exemption from the puniſhment due to his crime. With the others privy to theſe deteſtable practices was condemned and interdicted *Italy* one *Valerius Ponticus*, a pleader or lawyer, for endeavouring to ſave the criminals by the quibbles of the law; and it was decreed, that whoever ſhould take a fee for ſuch vile employment, ſhould ſuffer the ſame puniſhment as one publicly condemned for calumny. Not long after the death of *Pedanius Secundus*, governor of *Rome*, murdered by a ſlave of his own, occaſioned no ſmall diſturbances in the city. According to the ancient laws of *Rome*, all the ſlaves, who lived under the ſame roof, were to be involved in the ſame penalty with the criminal; but ſuch was on this occaſion the uproar of the populace, zealous to ſave ſo many innocent lives, that it proceeded even to ſedition. The ſenate too

The governor of Rome *murdered by one of his ſlaves.*

was

[w] Tacit. c. 38, 39. & vit. Agr. 16, 17. Suet. c. 18. Dio, p. 702.

a was rent into parties, ſome rejecting with great warmth ſuch exceſſive rigor, while others voted againſt any innovation. After a long and warm debate, it was carried, that, without compaſſion for the number of ſlaves, for the age of ſome, for the ſex of others, for the undoubted innocence of moſt, they ſhould be all condemned to death and executed. As they were no fewer than four hundred, the populace flocked tumultuouſly together to prevent the execution of ſo many innocent perſons. But *Nero* reprimanded them by an edict, and with lines of ſoldiers ſecured the way, thro' which they were led to the place of execution. *Cingonius Varro* moved, that the freedmen too, who abode under the ſame roof, ſhould be for ever expelled *Italy*; but *Nero* oppoſed that motion, urging, that ſince the rigor of the antient cuſtom had not been ſoftened by mercy, it ought not to be heightened by cruelty [x].

All his ſlaves are executed.

b THE following year, *P. Marius* and *L. Aſinius* were conſuls; but reſigned the faſces, according to *Onuphrius*, *Goltzius*, and others, in the month of *July* to *Trebellius Maximus* and *Seneca*. A decree in the digeſts, dated the 25th of *Auguſt*, ſeems to favour this opinion. However, ſome writers, and among the reſt *Auſonius*, maintain, that *Seneca* never attained the dignity of conſul. During the adminiſtration of theſe conſuls, the prætor *Antiſtius*, having compoſed a poem full of contumelious invectives againſt the prince, and read it to a numerous aſſembly at a banquet in the houſe of *Oſtorius Scapula*, was arraigned upon the law of majeſty by *Coſſutianus Capito*, a law, which after long diſuſe was upon this occaſion firſt revived. *Oſtorius* declared

Antiſtius writes a ſatire againſt Nero.

c before the ſenate, when he was called upon to give his evidence, that he knew nothing of the imputed crime; but the contrary teſtimony of the other witneſſes being credited, *Julius Marullus*, conſul elect, voted, that the accuſed ſhould be diveſted of his prætorſhip and put to death. But *Thraſea Pætus*, after high encomiums upon *Nero*, and many bitter invectives againſt *Antiſtius*, argued, that ſince under ſuch an excellent prince the ſenate was in its deciſions influenced by no biaſs or compulſion, and halters and executioners were long ſince baniſhed, the only puniſhment they could inflict, without bringing themſelves under the imputation of cruelty, and the times under that of infamy, was, to confiſcate the eſtate of the criminal, and confine him to a ſolitary iſland. The generous freedom of *Thraſea* animated the other ſenators,

The generous freedom of Thraſea Pætus.

d ſo that they all went readily into his motion, except a ſmall number of abandoned flatterers, among whom was the famous ſycophant *Vitellius*. The conſuls, however, before they gave the laſt ſanction to the decree, thought it adviſeable to acquaint the emperor with their unanimity, who, after having long ſtruggled between ſhame and reſentment, at laſt anſwered, that ſince *Antiſtius* had, without any provocation, uttered ſo many black invectives againſt the prince, it was the duty of the ſenate to decree a puniſhment ſuitable to the crime. However, as he would certainly have oppoſed any rigorous ſentence, ſo he would now by no means defeat their mercy; they might therefore determine as they thought beſt, nay, from him they had full leave to diſcharge the criminal. From this anſwer it plainly appeared, that the em-

Antiſtius *is only baniſhed.*

e peror was piqued; but, notwithſtanding his diſpleaſure, neither *Thraſea* nor the others departed from the meaſures which they had approved. At the ſame time, *Fabricius Veiento* was expelled *Italy* for writing a ſatire againſt the ſenate, and making traffick of the prince's favour by ſelling the great offices of the ſtate. His writings being doomed to the flames, were, as *Tacitus* obſerves, univerſally ſought and read, while it was difficult to find them, and dangerous to keep them; but when every one was free to poſſeſs and peruſe them, they ſunk into contempt and oblivion [y]. This year died, to the unſpeakable grief of all good men, the celebrated *Burrhus*, one of the

The death of Burrhus.

f chief friends and ſupports of the public; but whether by poiſon or a diſeaſe, is not certainly known: the latter was imagined, becauſe a ſwelling in his throat gradually increaſed, till by a total ſtoppage of reſpiration he died ſuffocated. *Suetonius* [z] and *Dion Caſſius* [a] tell us, that *Nero*, having promiſed him a remedy againſt his diſtemper, ſent him a venomous medicine. This, ſays *Tacitus*, was aſſerted by many; and it was likewiſe a common report, that *Burrhus*, being well appriſed of it, when the prince came to viſit him, turned his face another way, and to his repeated inquiries about his health, returned no other anſwer than this, *I am well.* The loſs of ſo great and worthy a man was long regretted in *Rome*, as well from the memory of his own virtues, as from the different character of his joint ſucceſſors; for *Nero* appointed two captains of the prætorian guards, *Fenius Rufus* and *Soſonius Tigellinus*. The former

[x] TACIT. c. 42—44. [y] Idem, c. 48—50. [z] SUET. c. 35. [a] DIO, l. lx. p. 706.

The character of Tigellinus.

former was a man of great integrity, but indolent, and an utter enemy to all trouble; a the other infamous for lewdneſs, cruelty, avarice, and all the moſt flagrant iniquities; but in high favour with *Nero*, and by him aſſumed into power from a fellowſhip in all his ſecret debauches and revels [b].

Several charges brought againſt Seneca.

And now, one of the champions of virtue being removed, the many wicked and evil counſellors, who abounded in the emperor's court, attacked the other, *viz. Seneca*, with many criminal imputations; namely, that he had already accumulated wealth far above the condition of a citizen, and was inſatiably accumulating more; that ſuch was the magnificence of his gardens, ſuch the ſplendor of his ſeats, that in theſe inſtances of grandeur he excelled even the emperor; that he was labouring to attach to his own perſon the veneration of the *Roman* people; that he diſparaged his b ſkill in managing horſes, turned his voice into mockery whenever he ſung, and to himſelf alone arrogated the praiſe and perfection of eloquence: they added, that *Nero* was no longer a child, and therefore ought now to begin to reign, to diſmiſs his pedagogue, and to be governed by more famous tutors, his glorious anceſtors. *Seneca* was not unappriſed of the efforts of his enemies, and therefore finding the emperor had withdrawn his uſual affability, and ſhewed himſelf daily more and more reſerved towards him, he begged an audience; and having obtained it, he beſought the emperor to give him leave to retire, and apply himſelf wholly to the cultivation of his mind and the ſtudy of philoſophy, intreating him at the ſame time to accept of his immenſe wealth, his ſtately ſeats and gardens, his ample poſſeſſions, *&c.* which c were too great rewards for the ſmall ſervice he had rendered him, and adminiſtered freſh fuel to the raging envy of his enemies. *Nero* replied, that he ſtill ſtood in great need of the wiſe rules, wholſome counſels, and uſeful precepts, with which he had cheriſhed his infancy and youth, and therefore could not by any means grant him his requeſt. "As to your gardens, ſeats, and wealth, ſaid he, there are many fa-

He begs leave to retire.

Nero's deceiteful ſpeech to him.

"vourites, no-wiſe equal to you in worthy accompliſhments, diſtinguiſhed with "larger poſſeſſions. I bluſh to quote freedmen, who are eſteemed more wealthy than "you; and am aſhamed, that one, who is dear to me above all others, does not yet "ſurpaſs all others in fortune. If you forſake your prince, and to him ſurrender your "wealth, the treaſure returned will be aſcribed, not to your moderation, but to my d "rapaciouſneſs, and your retreat to the dread of my cruelty. But ſuppoſe this diſ-"intereſtedneſs of yours, this contempt of riches, be generally applauded, yet ſurely "it will reflect no honour upon a wiſe man to ſeek glory from a proceeding, which "muſt unavoidably bring infamy upon his friend." To theſe words he added kiſſes and embraces, ſwearing ſeveral times in a moſt ſolemn manner, that he would rather periſh himſelf a thouſand times, than ſuffer him to be any ways injured. *Seneca* returned him thanks for his kindneſs and generoſity; but nevertheleſs altered his former conduct, received few viſits at home, avoided any train of attendance abroad, and appeared ſeldom in public, as if he were confined to his houſe by ill health, or the ſtudy of philoſophy. The retreat of *Seneca* doubled the authority of *Tigellinus*, who diving curiouſly into the ſecret fears of the prince, and finding, that he chiefly dreaded *Plautus* and *Sylla*, the one removed lately into the eaſt, the other into *Gaul*, perſuaded him to put them both to death, hoping to bear a ſtill greater ſway with the emperor, by thus ſeeming to conſult his defence and ſecurity. *Sylla* was diſpatched while he was at table, without any apprehenſion of danger, by aſſaſſins, who in ſix days arrived expreſs at *Marſeilles*, to which city he had been confined. When his head was preſented to *Nero*, its untimely hoarineſs is ſaid to have moved him to unbecoming jeſts and deriſion. The ſentence awarded againſt *Plautus* was not ſo ſucceſsfully concealed. *Lucius Antiſtius*, his father-in-law, receiving private notice of it, diſpatched to him a freedman of his own, who, outſailing the fatal centurion, brought him from his maſter the following advice; that he ſhould be ſure to ſhun a cowardly death; that he had yet leiſure to eſcape, and could not fail of finding compaſſion from all worthy and generous men; that if he had once repulſed the ſixty ſoldiers, for ſo many were ſent to diſpatch him, he might then, while the tidings were tranſmitting to *Nero*, proſecute many ſchemes, and lay the foundation of a war; at leaſt he had nothing more dreadful to ſuffer after a brave reſiſtance, than what he muſt ſuffer by a cowardly acquieſcence. But *Plautus*, not moved by theſe conſiderations, choſe rather

He avoids the court.

Sylla *put to death.*

[b] Tacit. c. 52.

a rather to die, than to preſerve his life by kindling a civil war (G); ſo that the aſſaſſins, finding him quite unprepared for any reſiſtance, murdered him in the middle of the day before *Pelago* the eunuch, who was by *Nero* ſet over the centurion and his band. When the head of the ſlain was carried to *Rome*, and ſhewn to the emperor, *I knew not before*, ſaid he, by way of raillery, *that* Rubellius *had ſo great a noſe*. Then turning to the confidents of his debauches, What can prevent me now, cried he from inſtantly ſolemnizing my nuptials with *Poppæa*, a ſolemnity hitherto deferred through fear of ſuch men as this? Afterwards he wrote letters to the ſenate, in which he inveighed with great bitterneſs againſt *Sylla* and *Plautus*, but took no notice of their death. However, the ſenate, well appriſed of what had happened, decreed prob ceſſions, appointed thanks to be publicly returned to the gods, and degraded *Sylla* and *Plautus* from the dignity of ſenators. *Nero*, perceiving from the decree of the ſenate that his moſt flagrant iniquities paſſed for commendable actions, divorced *Octavia* without further delay, alledging that ſhe was barren (H); and married *Poppæa*, who, to prevent his ever being reconciled to his former wife, ſuborned one of *Octavia*'s domeſtics to accuſe her of a criminal amour with a ſlave, named *Eucerus*, a native of *Alexandria*, and one who was famous for playing upon the flute. The maids of *Octavia* were all examined upon the rack, and, though ſome, overcome by the exquiſite pain of the torture, favoured the forgery, yet moſt of them maintained, and with great firmneſs vindicated, the unſpotted character of their lady (I). However, ſhe was firſt c removed from the palace, and afterwards baniſhed into *Campania*, where a guard of ſoldiers was placed over her. But as the populace openly complained of this cruel treatment, *Nero*, dreading the reſentment of the provoked multitude, recalled her ſoon after to the infinite ſatisfaction of the *Roman* people, who in tranſports of joy crouded to the temples with thankſgiving, overthew the ſtatues of *Poppæa*, crowned with flowers thoſe of *Octavia*, and carrying her images, as it were, in triumph, placed them in the great forum and in the ſeveral temples. Hereupon *Poppæa*, fearing *Nero* might change his mind, and, to gratify the populace, recal *Octavia* to his bed, prevailed upon him, by a ſpeech artfully framed to produce both terror and wrath, to reſolve upon the ruin of the innocent *Octavia*. As the fiction of the unhappy princeſs's intrid gue with *Eucerus* had been quite defeated by the teſtimony of her maids upon the rack, it was agreed to procure ſome one, who ſhould own himſelf guilty with her, and againſt whom might be alſo feigned a plauſible charge of meditating a revolution in the ſtate. *Anicetus*, who had murdered *Agrippina*, was judged a proper man for this vile purpoſe. To him therefore *Nero* addreſſed himſelf, and what by promiſes, what by menaces, induced him to acknowledge that he had maintained a criminal converſation with *Octavia*; which he had no ſooner done, than *Nero* iſſued an edict, declaring, that *Octavia*, in hopes of engaging the fleet in her conſpiracy, had corrupted *Anicetus* the admiral: and forgetting that he had juſt before accuſed her of barrenneſs, he added, that ſhe had concealed her ſecret luſts, and always defeated her pregnancy e by abortion, and that theſe her crimes were by him fully detected. Hereupon the unfortunate princeſs was baniſhed to the iſland of *Pandataria*, and after a few days doomed to die. Thoſe who were charged with the execution of this cruel and unjuſt ſentence, having tied her down with bonds, opened all the veins of her body; but as her blood was chilled through fear and iſſued ſlowly, they haſtened her doom, by ſtifling her in the ſteam of a boiling bath. After her death her head was cut off by a centurion,

a Plautus *murdered.*

Nero *marries* Poppæa.

The affection of the people to Octavia.

She is baniſhed; and afterwards murdered.

(G) He was perhaps chiefly influenced, ſays *Tacitus*, by tenderneſs for his wife and children, whom he imagined the prince would treat with more mildneſs, were he not incenſed by any inſurrection or alarms. Some write, that the advices he received from his father-in-law were of a quite different nature, importing, that his life was in no danger. Others tell us, that two philoſophers, *Ceranus* a *Greek* and *Muſonius* a *Tuſcan*, encouraged him to wait for death with unſhaken intrepidity, ſince it would deliver him from a life ſubject to eternal anxieties and fears.

(H) *Octavia* was, as *Nero* himſelf owned, an eaſy wife, modeſt in her conduct, of an unblemiſhed character, *&c.* but ſtill an eye-ſore to him from the affection which the people ſhewed her; hence he would have divorced her ſoon after the death of her father *Claudius*, had not *Burrhus* oppoſed his deſign, telling him freely, that if he parted with *Octavia*, he muſt likewiſe part with what ſhe had brought him, the empire (44). He ſeldom admitted her to his bed, anſwering his friends, who blamed him for thus neglecting a woman of her merit, that the jewels, ornaments, and title of empreſs were ſufficient for her. *Suetonius* tells us, that he often attempted to ſtrangle her (45).

(I) While *Tigellinus* was earneſtly preſſing *Octavia*'s maids upon the rack to deliver themſelves from their torments, by owning their lady's guilt, one of them, by name *Pythias*, returned him this anſwer; *Caſtiora ſunt muliebria Octaviæ, quam os tuum.*

(44) *Dio, l.* lxii. *p.* 706. (45) *Suet. c.* 35.

centurion, and carried to *Rome*, that *Poppæa* might have the ſatisfaction of ſeeing it, and diverting herſelf with ſo tragical a ſpectacle. *Tacitus* obſerves, that nothing ever filled the hearts of the people with more affecting compaſſion, than the cruel ſufferings and untimely end of this innocent princeſs, inhumanly maſſacred in the twenty-ſecond year of her age, under the imputation of a crime more barbarous and piercing than death itſelf, without having ever taſted any ſhare of happineſs or delight. But the ſenate, at this time under the emperors, an aſſembly of mean-ſpirited wretches, intirely devoted to corruption and ſervitude, for this execution, as for ſome notable deliverance, pompouſly decreed gifts and oblations to the gods. Such was the debaſement of the once great and venerable *Roman* ſenate. Fear had ſtopped their mouths, or opened them only to the moſt ſcandalous ſtrains of flattery. Our hiſtorian obſerves, here to their eternal infamy, that as often as any cruel ſentence was pronounced by the prince, as often as murders or baniſhments were by him commanded, ſo often were acknowledgments and thankſgivings, by the authority of the ſenate, paid to the deities [c]. *Octavia* had been honoured, as appears from ſome medals [d], with the title of *Auguſta*. *Nero* killed himſelf ſix years after on the ſame day, if *Suetonius* is to be credited, on which *Octavia* was by his orders aſſaſſinated [e], that is, on the eleventh of *June*. *Anicetus*, as one convicted by his own confeſſion, was baniſhed into *Sardinia*, where he lived in great plenty, and died at length by courſe of nature. This year died *Doryphorus*, *Pallas*, and *Romanus*, all three imperial freedmen of great note, and believed to have been poiſoned by *Nero*'s orders; *Doryphorus*, becauſe he endeavoured to thwart the marriage with *Poppæa*; *Pallas*, becauſe he lived too long, and prevented the prince from enjoying his immenſe wealth; and *Romanus*, becauſe he brought a charge of treaſon againſt *Seneca*, which the accuſed retorted upon him [f].

Pallas *dies.*

The following year, when *L. Virginius Rufus* and *C. Memmius Regulus* were conſuls, the city of *Pompeii*, which took its name from *Pompey the Great*, was in a great meaſure overturned by an earthquake, which highly damaged many other cities of *Campania*. That province had been alarmed before by frequent ſhocks; but this, which happened on the fifth of *February*, was ſo dreadful, that great numbers of the inhabitants abandoned their native country, and ſettled elſewhere, through fear of being one day ſwallowed up by the earth, a misfortune, which fifteen years after, that is, in the firſt year of the reign of *Titus* and ſeventy-ninth of the chriſtian æra, befel thoſe who remained, and likewiſe the inhabitants of *Herculanum* or *Herculaneum*, as we ſhall relate in its proper place. This year *Poppæa* was delivered of a daughter, which filled *Nero* with unſpeakable joy: ſhe was honoured with the name of *Auguſta*, and upon *Poppæa* was conferred the ſame title. The ſenate had before made public vows for her happy delivery, and now many more were added, and the whole amply fulfilled; days for ſolemn proceſſions were appointed, a temple was decreed to *Fecundity*, golden images of the *Fortunes* at *Antium*, where the child was born, were ordered to be made and placed in the throne of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, &c. But ſhort-lived was the prince's joy; for within four months the infant died, which gave occaſion to new ſallies of flattery, ſince ſhe was placed among the gods, and divine worſhip with a prieſt, altars, and ſacrifices were voted to her. As for the emperor, as he had rejoiced, ſo he grieved beyond all meaſure [g]. To allay his grief, he exhibited various ſhews, among the reſt a combat of gladiators, in which four hundred ſenators, ſix hundred knights, and, what was a ſight altogether new, many ladies of great diſtinction entered the liſts, and infamouſly contaminated themſelves and families, to uſe the expreſſion of *Tacitus*, by appearing among the common gladiators. In one of theſe ſhews a knight, of illuſtrious quality, rid full ſpeed down a ſteep deſcent upon an elephant; another perſonated *Icarus*, but in attempting to fly, fell down ſo near the emperor, that he was beſprinkled with his blood. A comedy was alſo acted, compoſed by *Afranius*, and intitled *incendium*, or *the burning*, in which a houſe richly furniſhed was ſet on fire, and permiſſion granted to the actors to rifle it. During theſe ſhews, he did not, like other emperors, ſcatter money among the populace, but tickets for vaſt ſums, for fine houſes, gardens, and eſtates, which he faithfully conſigned to thoſe who produced the ſaid tickets. For he believed, as *Suetonius* obſerves, that all the pleaſure and advantage of riches conſiſted in profuſion and prodigality, reckoned thoſe ſordid and mean-ſpirited, who kept any account

Poppæa *is delivered of a daughter.*

Senators, knights, and ladies enter the liſts among the gladiators.

[c] Tacit. c. 60——63. [d] Spanh. p. 619. [e] Suet. c. 57. [f] Tacit. c. 65. Dio, l. lxii. p. 707. Suet. c. 35. [g] Tacit. annal. l. xv. c. 13. Suet. c. 35.

accompt of their expences, and cried up ſuch as ſquandered away and conſumed thir fortunes. Hence he never mentioned his uncle *Caligula*, but with the higheſt elogiums, becauſe in leſs than a year's time he had conſumed, beſides his ordinary revenues, the vaſt ſum (eighteen millions of our money), which *Tiberius* had left him [h]. *Nero's prodigality.*

In the next conſulſhip of *Caius Lecanius Baſſus* and *M. Licinius Craſſus Frugi*, *Nero* becoming every day more tranſported with a paſſion for ſinging and playing on the public ſtage, for he had hitherto exerted his ſkill only in the aſſemblies called *Juvenalia*, which were reſtrained to particular houſes and gardens, and not daring to begin at *Rome*, reſolved to repair to *Naples* to make his firſt eſſay and appearance there, and from thence paſs over into *Greece*, and contend for the prize in muſic at the *Olympic* games. Accordingly, he ſet out from *Rome* with his uſual attendance and equipage, that is, with a thouſand chariots, his horſes and mules all ſhod with ſilver, his grooms and muletiers clad in the richeſt cloth of *Canuſium*, and attended by a band of prætorian guards and a body of *African* horſe, moſt pompouſly attired. Soon after his arrival at *Naples*, he mounted the ſtage, and ſang for ſeveral days together to an immenſe multitude, all the rabble of *Naples*, and incredible numbers flocking from the neighbouring cities and colonies, to ſuch an extraordinary ſpectacle, an emperor ſinging on the public ſtage. In this exerciſe he paſſed his whole time at *Naples*, repairing to the theatre in the morning, and continuing there till night, allowing himſelf now and then a ſmall reſpite to take breath and refreſh himſelf, which he did publicly in the preſence of the multitude, telling them, that when he had waſhed his throat, he would entertain them with a finer air than any they had yet heard. We are told, that though the theatre was one day, while he was ſinging, ſhaken all on a ſudden with a violent earthquake and in great danger of falling, yet he would not give over till he had ended his ſong. When he had done, he gave the numerous audience leave to retire; and the theatre, as ſoon as it was empty, fell to the ground. This accident *Nero* looked upon as a providential event, betokening the immediate protection of his guardian deities, and celebrated the benignity of the gods in ſongs of thankſgiving compoſed by himſelf. Being much delighted with the praiſes which ſome *Alexandrians*, lately arrived at *Naples*, beſtowed on his heavenly and auguſt voice, he ſent for more of them over in great haſte, and was ever after attended by ſome of them on the ſtage, richly attired with a ring of great value on their left hand: as they were for the moſt part youths, he appointed them governors to take care of their education, and allowed them an annual penſion of four hundred thouſand ſeſterces [i]. The emperor left *Naples* with a deſign to paſs over into *Greece*, and diſplay his abilities there, In his rout to the *Adriatic* he reſted a while at *Beneventum*, where by *Vatinius* was exhibited a pompous ſhew of gladiators. *Vatinius* was one of the moſt baneful monſters that haunted the court, originally bred in a cobler's ſtall, hideous and diſtorted in his perſon, at firſt taken to court as a buffoon, and afterwards by calumny, by lying accuſations againſt every worthy man, and a ſarcaſtical turn, raiſed to ſuch a height, that in wealth, and favour, and in power to do miſchief, he ſurpaſſed all the other miniſters of iniquity in *Nero*'s court [k] (K). During the ſolemnity of theſe ſports, *Nero* forbore not acts of tyranny and blood, but forced *Torquatus Silanus*, the great grandſon of *Auguſtus*, to die, for no other crime, but becauſe he lived with greater ſplendor and magnificence than became a private perſon, and therefore was ſuppoſed to aſpire at the ſovereign power. *Torquatus* opened the veins of both his arms and bled to death. After this *Nero*, for reaſons that were not known, put off his voyage to *Greece* ~~and~~ returned to *Rome*, with a deſign to ſhew himſelf to the provinces of the eaſt, eſpecially to *Egypt*, which project he declared by a public edict, and then went to pay his oblations for the ſucceſs of that journey to the ſeveral deities in the city. But as he entered the temple of *Veſta*, he was ſeized with a ſudden dread, which ſhook him in every joint, and is aſcribed by ſome writers to the awful aſpect of the goddeſs, by others to the remembrance of his enormous crimes,

He ſings upon the ſtage of Naples.

He is entertained at Beneventum *by* Vatinius *with a ſhew of gladiators.*

[h] Suet. c. 11. & 30. [i] Suet. c. 20. Tacit. c. 34. [k] Idem ibid.

(K) *Vatinius* is mentioned by *Martial* and *Juvenal* as the contriver of certain cups with four long ſpouts, called by the *Latins* noſes:

Vilia ſutoris calicem monumenta Vatini
Accipe, ſed naſus longior ille fuit:

ſays *Martial*: and *Juvenal*;

Tu Beneventani ſutoris nomen habentem
Siccabis calicem naſorum quatuor, &c.

crimes, with which he was ſo eternally haunted, that he was never a moment free from pangs and agonies. Be that as it will, he dropped his project, giving out, that he could not prevail upon himſelf to deprive the *Roman* citizens for ſo long a time of the joyful ſight of their prince. This declaration was pleaſing to the populace, from their inclination to diverſions, which by his reſidence at *Rome* they enjoyed, and from the apprehenſion of ſcarcity of proviſions in his abſence [l].

Why he dropt his deſign of going into Egypt.

Nero banquetted frequently in the public places and great ſquares, uſing the whole city as his own houſe. Theſe banquets were expenſive and magnificent almoſt beyond belief, and no leſs infamous for the monſtrous ſcenes of lewdneſs practiſed at them; for he was generally attended at ſuch entertainments, whether given by himſelf or his friends, by the moſt debauched and abandoned women of the whole city. *Tacitus* deſcribes here the feaſt prepared for him this year by *Tigellinus*, as a pattern of all the reſt. In the lake of *Agrippa* he built a large veſſel, which contained the banquet, and was towed by other veſſels embelliſhed with rich ornaments of gold and ivory, which were rowed by profeſſed catamites, ranged according to their different age and ſkill in their abominable profeſſion. The banquet conſiſted of great variety of wild fowl and wild beaſts from remote countries, and fiſh from the ocean. On the banks of the lake on one ſide ſtood brothels filled with ladies of great rank, and on the other common harlots, quite naked. When night came, the neighbouring groves and houſes reſounded with the joyful ſymphony of muſical inſtruments and ſongs, and appeared illuminated with a huge blaze of lights, which turned night into day. It was a few days after this memorable banquet, that *Nero*, who had already ſurpaſſed all men, as *Tacitus* obſerves, in every kind of abomination, was prompted by his extravagant lewdneſs and folly to ſuch exceſſes, as would ſeem altogether incredible, were they not atteſted by hiſtorians, who lived near thoſe times, and whoſe veracity cannot be queſtioned. He attired himſelf in the habit of a woman, and as ſuch was publicly with the uſual forms and ſolemnity married to a pathic of his contaminated crew, named *Pythagoras*. Not ſatisfied with ſuch monſtrous and unheard-of impiety and pollutions, as he was the wife of one pathic, ſo he became the huſband of another, named *Sporus*, whom he married with the ſame ſolemnity, kept in his palace, and carried about with him all over *Italy* and *Greece* in the ſame litter, and in the attire of an empreſs; on which occaſion it was ſaid, that the world would have been happy, had *Nero*'s father had ſuch a wife [m]. His other abominable pollutions, unknown before to the moſt abandoned debauchees, we ſhall paſs over in ſilence, being well appriſed, that a detail of ſuch monſtrous obſcenities would prove no leſs ſhocking to our readers, than that which we read in *Suetonius* has proved ſhocking to us. We ſhall only obſerve out of that writer, that *Nero* was firmly perſuaded all men were as wicked as himſelf; and therefore freely forgave thoſe, who made an open profeſſion of obſcenity, all other crimes; but puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity, as hypocrites and impoſtors, ſuch as ſeemed to be offended with the moſt unnatural impurities [n].

One prepared for him by Tigellinus.

His abominations.

THIS year, the eleventh of *Nero*'s reign and ſixty-fourth of the *Chriſtian* æra, happened the famous burning of *Rome*; but whether by chance, or the contrivance of the prince, is not determined, both being aſſerted by authors. The fire began amongſt certain ſhops, in which were kept ſuch goods as were proper to feed it, and ſpread every way with ſuch amazing rapidity, that its havock was felt in diſtant ſtreets before any meaſures to ſtop it could be tried. Beſides an infinite number of common houſes, all the noble monuments of antiquity, all the ſtately palaces, temples, porticos, with goods, riches, furniture, and merchandiſe to an immenſe value, were devoured by the flame, which raged firſt in the low regions of the city, and then mounted to the higher, with ſuch terrible violence and impetuoſity, as to fruſtrate all relief. The ſhrieks of the women, the various efforts of ſome endeavouring to ſave the young and tender, of others attempting to aſſiſt the aged and infirm, and the hurry of ſuch as ſtrove only to provide for themſelves, occaſioned a mutual interruption and univerſal confuſion. Many, while they chiefly regarded the danger that purſued them behind, found themſelves ſuddenly involved in the flame before and on every ſide: if they eſcaped into the quarters adjoining, or into the parts quite remote, there too they met with the devouring flames. At laſt, not knowing whither to fly, nor where to ſeek ſanctuary, they abandoned the city, and repaired to the open fields. Some out of deſpair for the loſs of their whole ſubſtance, others through tenderneſs for their

The burning of Rome.

[l] Idem, c. 37. [m] TACIT. c. 37, SUET. c. 28. [n] Idem, c. 29.

their children and relations, whom they had not been able to ſnatch from the flames,
a ſuffered themſelves to periſh in them, though they had eaſy means to eſcape. No man durſt offer to ſtop the progreſs of the fire, there being many, who had no other buſi-neſs, but to prevent with repeated menaces all attempts of that nature; nay ſome were in the face of the public ſeen to throw lighted fire-brands into the houſes, loudly declaring, that they were authorized ſo to do; but whether this was only a device to plunder more freely, or in reality they had ſuch orders, was never certainly known. *Nero*, who was then at *Antium*, did not offer to return to the city, till he heard, that the flame was advancing to his palace, which after his arrival was, in ſpite of all oppoſition, burnt down to the ground, with all the houſes adjoining to it. However, *Nero*, affecting compaſſion for the multitude, thus vagabond and bereft of their dwell-
b ings, laid open the field of *Mars*, and all the great edifices erected there by *Agrippa*, and even his own gardens. He likewiſe cauſed tabernacles to be reared in haſte for the reception of the forlorn populace; from *Oſtia* too and the neighbouring cities were brought by his orders all ſorts of furniture and neceſſaries, and the price of corn conſiderably leſſened. But theſe bounties, however generous and popular, were beſtowed in vain, becauſe a report was ſpread abroad, that, during the time of this general conflagration, he mounted his domeſtic ſtage, and ſang the deſtruction of *Troy*, comparing the preſent deſolation to the celebrated calamities of antiquity. At length, on the ſixth day (M), the fury of the flames was ſtopt at the foot of mount
c *Eſquiline*, by levelling with the ground an infinite number of buildings, ſo that it found nothing to encounter, but the open fields and empty air. But ſcarce had the late alarm ceaſed, when the fire broke out anew with freſh rage; but in places more wide and ſpacious; whence fewer perſons were deſtroyed, but more temples overthrown and porticos appropriated to public diverſion. As this ſecond conflagration broke out in certain buildings belonging to *Tigellinus*, they were both generally aſcribed to *Nero*; and it was conjectured, that by deſtroying the old city, he aimed at the glory of building a new one, and calling it by his name. Of the fourteen quarters, into which *Rome* was divided, four remained intire, three were laid in aſhes, and in the ſeven others there remained only here and there a few houſes, miſerably ſhattered
d and half conſumed [p]. Such is the account which *Tacitus* gives us of this dreadful calamity. But *Suetonius* and *Dion Caſſius* are poſitive in their relations, that it was occaſioned by *Nero*. The former author writes, that one happening in a private converſation with the emperor, to ſay in *Greek*, *When I am dead, let the world be burnt*; *nay*, replied he, *Let it be burnt while I am alive*; and not long after, being diſpleaſed with the old buildings of the city, with its narrow alleys, and irregular ſtreets, he cauſed it to be ſet on fire ſo publicly, that ſeveral of his officers were found in the houſes of the great men with fire and flax in their hands, and nevertheleſs diſmiſſed, becauſe they openly declared, that they had one to authorize them. There being certain
e ſtore-houſes near his palace, which ground he deſired to have, that with their walls of ſtone withſtood the violence of the flames, he cauſed them to be battered down with engines of war. Though in this barbarous conflagration, continues the ſame writer, the palaces of our ancient commanders, adorned with hoſtile ſpoils, the temples formerly conſecrated by our kings, thoſe which the piety of our anceſtors raiſed in the *Punic* and *Gauliſh* wars, and in ſhort all the noble and ſtately monuments of antiquity, were conſumed by the devouring flames, yet *Nero* was ſo far from being touched with ſorrow or compaſſion, that he beheld the fire the whole time from the tower of *Mecænas*, and being highly pleaſed with the ſight, he chanted a poem on the deſtruction of *Troy*, in the ſame habit which he uſed when he ſung on the ſtage. He would not allow any one to attempt the ſtopping or extinguiſhing of the fire, promiſing to remove
f at his own charge the rubbiſh and dead bodies [q]. Among the many ancient and ſtately edifices which the rage of the flames utterly conſumed, *Tacitus* reckons the temple

The deſpair and miſerable condition of the inhabitants.

The fire extinguiſhed, but breaks out anew.

[p] TACIT. c. 38——40

[q] SUET. c. 38.

(M) *Suetonius* tells us, that it laſted ſix days and ſeven nights; wherein he diſagrees with an ancient inſcription, ſtill to be ſeen near St. *Peter*'s church in *Rome*, according to which it continued nine days. The words of the inſcription are; Ex. Voto. Suſcepto. Quod. Diu. Erat. Neglectum. Nec. Redditum. Incendior. Arcendorum. Cauſa. Quando. Urbs. Per. Novem. Dies. Arſit. Neronianis. Temporibus. Et. Hac. Lege. Dedicato. Eſt. Ne. Cui. Liceat. Intra. Hos. Terminos. Ædificium. Extruere. *Suetonius*'s account cannot be reconciled with this inſcription; but that of *Tacitus* may; for he tells us, that the fire, which was ſtopt on the ſixth day, broke out anew; ſo that the firſt conflagration may be ſaid to have laſted ſix days, and the ſecond three.

Many noble buildings utterly conſumed.

temple dedicated by *Servius Tullius* to the moon; the temple and great altar conſecrated a by *Evander* to *Hercules*, the chapel vowed by *Romulus* to *Jupiter Stator*, the court of *Numa* with the temple of *Veſta*, and in it the tutelar gods peculiar to the *Romans*. In the ſame fate were involved the ineſtimable treaſures acquired by ſo many victories, the wonderful works of the beſt painters and ſculptors of *Greece*, and what is ſtill more to be lamented, the ancient writings of celebrated authors, till then preſerved perfectly intire. It was obſerved, that the fire began the ſame day on which the *Gauls*, having formerly taken the city, burnt it to the ground [r]. Upon the ruins of the demoliſhed city *Nero* founded a palace, which he called his *golden houſe*, though it was not ſo much admired on account of an immenſe profuſion of gold, preciouſ b ſtones, and other ineſtimable ornaments, as for its immenſe extent, containing ſpacious fields, vaſt wilderneſſes, artificial lakes, thick woods, gardens, orchards, vineyards, hills, groves, *&c.* The entrance of this ſtately edifice was ſpacious enough to receive a coloſſus, repreſenting *Nero*, a hundred and twenty foot high; the galleries conſiſted of three rows of tall pillars, each of them a full mile in length; the lakes were encompaſſed with magnificent buildings, in the manner of cities, and the woods ſtocked with all ſorts of wild beaſts. The houſe itſelf was tiled with gold, and the walls covered with the ſame metal, and richly adorned with precious ſtones and mother of pearl, which in thoſe days was valued above gold; the timber-work and ceilings of the rooms were inlaid with gold and ivory; the roof of one of the banquetting rooms reſembled the firmament both in its figure and motion, turning inceſ- c ſantly about night and day, and ſhowering all ſorts of ſweet waters. When this magnificent ſtructure was finiſhed, *Nero* approved of it only ſo far as to ſay, that *at length he began to lodge like a man* (N). *Pliny* tells us, that this palace extended quite round the city [s]. *Nero*, it ſeems, did not quite finiſh it; for the firſt order *Otho* ſigned was, as we read in *Suetonius*, for fifty millions of ſeſterces to be employed in perfecting the *golden palace*, which *Nero* had begun [t]. The projectors of this plan were *Severus* and *Celer*, two bold and enterprizing men, who ſoon after put the emperor upon a ſtill more expenſive and arduous undertaking, namely, that of cutting

Undertakes things impoſſible.

a canal, through hard rocks and ſteep mountains, from the lake *Avernus* to the mouth of the *Tiber*, a hundred and ſixty miles in length, and of ſuch breadth, that two d galleys of five ranks of oars might eaſily paſs abreaſt. His view in this was to open a communication between *Rome* and *Campania*, free from the troubles and dangers of the ſea; for this very year a great number of veſſels laden with corn were ſhipwrecked at cape *Miſenum*, the pilots chuſing rather to venture out in a violent ſtorm, than not to arrive at the time they were expected by *Nero* [u]. For the perfecting of this great undertaking, the emperor ordered the priſoners from all parts to be tranſported into *Italy*, and ſuch as were convicted, whatever their crimes were, to be condemned only to his works. We are told, that to this bold and extravagant attempt he was likewiſe encouraged by a *Roman* knight, who aſſured him, that he could help him to the immenſe treaſures, which queen *Dido* had carried along with her from *Tyre*, and bu- e ried in vaſt caves under-ground in *Africa*, whence they might without much trouble be recovered [w]. *Nero*, who undertook nothing with more ardor and readineſs, than what was deemed impoſſible, expended incredible ſums in this raſh undertaking, and exerted all his might to cut through the mountains adjoining to the lake *Avernus*; but not being able to remove by art the obſtacles of nature, he was in the end obliged to drop the enterpriſe [x].

Nero's golden palace.

The

[r] Tacit. c. 41. [s] Plin. l. xxxiii. c. 3. [t] Suet. c. 31. & in Oth. c. 7. [u] Suet. ibid. Tacit. c. 46. [w] Suet. ibid. [x] Tacit. c. 42.

(N) *Martial* deſcribes the immenſe tract of ground on which this palace ſtood (46). Several lampoons were handed about upon the ſame ſubject; among the reſt the following, which likewiſe reflected on the murder of his mother and his ſhameful paſſion for playing upon the harp:

Quis neget Æneæ natum de ſtirpe Neronem?
Suſtulit hic matrem, ſuſtulit ille patrem.
Dum tendit cytharam noſter, *dum cornua* Parthus,
Noſter erit Pæan, *ille Hecatebeletes.*
Roma *domus fiet*; Veios *migrate*, Quirites,
Si non & Veios *occupat iſta domus.*

But *Nero*, whether he really deſpiſed ſuch reflections, or wiſely ſmothered his reſentment, never ſo much as inquired after the author of theſe ſatires; nay, ſome of them being diſcovered, he would not ſuffer the ſenate to puniſh them with any ſeverity.

(46) *Mart. lib. de ſpect. epig.* z

Rome *rebuilt.*

2 The ground, which was not taken up by the foundations of *Nero*'s own palace, he aſſigned for houſes, which were not placed, as after the burning of the city by the *Gauls*, at random and without order; but the ſtreets were laid out regularly, ſpacious and ſtrait; the edifices reſtrained to a certain height, perhaps of ſeventy foot, according to the plan of *Auguſtus*; the courts were widened, and to all the great houſes, which ſtood by themſelves and were called iſles, large porticos were added, which *Nero* engaged to raiſe at his own expence, and to deliver to each proprietor the ſquares about them clear from all rubbiſh. He likewiſe promiſed rewards according to every man's rank and ſubſtance, and fixed a day for the diſcharge of his promiſe, on condition that againſt that day their ſeveral houſes and palaces were

Precautions to prevent the like diſaſter.

b finiſhed. He moreover made the following wiſe regulations to obviate ſuch a dreadful calamity for the future, *viz.* that the new buildings ſhould be raiſed to a certain height without timber; that they ſhould be arched with ſtone from the quarries of *Gabii* and *Alba*, which were proof againſt fire; that over the common ſprings, which were diverted by private men for their own uſes, overſeers ſhould be placed to prevent that abuſe; that every citizen ſhould have ready in his houſe, ſome machine proper to extinguiſh fire; that no wall ſhould be common to two houſes, but every houſe be incloſed within its own peculiar walls, *&c.* Thus the city in a ſhort time roſe out of its aſhes with new luſtre, and more beautiful than ever. However, ſome believed, that the ancient form was more conducing to health, the rays of the ſun being hardly felt,

c on account of the narrowneſs of the ſtreets and the height of the buildings, whereas now there was no ſhelter againſt the ſcorching heat[y]. We are told, that *Nero* deſigned to extend the walls to *Oſtia*, and to bring from thence, by a canal, the ſea into the city[z]. As *Nero*, notwithſtanding all his bounties, was ſtill univerſally believed to have been the author of the conflagration, in order to wipe off this aſperſion, he tranſ-

Nero *transfers upon the* Chriſtians *the guilt of burning the city.*

ferred the guilt upon the *Chriſtians*, who were already very numerous in the city, and raiſed the firſt general perſecution. We ſhall deliver, in our hiſtorian's own words, what he writes upon this ſubject, miſled, no doubt, by the accounts that were current among the *Romans*, and crediting, as he wanted an opportunity of being better informed, the calumnies, with which the enemies of truth laboured to diſcredit ſuch

Tacitus's *account of them.*

d as profeſſed it. *Nero*, ſays he, to ſuppreſs the prevailing rumour, that he was the author of the conflagration, transferred the guilt upon ſuppoſed criminals, ſubjecting to moſt exquiſite torments thoſe people, who for their enormous crimes were already univerſally abhorred, and known to the vulgar by the name of *Chriſtians*. The author of this name was *Chriſt*, who in the reign of *Tiberius* was executed under *Pontius Pilate*, procurator of *Judæa*. The peſtilent ſuperſtition was for a while ſuppreſſed; but it revived again, and ſpread, not only over *Judæa*, where this evil was firſt broached, but reached *Rome*, whither from every quarter of the earth is conſtantly flowing whatever is hideous and abominable amongſt men, and is there readily embraced and practiſed. Firſt therefore were apprehended ſuch as openly owned them-

e ſelves to be of that ſect; then by them was diſcovered an immenſe multitude, and all were convicted, not of the crime of burning *Rome*, but of their hatred and enmity to mankind. Their death and torture was aggravated with cruel deriſion and ſport; for they were either covered with the ſkins of wild beaſts, and torn in pieces by devouring dogs, or faſtened to croſſes, or wrapt up in combuſtible garments,

y Idem, c. 43.

z Suet. c. 16.

(O) *Tacitus* ſeems in this particular to confound the *Chriſtians* with the *Jews*; for ſpeaking of the latter in his hiſtory (28). They are immoveable, ſays he, in their adherence to one another, and prone to mutual acts of compaſſion; but towards the whole human race beſides, they maintain a mortal and implacable hatred. With all others they refuſe to eat; with all others they refuſe to lodge; nay, though they are a people abandoned to ſenſuality, they avoid the embraces of all foreign women. This cenſure they deſerved in the time of *Tacitus*, as they ſtill do in ours, ſaving the laſt particular mentioned by our hiſtorian; for now they condeſcend to the embraces of foreign harlots. They had not common mercy towards the *Gentiles* and uncircumciſed; and being perſuaded, that the Almighty loved only their nation, they fanſied that he abhorred, and therefore they abhorred, the whole human race beſides; ſo that it was ſaid of them by *Tacitus* too truly, *adverſus omnes alios hoſtile odium*. But ſurely the *Chriſtians* did not, at leaſt in *Tacitus*'s time, deſerve this cenſure: an univerſal and unbounded charity is the main baſis and characteriſtic of our religion; and it is not probable, that the *Chriſtians* were then ſo degenerated as to diſgrace their profeſſion, by neglecting the moſt eſſential duty of it. They avoided indeed the profane meetings of the *Gentiles*, their lewd revels, their ſhews and ſpectacles; and thence were thought, as *Arnobius* obſerves, by men not acquainted with their principles, to hate the *Gentiles* themſelves.

(28) *Tacit. hiſt. l.* v.

ments, that when the day-light failed, they might, like torches, ſerve to diſpel the darkneſs of the night. For this tragical ſpectacle *Nero* lent his own gardens, and exhibited at the ſame time the public diverſion of the circus, ſometimes driving a chariot in perſon, and ſometimes ſtanding as a ſpectator among the populace in the habit of a charioteer. Hence towards the miſerable ſufferers, however guilty and deſerving the moſt exemplary puniſhment, compaſſion aroſe, ſeeing they were doomed to periſh, not with a view to the public good, but to gratify the cruelty of one man [i]. Thus far *Tacitus*, who, 'tis manifeſt, was quite unacquainted with the ſacred myſteries and ſound morals of our religion. He was himſelf a man of ſtrict morality, and diſplays, throughout all his writings, a ſpirit truly virtuous and humane; no wonder therefore, if conſidering the *Chriſtians* as enemies to mankind, according to the prevailing notion, and their religion as a new ſect inconſiſtent with the laws of *Rome*, and threatening civil tumults, he painted them in ſuch ugly colours. But, after all, he does them the juſtice to vindicate them from the aſperſions of *Nero*, and expoſes the barbarous treatment they met with from that tyrant.

Nero betakes himſelf to all manner of rapine.

In the mean time, *Nero* having, with the immenſe ſums, he had expended in building his *golden houſe*, and embelliſhing the city, quite drained his exchequer, to ſupply his prodigality betook himſelf to all manner of rapine and extortion. Not *Italy* alone, but the provinces, the ſeveral confederate nations, and all thoſe cities, that had the title of *free*, were pillaged and laid waſte. In this general ſpoil were involved the temples of the gods, being ſtript of all their rich ornaments, of all the treaſures, which the *Roman* people in every age of their ſtate had conſecrated, either as monuments of triumphs celebrated, or vows fulfilled. Through *Greece* and *Aſia* the ſame ravages were committed, *Acratus* an imperial freed-man, and *Secundus Carinas*, two prompt inſtruments, as *Tacitus* ſtyles them, to execute any iniquity, however black and flagrant, being ſent into thoſe provinces with a commiſſion to ſtrip every-where the temples of all their ornaments, gifts, oblations, *&c.* and convey them together with the ſtatues and images of the gods themſelves to *Rome* [k], where they were melted down, and turned into money [l]. *Suetonius* aſſures us, that from this time forward he never raiſed any man to an office, without telling him, *You know what I want*; *let us make it our buſineſs, that no one may have any thing, which he can call his own* [m]. *Seneca*, fearing theſe ſacrileges and iniquitous extortions might be imputed to him, begged leave to retire to a ſeat of his own remote from *Rome*; but that being refuſed him, he confined himſelf to his chamber, pretending an indiſpoſition in his nerves. Some writers tell us, that one of his freed-men, named *Cleonicus*, had, by the command of *Nero*, prepared poiſon for him; but that he eſcaped it, either by the diſcovery made by the freed-man, or by his own caution; for being appriſed of the danger he was in, he led a moſt abſtemious life, ſatisfying his hunger with wild fruit from the woods, and quenching his thirſt with a draught from the common fountain [n]. Of this wonderful temperance and ſobriety, he ſpeaks himſelf in one of his letters [o]: I banquet, ſays he, upon dry bread, and dine without a table; my dinner is ſuch that after it I have no occaſion to waſh my hands: and elſewhere [p]; I ſleep little, and watch much; I abſtain from all wine, avoid batheing, and uſe no ointments, being perſuaded, that with reſpect to our bodies, of all ſmells, no ſmell is the beſt. In the cloſe of the year, the heads and mouths of the populace were filled with prodigies (P), ſaid to have happened, and always looked upon as the forerunners of ſome dreadful calamity. A comet too appeared, an omen ever ſuppoſed to portend misfortunes threatening ſome ſovereign power. *Nero* was therefore under no ſmall apprehenſion; but an aſtrologer, by name *Babilus*, having acquainted him, that among monarchs it was uſual upon ſuch occaſions to avert theſe omens from themſelves by ſome extraordinary maſſacre, he reſolved utterly to exterminate the whole ſenatorial order, and commit the government of the provinces, and the command of the armies, to the knights and his freed-men.

Plunders Italy and the provinces.

Seneca is refuſed leave to retire.

This

[i] Tacit. c. 44. [k] Idem, c. 45. [l] Suet. c. 32. [m] Idem ibid. [n] Tacit. c. 45. [o] Senec. ep. 84. [p] Idem ep. 109.

(P) In the ſtreets and roads were found expoſed ſeveral monſters with double heads, ſome brutes, and ſome of the human ſpecies: ſome were alſo taken from the bellies of victims: in the territory of *Placentia* was brought forth a calf with its head growing upon its leg; a prodigy, which, according to the interpretation of the ſoothſayers, foreboded, that for human kind another head was preparing, that would not remain long concealed (29).

(29) *Idem, c.* 42.

a THIS bloody design he began to put in execution the following year, when *A. Licinius Nerva Silanus* and *M. Vestinus Atticus* were consuls, a conspiracy, which was then discovered, affording him a plausible pretence for the mighty carnage. In this memorable conspiracy were engaged, we may say, the whole nobility of *Rome*; senators, knights, soldiers, and even women, entering into it with great eagerness and competition, partly from their detestation of *Nero*, and partly from their zeal for *Caius Piso*, who was at the head of it. He was allied to most of the illustrious families in *Rome*, and for his own virtues, or qualities, as *Tacitus* observes, that resembled virtues, highly favoured by the populace; for he was a great orator, and employed his eloquence in the defence of his fellow-citizens; generous to his friends and acquaintb ance, and even to such as were unknown to him, affable and complaisant: he was of a tall stature, of a graceful countenance, and extremely popular in his language and address; but so far from being strict and austere in his life and manners, that he observed no restraint in his pleasures, abandoning himself to all manner of debauchery and luxury, a conduct, says our historian, not disapproved of by those who designed to raise him to the empire; for they did not care that the supreme head of the empire should be in his morals over severe. However, he was not the first author of the conspiracy; nay, our historian tells us, that it was never known by whom the design was first concerted, though *Subrius Flavius*, tribune of a prætorian cohort, and *Sulpicius Asper*, a centurion, seem to have been the most forward champions in it. Among c the first who entered into it, our historian names *Lucan*, the celebrated poet, *Plautius Lateranus*, consul elect, *Flavius Scevinus*, and *Afranius Quinctilianus*. *Lucan* was instigated by personal provocations, *Nero*, who was possessed wth an ardent ambition of excelling in poetry, having from a ridiculous emulation forbid the publication of his poems: *Lateranus*, from whom the famous basilic at *Rome* took its name, was piqued by no injury done to himself, but engaged in a plot from a sincere affection to the republic. The other two had souls drowned in sensuality, and had till that time lived in sloth and debauchery: what prompted *Scevinus* to conspire, we are not told; but *Quinctilianus* became an accomplice in order to be revenged on *Nero*, for having in a virulent satire published his scandalous and unnatural lewdness. *Rome* was surprised, d that two men of such characters should engage in an enterprise so great and daring. These we have mentioned drew soon into the combination *Tullius Senecio*, *Cervarius Proculus*, *Vulcatus Araricus*, *Julius Tugurinus*, *Munatius Gratus*, *Antonius Natalis*, and *Martius Festus*, all *Roman* knights. Out of the troops, besides the two officers already mentioned, were assumed as accomplices, *Granius Silvanus*, *Statius Proximus*, both tribunes of the prætorian bands, *Maximus Scaurus*, *Venetus Paulus*, two centurions, and, as their main strength and dependence, *Fenius Rufus*, captain of the imperial guards, a man greatly esteemed by the people, and on that account hated both by his collegue *Tigellinus* and the emperor. The conspirators were no sooner assured, that *Rufus* had embraced their party, than they began more resolutely to debate about e the time and place of the intended assassination. *Subrius Flavius* undertook to assail *Nero*, while he was singing on the stage, or scouring the streets in his drunken revels by night, unattended by his guards; but a too great anxiety to escape with impunity, ever unseasonable in great enterprises, restrained him [q].

Piso's conspiracy.

His character.

Many persons of distinction concerned in it.

IN the mean time, the conspirators putting off from day to day the execution of their design, a woman, named *Epicharis*, took upon her to rouse them. It was utterly unknown by what means she came at all to be apprised of the plot; for till that time she had never shewn the least regard to honour, virtue, or honesty. When she found that all her reproaches and exhortations were to no effect, impatient of their f slowness, she left *Rome*, and hastened into *Campania*, where she employed all her industry and skill to estrange from *Nero* the hearts of the chief officers of the fleet riding at *Misenum*, and to engage them in the design, which they had frequent opportunities of executing, as the emperor took great delight in sailing often along the coasts of *Misenum* and *Puteoli*. In that fleet, *Volusius Proculus*, who had been employed by *Nero* to dispatch his mother, had the command of a thousand marines. But as he did not think himself thereby sufficiently rewarded for so meritorious a murder, either from an old acquaintance with *Epicharis*, or a friendship newly contracted, he related to her his signal services to *Nero*, adding bitter complaints, that he had not been distinguished with promotion equal to his deserts. In answer to him,

Epicharis a *freed-woman animates the conspirators.*

Epicharis

[q] Idem, c. 48—50.

Epicharis urged all the crying cruelties, all the barbarous outrages committed by the tyrant, and at the ſame time acquainted him with the conſpiracy; but had the precaution to conceal from him the names of the conſpirators. The traitor was no ſooner let into the ſecret, than he flew to *Rome*, and betrayed the whole to *Nero*. But his diſcovery availed nothing; for when *Epicharis* was ſummoned and confronted with the informer, as his charge againſt her was ſupported by no witneſſes, ſhe denied it, pretending to be greatly amazed at the impudent boldneſs of the accuſer. However, ſhe was detained in priſon, *Nero* ſuſpecting that the charge was not falſe, though not proved to be true[r]. The conſpirators being, notwithſtanding the ſilence of *Epicharis*, apprehenſive of a diſcovery, came to a reſolution to haſten the intended murder, and choſe, as the moſt convenient place for the execution of their deſign, a villa at *Baiæ* belonging to *Piſo*, whither the emperor frequently reſorted to bathe and banquet, with a ſmall number of attendants. But in this *Piſo* would by no means concur, alledging the general abhorrence, which muſt enſue, were the ſacred rights of hoſpitality violated, with the murder of a prince, however wicked. He thought it more adviſeable to diſpatch him at *Rome*, either in the deteſted houſe, which he had reared with the ſpoils of the unhappy city, or in the face of the public, ſince for the benefit of the public the deſign had been undertaken. Thus he reaſoned openly among the conſpirators; but in his heart he was influenced by ſecret jealouſy, fearing leſt *Lucius Silanus*, a man of extraordinary accompliſhments, might, as he was then at *Rome*, upon the firſt news of *Nero*'s death, ſeize the vacant ſovereignty for himſelf. He was likewiſe jealous of the conſul *Veſtinus*, not knowing but he might, as he was a man of great intrepidity, attempt the reſtoring of the ancient government, or beſtow the empire upon ſome other, as a gift of his own. The conſpirators, moved by the reaſonings of *Piſo*, unanimouſly agreed to execute their deſign, not at *Baiæ*, but at *Rome*, on the anniverſary ſacred to *Ceres*, and always ſolemniſed with *Circenſian* games, at which *Nero* never failed to aſſiſt, giving free acceſs to all, during the gaiety of the ſports. The deſign was to be executed in the following manner: *Lateranus*, who was but in ſlender circumſtances, under pretence of imploring relief, was to fall at the prince's feet, and, while he apprehended no ſuch attempt, throw him down, and keep him fixed to the ground. Then the tribunes, centurions, and the other conſpirators, were, each according to his boldneſs, to ruſh in and diſpatch him. *Scevinus* earneſtly claimed the honour and ſatisfaction of giving the firſt blow; for having formerly taken a dagger out of a temple, he carried it conſtantly about him, as conſecrated to the execution of ſome mighty deſign. It was moreover agreed, that *Piſo* ſhould wait the event in the temple of *Ceres*, and be thence brought forth by *Fenius*, captain of the guards, and conducted to the camp (Q).

She is accuſed to Nero, *but baffles her accuſer.*

Piſo *is jealous of* Silanus *and the conſul* Veſtinus.

Scevinus *claims the honour of giving the firſt blow.*

The day before that, which was appointed for the execution of the deſign, *Scevinus*, upon his returning home from a long conference with *Antonius Natalis*, ſealed his will; then unſheathing the above-mentioned dagger, he complained it was blunt and ruſty, charging *Milichus*, one of his freed men, to have it ground and ſharpened at the point: next he ordered a repaſt, more ſumptuous and profuſe than ordinary, to be got ready; after which he preſented his favourite ſlaves with their liberty, and others with ſums of money: his countenance, in the midſt of an affected chearfulneſs, appeared clouded: in his diſcourſe he was continually running from one ſubject to another, without attending to any; whence all who were preſent, concluded, that his mind was fraught with ſome great deſign: at laſt he ordered the ſame *Milichus* to prepare bandages for wounds, and applications for ſtopping blood. The freed-man, reflecting on theſe orders, and concluding with himſelf, that a conſpiracy was undoubtedly carrying on, and his patron concerned in it, haſtened next morning by break of day to the gardens of *Servilius*, where *Nero* then was; and being refuſed admittance, declared that he came to diſcover matters of the utmoſt importance.

The conſpiracy how diſcovered.

[r] Idem, c. 51, 52.

(Q) *Pliny* tells us, that in order to attract the affections of the people, *Antonia*, daughter of the late emperor *Claudius*, was to accompany *Piſo* to the camp. But our hiſtorian thinks it incredible, that either *Antonia* ſhould contribute her name, and riſque her life, to promote a ſcheme, from which ſhe could reap no advantage, or that *Piſo*, who was univerſally known to be paſſionately fond of his wife, ſhould engage to marry another (30).

(30) *Idem*, c. 44.

a importance. Hereupon he was by the porters conducted to *Epaphroditus*, one of *Nero*'s freed-men, and by him forthwith to the emperor himself, to whom he related all the circumstances he had observed, shewed the dagger, and desired the criminal to be immediately sent for. Accordingly, *Scevinus* was by a band of soldiers hastily seized and dragged before the emperor; but defended himself with a spirit so undaunted, and inveighed against the informer as a treacherous wretch, still actuated by the base spirit of a slave, with such firmness and intrepidity, that the informer had been baffled, had not his wife put him in mind, that *Antonius Natalis* had held a long conference with *Scevinus*, and that both lived in close confidence with *Caius Piso*. *Natalis* was therefore immediately sent for, and both he and *Scevinus* examined apart concern-
b ing the particulars of that conference. As their answers varied, they were thrown into irons, and threatened with the rack, the sight of which neither of them being able to bear, they discovered the whole order and progress of the conspiracy. *Natalis* confessed the first, and declared how far *Piso* was concerned in the plot, and named also *Seneca*; but whether he had acted as an inter-agent between him and *Piso*, or whether *Natalis* impeached him only to purchase the favour of *Nero*, who was daily hunting after some specious pretence to destroy him, is uncertain, *Scevinus*, understanding that by *Natalis* a confession was made, and that no advantage could be reaped from his silence, yielded at length, and declared all the other accomplices. Of these *Lu-*
Several of the conspirators seized.
can, *Quinctilianus*, and *Senecio*, persisted long in denying the charge; but at length
c were decoyed by a promise of impunity; and then, to atone for their backwardness, they informed against their dearest friends, *Lucan* against *Attilia*, his own mother, *Quinctilianus* against *Glicius Gallus*, and *Senecio* against *Annius Pollio*. In the mean time, *Nero*, recollecting that *Epicharis* was detained in prison, and supposing, that the tender body of a woman could never endure the violence of the rack, commanded her to be rent and mangled with all sorts of torments. But her firmness and magnani-
The firmness and intrepidity of Epicharis.
mity was proof against the fury of stripes, of fire, and of all the tormenrs the executioners could invent, though they exerted their utmost efforts in cruelty, lest they should be at last scorned and baffled by a woman. She still utterly denied every particular; and such was the issue of the first day's torture. The next day, as she was
d reconducted in a chair to suffer anew the same toments, for all her members were so rent and disjointed, that she could not support herself, with the girdle, that bound her breasts, she framed a noose for her neck, and tying it to the top of the chair,
She hangs herself with her girdle.
hung upon it with all the weight of her body, and put an end to the poor remains of life. Thus a woman, who was once a slave, chearfully suffered the most exquisite torments cruelty could invent, and death itself, to protect persons, whom she scarce knew, when men born free, when *Roman* knights and senators, without once feeling the torture, betrayed their dearest friends, their nearest relations. For *Lucan*, *Senecio*, and *Quinctilianus* were daily making new discoveries, and still naming more accomplices; which so terrified *Nero*, that he not only doubled his guards, but posted bands of
Nero's *great consternation.*
e soldiers upon the walls and all round the city, lined the sea-coast and the banks of the *Tiber* with numerous detachments, ordered parties of foot and horse to scour the fields night and day, to range in the public squares, in the neighbouring municipal towns, to enter the private houses, *&c.* With the prætorian guards *Germans* were intermixt; for in them, as they were foreigners, the prince chiefly confided [s].

And now the accused were dragged in whole droves, numbers after numbers, to *Nero*'s tribunal, which was erected in his gardens, and lay together at the gates, expecting to be successively admitted and examined. If upon their tryal it appeared, that they had ever been seen smiling with any of the conspirators; that they had ever spoke with them, met them, however fortuitously, been common guests at the
f same table, or sat together at some publick shew; all this, or any part of it, was imputed as an unpardonable crime. The judges were *Nero* himself, *Tigellinus*, and his collegue *Fenius Rufus*, who, as he was not yet detected, proved more severe than the other two in examining his own associates, in order to persuade the prince, that he was an utter stranger to the plot. Nay, to him it was owing, that the design was not put in execution, even during the examination of the conspirators: for the brave
Subrius Flavius *offers to kill* Nero, *but is checked by the cowardly* Fenius Rufus.
tribune, *Subrius Flavius*, who attended and was not yet impeached or suspected, having demanded by signs, whether he should draw his sword, and dispatch the tyrant, was by contrary signs checked and forbid, when he had already grasped the hilt.

Idem, c. 52—58.

hilt. When the conſpiracy was firſt diſcovered, there were ſome, who exhorted *Piſo* a to proceed directly to the camp, or mount the roſtrum, and try the affections of the people and ſoldiery, ſince nothing worſe could befal him, though both the ſoldiery and people failed him, than he muſt already expect; nay, by loſing his life in ſo glorious an attempt, he would approve himſelf worthy of his anceſtors, and leave a glorious example to his poſterity; whereas, if he neglected the preſent opportunity, he would be ſoon ſeized, committed to bonds, and condemned to an ignominious death. But *Piſo*, rejecting the advice of his friends and aſſociates, the beſt that could be given him at the preſent juncture, retired, without making the leaſt attempt, to his own houſe, where, upon the arrival of a band of ſoldiers to ſeize him, he opened the veins in both his arms, and bled to death. He left a will full of fulſome flattery b towards *Nero*; and this out of tenderneſs to his wife *Arria Galla*, whom he had taken from *Domitius Silius*, a friend of his own, tho' ſhe was a woman of moſt vitious inclinations, and, ſave the beauty of her perſon, deſtitute of every reccommendation. Next followed the death of *Plautius Lateranus*, conſul elect, inflicted with ſuch precipitation, that he was not allowed even to embrace his children; but inſtantly dragged to the place allotted for the execution of ſlaves, and there ſlaughtered by the hand of *Statius* the tribune. He died with examplary firmneſs and intrepidity, uttered not a ſyllable relating to the conſpiracy; but with an undaunted ſpirit anſwered *Epaphroditus*, the emperor's freedman and ſecretary, who aſked him ſome queſtions, *If I were mean enough to make any diſcoveries, it would be to your maſter, not to you.* c He did not even upraid the tribune appointed to cut off his head, tho' he too was concerned with him in the conſpiracy [t]. *Arrian* tells us, that the firſt blow having only wounded him, he ſhook his head a little, and then preſented his neck again to the executioner [u].

Piſo puts himſelf to death.

Plautius Lateranus dies with great intrepidity.

The next illuſtrious perſon ſacrificed on this occaſion was *Annæus Seneca*, to the infinite joy of *Nero*, who had been long ſeeking his deſtruction. *Natalis* alone had named him, and concerning him could only diſcover thus much, that he had been ſent by *Piſo* to viſit *Seneca*, then indiſpoſed, to complain in his name, that he was debarred acceſs to him, and to repreſent, that it would be better if they maintained their friendſhip by familiar converſation; that to this *Seneca* replied, that frequent interviews and converſations by themſelves were conducing to the ſervice of neither; but that upon the ſafety of *Piſo* his own welfare depended. *Granius Silvanus*, tribune of a prætorian cohort, was ſent to *Seneca*, with orders to aſk him, Whether he owned the words of *Natalis* and his own anſwers? *Seneca* was returned that very day from *Campania*, and had ſtopped at a villa of his, four miles from *Rome*. Thither arrived the tribune in the evening; and having beſet the villa with his men, he entered the houſe, and acquainted *Seneca* with his commiſſion, while he ſat at table with *Paulina* his wife, and two friends. *Seneca* anſwered, That *Natalis* had in truth been ſent to him, and had complained in *Piſo*'s name, that he was refuſed admittance; a complaint which he had anſwered by excuſing himſelf, on account of e his bodily diſorder and his love of quiet. He denied to have ever declared, that his ſafety depended upon that of any private man, adding, that he was not at all addicted to flattery, as no man better knew than *Nero*. When this anſwer was by the tribune reported to the emperor, he aſked, whether *Seneca* ſeemed determined upon a voluntary death? I have not diſcovered, replied the tribune, either in his words or looks, the leaſt ſymptom of fear. Hereupon *Nero* commanded him to return directly, and acquaint him, that he muſt die. The tribune who was himſelf one of the conſpirators, took not the ſame way he came; but turning aſide, went firſt to *Fenius*, captain of the guards, and diſcloſing to him the emperor's orders, aſked, Whether he ſhould obey them? The cowardly commander adviſed him to f execute his commiſſion, and act in every reſpect as if he were an utter ſtranger to the plot. Thus *Fenius* and *Silvanus*, through a meanneſs and timidity hardly to be believed, contributed to multiply thoſe very cruelties, which they had conſpired to avenge. However, the tribune avoided ſeeing *Seneca*, and delivering in perſon the ſaid meſſage; but ſent in a centurion to appriſe him of his doom. *Seneca* heard the ſentence without betraying the leaſt diſmay or concern, and calmly called for his will; but that being denied him by the centurion, turning to his friends, he told them, That ſince he was prevented from gratefully acknowledging their favours, he

The particulars of Seneca's death.

[t] Tacit. c. 60. [u] Arrian. ex Epict. l. i. c. 1.

a he bequeathed them that which alone was now left him, the pattern of his life. He repreſſed their tears, ſometimes with gentle reaſoning, ſometimes with ſharp rebukes, aſking them, Where were now all the documents of philoſophy? where the precepts of wiſdom ſo many years premeditated againſt impending calamities? for to whom, ſaid he, is unknown the bloody nature of *Nero?* After the butchering of his mother and brother, what remained, but to add to theirs the ſlaughter of his preceptor and inſtructor? After he had diſcourſed ſome time to the company in general, he embraced his wife; an affecting object! which ſomewhat abated his firmneſs, and ſeemed to ſoften his philoſophical ſpirit. He beſought her to moderate her ſorrow, and to fortify herſelf againſt the grief ariſing from the loſs of her huſband, by the contemplation of his life ſpent in a ſteady courſe of virtue. *Paulina*, on the contrary, *The conſtancy of his wife.*

b reſolutely declared, that ſhe was determined to die with him. This declaration ſurpriſed *Seneca*, who, unwilling to bereave her of ſo much glory, and loth to leave one, whom he tenderly loved, expoſed to inſults and injuries, after a ſhort pauſe, *Since to the delights of a ſhort life, you prefer*, ſaid he, *the everlaſting fame of a glorious death, I ſhall not envy you this honour. Let us ſhare the glory of ſo brave an end, tho' your ſhare will be by far the greater.* After this converſation, both had the veins of their arms opened at the ſame inſtant. As *Seneca* was aged, and his body extenuated with a ſlender diet, his blood iſſued but ſlowly; whereupon he cauſed the veins of his legs and thoſe about the joints of his knees to be likewiſe

c cut. As he ſuffered cruel agonies, he perſuaded his wife to retire into another chamber, leſt his torments ſhould ſhake her reſolution, or he himſelf, affected with her pangs, betray weakneſs and impatience. As his eloquence did not fail him to the laſt moment of his life, he called for his ſcribes, and dictated to them many things, which were publiſhed after his death. As *Nero* bore no perſonal enmity to *Paulina*, and was well appriſed, that her death would double the hatred of the public towards him, he ſent orders to the ſoldiers to prevent her from dying; who thereupon commanded *She is prevented from dying by* Nero's *orders.* her domeſtic ſlaves and freed-men to bind up her arms and ſtop the blood; but whether this was done without her knowledge, or with her concurrence, is uncertain; for as men are commonly prone to believe the worſt, there were ſome who

d aſſerted, that while ſhe deſpaired of her pardon, ſhe aſpired at the glory of dying with her huſband; but yielded to the allurements of life, as ſoon as ſhe found the prince inclined to mercy. However that be, ſhe outlived her huſband but a few years, ever pale and in a languiſhing condition, and retained to the laſt a reverence for his memory worthy of all praiſe. *Seneca*, in the mean time, to haſten his death which advanced but ſlowly, beſought *Statius Annæus*, an intimate friend of his and well ſkilled in medicine, to bring him a draught of poiſon, which he had prepared Seneca *takes poiſon in vain.* long before, and kept by him. This he ſwallowed; but in vain, his limbs being chilled with cold, and his juices ſtagnated. He had therefore recourſe to a hot bath, to haſten by that means the operation of the poiſon, or to make his blood flow more freely. With the water of the bath he ſprinkled ſuch of his ſlaves as ſtood near him,

e ſaying, *With this liquor I make a libation to* Jupiter *the deliverer.* This he did in imi- *His laſt words* tation of the *Greeks*, who, in departing after a banquet, uſed to make libations to *Jupiter the preſerver.* As the bath had not the deſired effect, and the ſoldiers were very preſſing, he was at laſt conveyed into a ſtove, and there ſuffocated with the *Is ſuffocated in a hot bath.* ſteam. His corps was burnt without any funeral ſolemnity, purſuant to a will which he had made, even while he was in high favour with the prince[w]. Thus died the celebrated *L. Annæus Seneca*, on the twelfth, or, as others will have it, on the thirteenth, of *April. Dion Caſſius* aſſures us, that he was privy to the conſpiracy[x], from which charge *Tacitus* does not attempt to clear him. He tells us indeed, that *Nero*

f had no proof of his being engaged in the plot; but adds, that a rumour prevailed, that *Subrius Flavius*, in a ſecret conſultation with the centurions, not without the privacy of *Seneca*, had determined, as ſoon as *Nero* was cut off by the aid of *Piſo*, to diſpatch *Piſo* too, and transfer the empire to *Seneca*; nay, the very words, ſaid to have been uttered by *Flavius* in that conference, became current, *viz.* That it availed nothing to depoſe a minſtrel, if he were to be ſucceeded by a tragedian; for as *Nero* uſed to play upon the harp, ſo *Piſo*'s chief delight was to ſing attired like an actor in a tragedy. Of *Seneca*'s writings we ſhall ſpeak hereafter. As to his manners, we ſhall only ſay, that many things were imputed to him, perhaps not undeſervedly, altoge-

[w] Tacit. c. 62, 64. [x] Dio, l. lxii. p. 713.

altogether inconſiſtent with the philoſophy which he profeſſed. He entertained a a
mighty opinion of his own virtue; but few have hitherto concurred with him in the
ſame ſentiments.

Fenius Rufus *is accuſed and apprehended.*

Hitherto *Fenius Rufus* had proceeded with more ſeverity, than either *Tigellinus* or *Nero* himſelf, againſt the conſpirators his accomplices; but was in the end detected: for while in the examination of *Flavius Scevinus* the ſenator, he urged him with many menaces to a full confeſſion, *Scevinus* ſmiled, and told him, That no man was better acquainted with the particulars of the plot than himſelf. *Fenius* attempted to refute the charge; but, faultering and perplexed in his ſpeech, he gave manifeſt tokens of his guilt and diſmay: whereupon he was by the emperor's orders immediately ſeized and dragged to priſon. At the ſame time the brave tribune *Subrius Flavius* was im- b
peached. He at firſt defended himſelf; but being preſſed by the informers, he not only owned the charge, but gloried in it; and in anſwer to *Nero*, who aſked him, Upon what provocation he had ſlighted the obligation of his oath? for the ſoldiery, eſpecially the officers, bound themſelves by a ſolemn oath to protect the prince againſt all foreign and domeſtic enemies; *Becauſe I abhorred thee*, ſaid he, *though there was not in the whole army one more zealouſly attached to thee than I, ſo long as thou didſt merit affection; but I began to hate thee, when thou becameſt the murderer of thy mother, the murderer of thy brother and wife, a charioteer, a comedian, and an incendiary.* *Tacitus* tells us, that the whole conſpiracy afforded nothing which proved ſo bitter and pungent to *Nero* as this reproach. He ordered *Flavius* c
to be immediately put to death, committing the execution to *Veianus Niger*, a tribune, who led him into the next field, and there ordered in the firſt place a funeral trench to be dug, ſuch as ſerved for a grave to the ſoldiers, who died in the camp. *Flavius* found fault with it, as too ſtreight and ſhallow; and turning to the guard of ſoldiers, *This*, ſaid he, without betraying the leaſt concern, *is not even done according to the laws of diſcipline.* When the tribune deſired him to ſtretch out his neck valiantly, *I wiſh*, replied he, *thou mayſt ſtrike as valiantly*; and truly the tribune was ſeized with ſuch a violent trembling, that he with difficulty cut off his head at two blows. However, he afterwards bragged to *Nero*, that he had deſignedly employed more blows than one. The next example of firmneſs and conſtancy was adminiſtered d
by *Sulpicius Aſper*, the centurion; who being aſked by *Nero*, Why he had conſpired againſt him? anſwered in a few words, *Becauſe there was no other relief againſt thy abominable enormities.* The other centurions faced death with equal bravery. But *Fenius Rufus* betrayed a meaneſs quite unbecoming a man of his rank and profeſſion; nay, he even filled his laſt will with unmanly lamentations. *Nero* hoped to find the conſul *Veſtinus* likewiſe concerned in the conſpiracy; but, as he was a man of a violent ſpirit and altogether untractable, the conſpirators had not thought fit to impart their deſign to him. He had once lived in cloſe confidence with *Nero*; but afterwards abuſing the freedom which the emperor allowed him, and utterly deſpiſing him, he uſed frequently to inſult the prince with poignant ſarcaſms, which left behind e
them a bitter remembrance, as they were for the moſt part founded on truth. Beſides, *Nero* dreaded the haughty and violent temper of *Veſtinus*; and therefore wiſhed for a plauſible pretence to get rid of him; but as no accuſer appeared to charge him, ſince he could not ſatiate his rancour under the title of a judge, he had recourſe to the violence of a tyrant, and diſpatched *Gerelanus* the tribune, at the head of five hundred men, with orders to obviate the attempts of the conſul. He had that day diſcharged all the functions of a conſul, and was celebrating a banquet at home with great gaiety, when the ſoldiers entering, told him, That the tribune waited for him. *Veſtinus*, without delay, roſe from table, and in a trice the tragedy was begun and finiſhed; he was ſhut up in a chamber; the phyſician attended; his veins were cut, f
and he, while he was ſtill in full vigor, conveyed into a hot bath, and ſuffocated with the ſteam, without uttering a ſyllable that argued either grief or compaſſion for himſelf. In the mean time, the whole company that ſupped with him were beſet by a guard, and not releaſed, till the night was far ſpent, *Nero* making himſelf ſport with the fears of men, who had paſſed at once, from the mirth and joy of a feaſt, to the deadly apprehenſion of their laſt doom. At length he ordered the guards to withdraw, ſaying, that the conſul's gueſts had paid dear enough for their good cheer[y].
Lucan the poet was next ſentenced to die. His veins being opened, and his blood iſſuing

Subrius Flavius *reviles* Nero *to his face.*

His laſt brave words, and contempt of death.

Fenius Rufus *dies meanly.*

The quick and brave death of the conſul Veſtinus.

[y] Tacit. c. 63—69.

a iſſuing in ſtreams, he ſoon perceived his feet and hands to grow cold and ſtiff; but before his faculties were impaired, recollecting ſome lines of his own, in which he deſcribed a wounded ſoldier expiring after the ſame manner, he rehearſed them, and they were the laſt words he uttered [z] (N). *Suetonius*, or whoever elſe is the author of his life, tells us, that his behaviour towards *Nero*, who loved him, was ſuch as would have provoked the beſt of princes. His informing, and indeed falſly, if the author of his life is to be credited, againſt his own mother, will reflect eternal ignominy on his memory. The emperor had promiſed him his pardon; but the only favour he granted him, was the choice of his death, which happened on the thirtieth of *April* in the twenty-ſeventh year of his age [a]. We ſhall ſpeak of his writings anon. Lucan *dies with great intrepidity.*

b *Senecio*, *Quinctilianus*, and *Scevinus*, ſuffered death with a ſpirit far different from the former effeminacy of their lives. The other conſpirators were put to death, without ſpeaking or doing any thing worthy of notice. *Suetonius* tells us, that *Nero*, not ſatisfied with the puniſhment of the conſpirators themſelves, drove their innocent children out of *Rome*, and cauſed them, together with their tutors, governors, and domeſtics, to be either poiſoned, or ſtarved to death [b]. Whole families, as that writer aſſures us, were cut off at one meal. During this mighty carnage, which filled *Rome* with deaths, corpſes, and funerals, no one durſt ſhew the leaſt ſymptom of ſorrow for their murdered relations; nay, they muſt teſtify joy, unleſs they had a mind to be treated like traitors and enemies to the ſtate and emperor. Hence, as the city was Nero's *cruelty to the children of the conſpirators.*

c filled with carcaſſes, ſo was the capitol with victims: one had loſt a ſon; one a brother; this man a friend; that a near relation: but whatever was the loſs, every one paid his public thankſgiving to the gods; adorned, in token of joy, his houſe with laurel; fell proſtrate at the emperor's feet; kiſſed his hand, *&c.* *Antonius Natalis* and *Cervarius Proculus* were pardoned, in conſideration of their early confeſſion and diſcovery. *Milichus* the freed-man was amply rewarded, and honoured with a *Greek* name ſignifying protector. *Granius Silvanus*, one of the tribunes of the prætorian guards, obtained his pardon; but ſoon after, ſcorning to owe his life to the tyrant, fell by his own hand. All the friends of *Seneca*, tho' rather calumniated than convicted, were condemned to baniſhment. *Cæſonius Maximus* and *Cadicia*, the wife *Rewards the inſtruments of his cruelty.*

d of *Scevinus*, were driven out of *Italy*, and only by their puniſhment knew that they had been charged as criminals (O). The accuſation againſt *Attilia*, *Lucian*'s mother, was dropt; ſo that, without being cleared, ſhe eſcaped unpuniſhed [c].

And now the conſpiracy being utterly ſuppreſſed, and the conſpirators either ſentenced to death or baniſhment, *Nero* aſſembled the ſoldiery, diſtributed amongſt them a largeſs of two thouſand nummi a man, and ordered them to be thenceforth ſupplied with corn at the public expence. Upon *Petronius Turpilianus*, *Cocceius Nerva*, and *Tigellinus*, he beſtowed triumphal ornaments, as a reward for their zeal in proſecuting the conſpirators; nay, he cauſed triumphal ſtatues to be erected in the forum to the two latter, and their images to be placed in the palace; a diſtinction ſeldom granted,

[z] Idem, c. 70. [a] Suet. in vit. Lucan. [b] Suet. c. 36. [c] Tacit. c. 73.

(N) The verſes mentioned here, were, without all doubt, the following:

Scinditur avulſus, nec ſicut vulnere ſanguis
Emicuit lentus, ruptis cadit undique venis;
Diſcurſuſque animæ diverſa in membra meantis
Interceptus aquis.

(O) The following beautiful epigram in *Martial*, inſcribed to one *Ovidius*, an intimate friend of *Cæſonius Maximus*, may give us ſome light into this matter:

Maximus ille tuus, Ovidi, Cæſonius hic eſt,
Cujus adhuc vultum vivida cera tenet.
Hunc Nero damnavit; ſed tu damnare Neronem
Auſus es, & profugi, non tua fata, ſequi:
Æquora per Scyllæ magnus comes exulis iſti,
Qui modo nolueras conſulis ire comes.
Si victura meis mandantur nomina chartis,
Et fas eſt cineri me ſupereſſe meo;
Audiet hæc præſens, venturaque turba, fuiſſe
Illi te, Senecæ quod fuit ille ſuo (31).

From theſe verſes it is plain, that *Cæſonius* had been a conſul, and was one of *Seneca*'s moſt intimate friends; which was, without doubt, the motive that prompted *Nero* to baniſh him. As *Ovidius* accompanied him into baniſhment, ſo had *Cæſonius* in all likelihood accompanied formerly *Seneca*, when he was by *Claudius* baniſhed into the iſland of *Corſica*. The ſubject of the preſent epigram is the effigies of *Cæſonius* in wax, ſent either by *Martial* to his friend *Ovidius*, or by *Ovidius* to the poet. *Cæſonius* himſelf died, it ſeems, before this time in exile. After his conſulſhip, he was ſent into *Africa*, to govern that province, whither *Ovidius* refuſed to follow him; but, like a true friend, he attended him, when diſgraced and condemned to baniſhment; a ſignal inſtance of fidelity and friendſhip, and worthy of being by ſo great a poet tranſmitted to the lateſt poſterity.

(31) *Martial. l.* vii.

granted, and only to perſons of the greateſt merit. *Nymphidius* was diſtinguiſhed a
with the conſular ornaments. He was the ſon of a freed-woman, who, as ſhe was very beautiful, had long proſtituted herſelf to the domeſtics of the emperors, bond and free, without diſtinction. *Nymphidius* boaſted himſelf the ſon of *Caligula*, whom he reſembled both in his countenance and the tallneſs of his ſtature; and it is not improbable, ſays our hiſtorian, that the emperor, addicted as he was to all manner of lewdneſs, had deſcended to gallantries with his mother. But of him we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more at length hereafter; for he too had his ſhare in the calamities and viciſſitudes of *Rome*. The emperor, having thus rewarded the inſtruments of his tyranny, aſſembled the fathers, and acquainted them with the late tranſactions. To the people likewiſe he addreſſed an edict upon the ſame ſubject, and publiſhed b
the ſeveral evidences againſt the conſpirators, with their own confeſſions, in order to confute a rumour current among the populace, that the plot was forged; and that *Nero*, merely to ſatiate his cruelty and out of baſe fear, had ſacrificed ſo many illuſtrious citizens. In the ſenate, where the moſt abject flattery prevailed, every particular, the more ſenſibly he was affected with inward grief for the loſs of his friends or relations, the more outward joy and congratulations he expreſſed. It was by the whole body decreed, that public thankſgivings and oblations ſhould be paid to all the deities, and particular honours to the ſun, who having a chapel in the circus, where the parricide was to be perpetrated, had brought to light the dark contrivances of the conſpirators; that the circenſian games ſhould be ſolemnized with c
extraordinary pomp; that the month of *April*, in which the conſpiracy was detected, ſhould thenceforth bear the name of *Nero*; that a temple ſhould be erected to the goddeſs *Salus* or *Safety*, in the place whence *Scevinus* had taken the dagger, *&c.* The dagger itſelf was by *Nero* dedicated in the capitol, with this inſcription, *To* Jupiter *the avenger* (P). Such was the iſſue of this conſpiracy, which to the ſame moment owed, as *Tacitus* obſerves, its beginning, progreſs, and perfection, and was with faithful ſilence and ſecrecy concealed in a combination ſo numerous, ſo variouſly framed, amongſt thoſe of every condition, ſex, and age, till it was accidentally diſcovered in the manner we have related.

The mean flattery of the ſenate..

Nero *betakes himſelf again to his harp.*

He appears on the public ſtage as a competitor for the prizes.

Nero, now delivered from all fear, betook himſelf again to his harp. As the time d
approached for diſputing the prizes in the quinquennial games, the ſenate, to prevent *Nero* from appearing there as a competitor, offered him the prize of muſic, and alſo the crown of eloquence. But the emperor anſwered, That he needed not their partiality; ſince he himſelf was a match for all his competitors, and would only, by the juſt determination of the judges, purchaſe the praiſe and recompence of his ſkill. He appeared therefore publicly upon the ſtage, and there rehearſed a poem of his own compoſing; but the populace applauding him, and begging he would diſplay all his ſtudies, for theſe were their words, he entered the great theatre, and there appearing amongſt the common harpers and minſtrels, contended with them for the prize, with ſuch eagerneſs and anxiety, that he never ventured to ſit down, however e
fatigued, that being contrary to the eſtabliſhed laws of the harp, nor to ſpit, nor to wipe the ſweat from his face, ſave only with his arm. In the end, adoring the multitude with his knee bent and his hands lifted up, according to the cuſtom of the common players, he waited with awe and trembling the determination of the judges. The common people of *Rome* applauded him with loud ſhouts and clapping of hands, from an utter inſenſibility, ſays our hiſtorian, of the crying reproach, which diſgraced the *Roman* empire. But the inhabitants of the municipal cities of *Italy*, who ſtill retained the ſevere manners of the ancients, and ſuch as came from remote provinces, and attended then at *Rome* upon embaſſies, or their own private affairs, could not behold, without indignation, the ſovereign of *Rome* thus debaſing himſelf upon the f
ſtage, and much leſs join thoſe, who applauded this his ſhameful debaſement. They were

(P) The dagger was inſcribed to *Jupiter the avenger*, *Jovi vindici*; words, ſays our hiſtorian, which, at that time, were not minded. But, upon the revolt of *Julius Vindex*, which afterwards happened, an augury and preſage of approaching vengeance was drawn from them. *Tacitus* tells us, that he found, in the journals of the ſenate, that *Cerealis Anicius*, conſul elect, when it came to his vote, moved, that a temple ſhould in all ſpeed be raiſed at the public charge, and conſecrated to the deified *Nero*; a motion which he really meant as a compliment, to one who was intitled to divine worſhip; but from thence too was inferred an omen of his approaching fate; ſince to princes divine honours were not paid, till they finiſhed their mortal courſe (32).

(32) *Tacit.. c.* 74.

a were therefore frequently beaten by the ſoldiers, who ſtood in ſeveral cluſters among the croud to obſerve the faces of the ſpectators [d].

Appears frequently on the ſtage, and tires the audience.

Nero, encouraged with the applauſe of the multitude, appeared thenceforth almoſt every day on the ſtage, inviting, not only the ſenators and knights, but likewiſe the populace and the whole rabble of *Rome*, to hear him, though he performed for the moſt part in the theatre, which he had built in the palace. He often kept the audience, not only the whole day, but the night too; for till he was tired and gave over, no one was allowed to depart upon any occaſion, however neceſſary and urging: inſomuch, that women are ſaid to have been deſivered in the theatre, and ſeveral perſons ſo tired, that, finding the gates of the palace ſhut, they either leaped b privately over the wall, or, in order to be carried out, pretended to be in a ſwoon [e]; ſome, by never ſtirring night nor day from their ſeats, were ſeized with mortal diſtempers, which, however, they dreaded leſs than the prince's reſentment, which they unavoidably incurred by their abſence: beſides the ſeveral concealed and private obſervers, employed to mark the carriage of the audience, there were numbers of open ſpies, who publicly ſet down the names of ſuch as were preſent, obſerved their faces, and watched all the ſymptoms of pleaſure or diſſatisfaction in every one preſent: the vulgar were immediately puniſhed by the ſoldiery for the leaſt diſattention; towards perſons of rank the emperor's reſentment was for the preſent ſmothered, but vented at laſt in a more dreadful manner. We are told, that *Veſpaſian*, afterwards emperor, c was not only bitterly reproached by *Phœbus*, *Nero*'s freed-man, but charged as a criminal, for having nodded while the emperor was ſinging: this diſattention would have coſt him his life, had not his friends, men of great rank and merit, employed their prayers and mediation in his behalf. This year the death of *Poppæa*, *Nero*'s wife, filled *Rome* in appearance with grief and mourning, but in reality with much joy; for ſhe was no leſs abhorred, than her huſband, on account of her lewdneſs and cruelty. She was killed by *Nero* himſelf with a kick on the belly, while ſhe was big with child, for finding fault with him, as *Suetonius* tells us, upon his coming home late [f]; or becauſe ſhe ventured to rally him, as we read in *Dion Caſſius* [g], upon his ſkill and addreſs in chariot-driving. Her body was not burnt according to the d *Roman* cuſtom; but, after the manner of foreign monarchs, embalmed and repoſited in the ſepulchre of the *Julian* family. Her obſequies were celebrated with the utmoſt pomp, and her panegyric pronounced from the public roſtrum by the emperor himſelf [h]. *Pliny* aſſures us, that more perfumes were burnt at her funeral, than *Arabia Felix* produced in a year [i]. She conſtantly kept and carried about with her, if *Dion Caſſius* is to be credited [k], five hundred aſſes, and daily bathed in their milk for the preſervation of her beauty. Upon the death of *Poppæa*, *Nero* deſigned to marry *Antonia*, the daughter of *Claudius* and his own ſiſter by adoption; but ſhe declined the match, and was on that account by his orders put to death, as if ſhe had been concerned in a conſpiracy, probably that of *Piſo* [l]. Soon after he married *Statilia* e *Meſſalina*, the widow of the late conſul *Atticus Veſtinus*, and deſcend from *Statilius Taurus*, who had been twice conſul in the reign of *Auguſtus*. She too, as appears from ſome ancient medals [m], was honoured with the title of *Auguſta*.

Veſpaſian *in danger for his diſattention*

The death of Poppæa.

Junius Silanus *condemned.*

Not long after the death of *Poppæa*, *Nero* doomed to deſtruction two of the greateſt men in *Rome*, *Caius Caſſius Longinus*, a learned civilian, and *L. Junius Silanus Torquatus*, the former for his great wealth and the exemplary gravity of his manners; the latter, becauſe he was related to the *Cæſars*, and, for his modeſty and other eminent qualities, judged by the *Roman* people worthy of the empire. *Caſſius* was blind, very aged, and led a retired life, as did likewiſe *Silanus*, though in the f prime of his youth, having from the late bloody doom of his uncle *Torquatus*, who had aſſumed the port of a prince, learnt to ſhun all outward appearance of grandeur. However, the very ſame imputations, which had formerly been objected to his uncle, were urged againſt him; *viz.* that he aſpired at the ſovereign power, affected more majeſty and ſtate than became a private citizen, kept about him men with the title of principal ſecretaries, procurators, auditors of the revenues, treaſurers, *&c.* names and offices of imperial grandeur, which he already perſonated: imputations utterly falſe and groundleſs. To *Caſſius* *Nero* objected, that amongſt the images of his anceſtors he preſerved in high reverence that of *Caius Caſſius*, thus inſcribed, *The leader*

And Caſſius Longinus.

of

[d] Tacit. annal. l. xvi. c. 5. [e] Suet. c. 23. [f] Suet. c. 35. [g] Dio, l. lxii. p. 71. [h] Tacit. c. 6. Suet. c. 35. Dio, p. 71. [i] Plin. l. xii. c. 18. [k] Dio, l. lxi. p. 72. [l] Suet. c. 35. [m] Goltz, p. 46.

of the party. At the ſame time, he ſuborned certain perſons to forge an accuſation againſt *Lepida*, the wife of *Caſſius* and aunt to *Silanus*, as if ſhe had been guilty of inceſt with her nephew, and had practiſed magical rites of a miſchievous tendency. Againſt *Caſſius* and *Silanus* the ſenate pronounced ſentence of perpetual baniſhment, but referred the puniſhment of *Lepida* to the judgment of the emperor. *Caſſius* was tranſported into *Sardinia*, and, in regard of his great age, the ſhort remains of his life were ſpared. *Silanus*, under colour of carrying him to the iſland of *Naxos*, was conveyed to *Oſtia*, and afterwards confined in *Barium*, a city of *Apulia*, where a centurion, commiſſioned to put him to death, laying hold of him, adviſed him to cut his veins. *Silanus* anſwered, that he was not fond of life; but that no executioner ſhould have the glory of putting him to death. Hereupon the centurion ordered his men to ſecure him; but *Silanus*, who was a young man of great ſtrength, reſolute and daring, though deſtitute of arms, made a vigorous reſiſtance, till he fell by the ſword of the centurion, under a multitude of wounds, all received before, like a brave man, who falls facing the enemy in the day of battle [n]. With no leſs intrepidity died *Lucius Vetius*, and his mother-in-law *Sextia*, with *Pollutia* his daughter. *Nero* had long hated them, as ſtanding reproaches upon him for the murder of *Rubellius Plautus*, the huſband of *Pollutia* and ſon-in-law to *Vetus*. He therefore ſuborned a freed-man of *Vetus* to accuſe him, and then ſent a guard of ſoldiers to ſeize him at one of his ſeats in the neighbourhood of *Formiæ*. Hereupon his daughter *Pollutia* flew to *Naples*, where the emperor then was; aud being denied acceſs to him, watched at the gates of his houſe, till ſhe had an opportunity of beſeeching him to hear the defence of an innocent man, and not to ſacrifice, upon the depoſition of a treacherous ſlave, one who had formerly been his collegue in the conſulſhip. But in the end, being convinced, that the implacable tyrant was not to be ſoftened with ſupplications, ſhe returned to her father, and acquainted him, that he muſt baniſh all hope, and with intrepidity meet a fate, which he could not avoid. At the ſame time, tidings arrived, that the ſenate was haſtening his trial, and proceeding to a terrible and mercileſs ſentence. Hereupon he diſtributed amongſt his domeſtics whatever ſums of money were then in his poſſeſſion, and at the ſame time ordered them to remove and appropriate to themſelves the rich furniture of his villa. Then retiring with his mother-in-law *Sextia* and his daughter *Pollutia*, into a private apartment, they all three opened their veins in one and the ſame chamber, with one and the ſame inſtrument; and being covered for decency with a ſingle garment, they were conveyed into a warm bath, where they all three bled to death, the father's eyes being the whole time fixed upon his daughter, thoſe of *Sextia* on her grand-daughter, and hers upon both: they all prayed with emulation for a ſpeedy end; each wiſhed to expire firſt, and leave behind ſuch dear relations ſtill alive, though haſtening to die: and fortune obſerved the order of ſeniority and nature, the oldeſt expiring firſt, and the youngeſt laſt. After their death the ſervile ſenate was for pronouncing them guilty of high treaſon, and having their bodies dragged through the public ſtreets, and thrown into the *Tiber*; but *Nero* interpoſed, declaring himſelf ſatisfied with the puniſhment, which they had voluntarily undergone [o]. *P. Gallus*, a *Roman* knight, formerly intimate with *Fenius Rufus* and a friend to *Vetus*, was baniſhed. To the freed-man the accuſer a place was aſſigned in the theatre among the officers of the tribunes of the people. As the name of *April* had been already changed into that of *Nero*, the name of *May* into that of *Claudius*, ſo was the name of *June* now changed into that of *Germanicus*, *Cornelius Orfitus* moving, that the name of *June* ſhould be aboliſhed, ſince two of the *Junii Torquati*, already executed for treaſon, had rendered it abominable [p]. This year the country of *Campania* was ravaged with dreadful tempeſts and violent whirlwinds; whole villages were overturned, plantations torn up, the fruits of the earth ſcattered, *&c.* At the ſame time, a terrible peſtilence raged at *Rome*, and ſwept away in a ſhort ſpace above thirty thouſand perſons of all ranks and conditions. The ſenators and knights were leſs bewailed, as our hiſtorian obſerves, ſince by a contagion common to all, they eſcaped falling by the cruelty of the prince. *Nero*, after ſo many accumulated acts of tyranny, ſhewed this year ſome compaſſion upon the inhabitants of *Lions*, whom he preſented with a large ſum to repair the damage their city had ſuffered by accidental fire (R).

Several other perſons of diſtinction condemned.

Campania *ravaged with dreadful tempeſts.*

In

[n] Tacit. c. 7, 8. [o] Idem, c. 10, 11. [p] Idem, c. 12.

(R) The burning of *Lions* happened, according to *Seneca* (33), a hundred years after it was founded. Hence *Lipſius* concludes, that this misfortune befel that flouriſhing colony in the fifty-eighth year of the *Chriſtian*

(33) *Senec. epiſt.* 91.

a In the following conſulſhip of *C. Suetonius Paulinus* and *C. Luſius Teleſinus*, *Soſianus*, who had been condemned, as we have related above, to perpetual baniſhment, for certain virulent verſes by him compoſed againſt *Nero*, having inſinuated himſelf into the friendſhip of one *Pammenes*, who was an exile in the ſame place, and celebrated for his knowledge in the myſteries of aſtrology, obſerved that meſſengers were daily arriving to conſult him, and at the ſame time learnt, that from *P. Anteius* a yearly ſtipend was allowed him. Upon this intelligence he intercepted letters from *Anteius*, and even ſtole the papers containing the calculation of his nativity, and a ſcheme drawn concerning the birth and fortune of *Oſtorius Scapula*; which he no ſooner had in his poſſeſſion, than he wrote to the emperor, that he had mighty diſcoveries
b to communicate; for *Anteius* and *Oſtorius* were meditating ſome ſudden attempt upon the ſtate, and diving into their own deſtiny, and that of *Cæſar*. Light veſſels were immediately diſpatched away, and *Soſianus* with all poſſible expedition tranſported to *Rome*; where, upon the firſt divulging of his diſcovery, *Anteius* ſealed his laſt teſtament, being warned by *Tigellinus* to loſe no time, and then ſwallowed a draught of poiſon; but growing impatient of its ſlow operation, he haſtened his death by opening his veins. *Oſtorius* was then at an eſtate of his on the borders of *Liguria*, whither a centurion was ſent with orders to kill him with all diſpatch. For *Oſtorius* was a man of extraordinary valour, of prodigious ſtrength, great experience in war, eminently qualified for the command of an army, and had been diſtinguiſhed in *Britain*, while
c he ſerved there under his father, with a civic crown: hence *Nero*, who ever ſince the diſcovery of the late conſpiracy, lived under continual dread, fearing that brave officer ſhould take arms againſt him, was glad of any pretence to get rid of him. The centurion, having beſet all the avenues to the villa, acquainted *Oſtorius* with his orders from the emperor, which were no ſooner ſignified to him, than turning againſt himſelf that bravery, which he had ſo often exerted againſt the enemy, he opened all his veins without betraying the leaſt concern or diſmay; but as the blood flowed ſlowly, he diſpatched himſelf with a poignard, ordering one of his ſlaves to hold up the weapon ſteadily; then graſping and ſtrengthening the ſlave's hand with his own, he ran his throat upon the fatal ſteel. Within the compaſs of a few days, *Annæus*
d *Mella*, *Cerealis Anicius*, *Rufus Criſpinus*, and *Caius Petronius*, underwent the ſame bloody doom. *Criſpinus* had been captain of the prætorian guards under *Claudius*, and diſtinguiſhed, though only a knight, with the ornaments of the conſulſhip; but lately baniſhed, as privy to the conſpiracy, into *Sardinia*, where, upon notice that he was doomed to die, he ſlew himſelf. *Mella* was brother to *Gallio* and *Seneca*, and the father of *Lucan*. He was accuſed by one of *Lucan*'s intimate friends, named *Fabius Romanus*, who feigned, that the father and ſon were equally concerned in the conſpiracy; and having counterfeited letters to this purpoſe in the hand of *Lucan*, ſhewed them to *Nero*, who ordered them to be carried to the accuſed, whoſe immenſe riches were his only crime. *Mella* no ſooner ſaw them, than he opened his veins, and
e by a voluntary death anticipated his ſentence: in his will he bequeathed immenſe ſums to *Tigellinus* and his ſon-in-law *Coſſutianus Capito*, in order to ſecure the remainder. *Cerealis* likewiſe became his own executioner, but fell unpitied, becauſe he had formerly diſcovered a plot againſt *Caligula*. *Caius Petronius*, to whom ſome learned critics aſcribe the fragments, equally elegant and obſcene, which have reached our times, was a man intirely abandoned to all manner of voluptuouſneſs. He waſted the day in ſleep, and the night in revels: as others had by induſtry acquired a name and character, *Petronius* was by his ſignal ſloth and indolence raiſed to notice and fame: he indulged himſelf in all the gaieties and delights of life; but at the ſame time had the prudence to keep within bounds, and not ſquander away, like many
f others, his eſtate. Neither was he a ſlave to his groſſer appetites; but exceeding curious and refined in his luxury: his behaviour was extremely obliging and polite; his wit, in which he excelled all men of his time, natural and artleſs; and all his actions

The death of Anteius.

Of Oſtorius, Mella, Anicius, *&c.*

The character of Petronius.

Chriſtian æra, orders for founding it having been given in the conſulſhip of *Hirtius* and *Panſa*, forty-three years before the ſaid æra. But either theſe orders were not immediately put in execution, or the burning did not happen ſo early, ſince all the letters, in which *Seneca* ſpeaks of this calamity, are by the beſt chronologers thought to have been written in the ſixty-fourth or ſixty-fifth of the *Chriſtian* æra. That *Nero* ſhould defer relieving the inhabitants for the ſpace of ſeven years, as *Lipſius* pretends, is altogether improbable. This city ſhewed its gratitude to *Nero*, by ſteadily adhering to his party, after all the other cities of *Gaul* had declared for the revolters (34).

(34) *Dio*, *l.* xlvi. *p.* 323. *Senec. ep.* 91. *Noris Gall. p.* 292.

tions accompanied with a certain air of negligence. However, he diſcharged the proconſular government of *Bithynia*, and ſoon after the conſulſhip itſelf, with great reputation, ſhewing himſelf in both theſe employments equal to the management of the greateſt affairs. Then returning to his former vices, he was by *Nero* admitted to a great intimacy, nothing appearing to the emperor elegant and polite, but what was recommended to him by the taſte and approbation of *Petronius*. This *Tigellinus* could not bear, and therefore to get rid of one, who in credit was his rival, and in the ſcience of pleaſures his ſuperior, had recourſe to the cruelty and jealouſy of the prince, two paſſions, to which all others gave room; accuſed *Petronius* of having lived in great intimacy with the conſpirator *Scevinus*; ſuborned one of his ſlaves to confirm the charge, and precluded him from all means of defence. *Nero* happened at that time to be upon the road to *Campania*, and *Petronius*, having accompanied him as far as *Cumæ*, was there by his orders put under arreſt: whereupon without flattering himſelf with vain hopes, or condeſcending to intreaties, he reſolved to prevent his ſentence by a voluntary death, which he underwent in a manner altogether new, but well ſuited to the life he had led; for having ordered his veins to be cut, he did not ſhew any eagerneſs to put an end to his agonies, but directed them to be cloſed again, and then opened by intervals, juſt as his fancy moved him, diſcourſing the whole time with his friends, not upon ſerious ſubjects, as if he aimed at the glory of conſtancy in braving death, but upon indifferent matters, hearkening with attention to gay epigrams, love-verſes, and entertaining ſtories: ſome of his ſlaves he rewarded with bounties, others he puniſhed with ſtripes: he even diverted himſelf with walking out, even refreſhed himſelf with ſleep, that his death, though in reality violent, might appear altogether natural. In his laſt will he flattered neither *Nero* nor *Tigellinus*, nor any of the great men in power, as moſt others had done; but, under feigned names of harlots and catamites, deſcribed the ſecret abominations of the emperor, tranſmitted to him this picture of himſelf carefully ſealed, and then broke his ſignet, that it might not after his death become a ſnare to the innocent. *Nero*, greatly amazed to find all his nocturnal and moſt private impurities thus brought to light, after having long conſidered with himſelf by what means *Petronius* had come to the knowledge of them, fixed at length his ſuſpicion upon *Silia*, the wife of a ſenator, one privy to all his debaucheries, and very intimate with *Petronius*. She was therefore doomed to baniſhment, for not concealing what ſhe had ſeen and undergone in the prince's nocturnal revels. At the ſame time, *Numicius Thermus* was put to death, for no other crime, but becauſe a freedman belonging to him accuſed *Tigellinus* of treaſon; which offence the informer expiated under the moſt exquiſite torments [p].

His calm and uncommon manner of dying.

a b c d

Thraſea *and* Soranus *accuſed.*

After the ſlaughter of ſo many illuſtrious men, *Nero* at length attempted, ſays our hiſtorian, to extirpate virtue itſelf, in the perſons of *Bareas Soranus* and *Thraſea Pætus*, long ſince the objects of his hatred. *Thraſea* had withdrawn from the ſenate, as we have related above, when the affair of *Agrippina* came under debate there; at the ſports, called *Juvenales*, he could not approve of the emperor's acting and ſinging upon the ſtage; when the ſenate was about to condemn to death *Antiſtius* the prætor, for a virulent ſatire by him compoſed againſt *Nero*, he propoſed a mitigation of the ſentence, and carried it; when divine honours were decreed to *Poppæa*, he abſented himſelf, and declined attending her funeral; he had not now in three years once ſet his foot in the ſenate, and, though inveſted with the quindecemviral prieſthood, had never made oblations for the ſafety of the prince, and the preſervation of his heavenly voice, *&c.* Theſe were the crimes urged againſt *Thraſea* by *Capito Coſſutianus* and *Marcellus Eprius*, two informers of great acrimony and vehemence. *Oſtorius Sabinus*, a *Roman* knight, took upon him the taſk of accuſing *Bareas Soranus:* the crimes imputed to him were his friendſhip with *Plautus*, murdered by *Nero*'s orders in *Aſia*, and his intrigues with the *Aſiatics*, while he governed them in quality of proconſul, in order to engage them in a revolt. But his real crimes were, as *Tacitus* informs us, his having governed *Aſia* with ſignal vigilance and juſtice, his opening the port of *Epheſus*, a work mightily applauded by the *Aſiatics*, and his leaving the inhabitants of *Pergamus* unpuniſhed for oppoſing *Acratus*, one of *Nero*'s freedmen, when he would have ſtripped their city of all its pictures and ſtatues. The juncture *Nero* choſe for deſtroying theſe two great men was, that of the arrival of *Tiridates* to receive the crown of *Armenia*, either becauſe the public attention was then wholly

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[p] Tacit. c. 11---19.

a wholly engaged in that new ſight, or becauſe *Nero* meant on that occaſion to diſplay his greatneſs and power by the ſlaughter of the two moſt illuſtrious men in the whole empire. While the whole city flocked out to ſee a foreign king, *Thraſea* received orders not to attend his entry. Hereupon he compoſed a memorial to *Nero*, beſeeching the emperor to acquaint him with the allegations againſt him, and offering to vindicate himſelf, were he but appriſed of the charge. *Nero* received the memorial greedily, hoping that *Thraſea*, under the apprehenſion of his impending doom, might have writ ſomething tending to the glory of the prince and his own diſcredit; but finding himſelf diſappointed, and dreading the countenance, the great ſpirit, and free ſpeech of a man ſo generally eſteemed and revered, he ordered the ſenate to be

The firmneſs of Thraſea.

b ſummoned. In the mean time, *Thraſea*, having aſſembled his friends and relations to conſult with them, whether he ſhould attempt a defence or be ſilent, *Ruſticus Arulanus*, a young man of great ſpirit and one of the tribunes of the people, who aſſiſted at the conſultation, offered to thwart the decree of the ſenate, by interpoſing againſt it. But *Thraſea* would by no means allow him to purſue ſuch methods, as would in the end prove fatal to him. The next day, two cohorts of the prætorian guards ſurrounded the temple of *Venus*, where the ſenate was to meet; all the avenues to it were beſet with men in their gowns, the common dreſs of the city, but armed with ſwords, which they took no care to conceal; the great ſquares and ſeveral temples were filled with bands of ſoldiers under arms. Through theſe the ſenators paſ-

c ſed to their aſſembly, where, after a ſpeech ſent to them by *Nero*, and read by his quæſtor, in which he ſufficiently declared what he required of them, they condemned *Thraſea*, *Soranus*, and his daughter *Servilia*, but granted them the choice of their own deaths. The charge brought againſt *Servilia* was, that ſhe had conſulted the magicians, which ſhe owned; but declared at the ſame time, that her conſultation had been confined to the conſervation of her own family, whether the wrath of *Nero* might not be appeaſed, and whether no tragical judgment would follow the cogni-

They are both condemned by the ſenate.

zance of the ſenate. Farther than this ſhe had not inquired; but nevertheleſs ſhe was brought into the ſenate, and there arraigned by *Oſtorius Sabinus*, who queſtioned her, whether ſhe had not turned into money all her ornaments, and even ſtripped from

d her neck her jewels, to defray the expence of magic rites and ſacrifices? To this queſtion young *Servilia*, for ſhe was under twenty, embracing the altars with a flood of tears, anſwered, that the whole of her conſultation had been to know, whether the emperor, and the fathers of the ſenate, would to her dear and indulgent parent, beſet with terrors, graciouſly afford protection and ſafety. With this view, ſaid ſhe, I preſented the diviners, men till now utterly unknown to me, with my jewels, apparel, and the other ornaments peculiar to my quality, as I would have preſented my blood and life, had my blood and life been required. But whatever this my proceeding was, my unfortunate father was an utter ſtranger to it; and, if it is a crime, I alone am the delinquent. Theſe words alarmed *Soranus*, who interrupted her while ſhe was

The affecting ſpeech of Servilia *in the ſenate.*

e yet uttering them, crying out, that as ſhe was not ſuppoſed to be guilty of the crimes laid to his charge, her cauſe ought to be disjoined from his; that his own fate, whatever it ſhould prove, he was ready to undergo, but hoped, that in the danger of the father they would not involve the innocent daughter. Having thus ſpoken, he was haſtening to embrace his daughter, who flew to meet him; but the conſul's lictors ſtepped between and prevented them [q].

Sentence was no ſooner pronounced againſt the pretended criminals, than the quæſtor was diſpatched to acquaint *Thraſea* with it, who was then in his gardens, reaſoning there with *Demetrius*, a *Cynic* philoſopher, about the nature of the ſoul, and its departure from the body. While he was intent upon this diſcourſe, *Domitius Cecili-*

f *anus*, one of his moſt intimate friends, arrived, and related to him what the ſenate had decreed. *Thraſea* heard him without betraying, either in his voice or countenance, the leaſt concern; only turning to his friends, who came with *Cecilianus*, he embraced them, took his laſt leave of them, and preſſed them forthwith to retire, leſt they ſhould for their unſeaſonable compaſſion be involved in the ſame fate. His wife *Arria* was very earneſt to follow the example of her mother, who bore the ſame name, and was wife to *Cecina Pætus*, with whom ſhe died, as we have related elſewhere. But *Thraſea* would not by any means allow her to ſhare in his lot, beſeeching her to preſerve her life, and not deprive her daughter of her only remaining refuge. He then

Thraſea's *magnanimity in death.*

[q] Idem, c. 20---33.

then went forth into a gallery, and there the quæſtor found him, and delivered to him in form the ſentence of the ſenate, which he immediately put in execution, retiring into his chamber with *Helvidius* his ſon-in-law, *Demetrius*, and the quæſtor, in whoſe preſence he ordered the veins of both his arms to be cut. As the blood ſprung, he called the quæſtor nearer, and ſprinking the floor with it, *Let us*, ſaid he to him, *make this libation to* Jupiter the Deliverer. *Behold, young man; may the gods avert the omen! but you are born in ſuch times as require you to fortify your mind with examples of conſtancy.* After this, falling into grievous torments, occaſioned by the ſlow approaches of death, he turned towards *Demetrius*; but of the laſt words and particulars of this great man's death we are bereft, by a lamentable chaſm in this laſt annal of our hiſtorian, and by the ſame misfortune robbed of the detail, which that inimitable writer left of the other remarkable incidents that happened during the remainder of this, and the whole two laſt years of *Nero*'s reign. This loſs we ſhall ſupply in the beſt manner we can with the accounts which have been tranſmitted to us by other writers, eſpecially *Suetonius* and *Dion Caſſius*; but as neither of them has deſcribed the particulars of the death of *Thraſea*, *Soranus*, and his daughter *Servilia*, we cannot therein ſatisfy the curioſity of our readers.

a

Tiridates *crowned king of* Armenia *by* Nero.

Soon after the death of *Thraſea*, *Nero*, to divert the attention of the public from their domeſtic calamities, received *Tiridates* with all the pomp of majeſty and grandeur imaginable, and crowned him in one of the great ſquares king of *Armenia*. This was the moſt magnificent and pompous ceremony that had ever been ſeen in *Rome*; but as we have already deſcribed it in our hiſtory of the *Greater Armenia*, we ſhall only add here, that *Nero* allowed him, during his ſtay at *Rome*, eighty thouſand nummi a day, and loaded him, upon his departure, with preſents of immenſe value. The *Armenian*, who was a good courtier, had flattered the vain prince, and pretended to be raviſhed with his harmonious voice, and the ſkill he diſplayed in chariot-driving. After the coronation of *Tiridates*, *Nero* ſhut up the temple of *Janus*, in token of an univerſal peace, as appears from a medal dated the thirteenth year of his reign, which did not begin till the month of *October*, before which time, that is, in the month of *May*, the *Jews*, grievouſly oppreſſed by their governor, eſpecially *Florus*, had taken arms[r]. *Nero* ſolicited *Vologeſes*, brother to *Tiridates*, ſtill king of the *Parthians*, to come likewiſe to *Rome*; but in vain, *Vologeſes* returning no other anſwer, than that *Nero* might, with leſs trouble, croſs the *Mediterranean* and come into *Aſia*, where he would endeavour to meet him. The emperor, piqued with this anſwer, reſolved to make war upon the *Parthian*; and with this view made mighty preparations; ordered the flower of the armies in *Illyricum*, *Germany*, and *Britain*, to begin their march towards the kingdom of *Albania*; and raiſed a new legion of *Italians*, each man ſix foot tall, which he called the *legion of* Alexander the Great[s]. Thus was ſize firſt required in a ſoldier by a prince brought up amongſt minſtrels, ſongſters, and charioteers, who, it ſeems, had no real deſign of employing his choſen legion, or any others, in military feats: for upon intelligence, that the *Parthian* king was inflexible, and prepared on his ſide for a vigorous defence, he thought it adviſeable to leave the glory of conqueſts and warlike exploits to others, and confine his ambition to the unprincely honour of playing, ſinging, and acting upon the ſtage. As the time therefore of the *Olympic* games approached, he left *Italy*, and paſſed over into *Greece*, with no other deſign, but to gain the reputation of the beſt harper, ſinger, actor, and charioteer, in the whole *Roman* empire. The *Greeks*, who ſurpaſſed all other nations in flattery, underſtanding that the emperor piqued himſelf upon his ſkill in playing upon the harp, had diſpatched two embaſſadors to him with all the crowns deſigned by their ſeveral cities for ſuch players; which was ſo acceptable to *Nero*, that he not only gave their embaſſadors audience before any others, but admitted them to an entertainment, which he had prepared for his moſt intimate friends. On this occaſion one of them having begged him to ſing them a ſong, he immediately complied with his requeſt, and was ſo taken with their extravagant flattery, that he cried out, *The* Greeks *alone have a good ear*; *none but they underſtand muſic!* and a few days after

Nero *paſſes over into* Greece.

ſet out for *Greece*, leading with him, ſays *Dion Caſſius*, ſuch multitudes, as might have eaſily reduced the *Parthians* and all the nations of the eaſt, had they not, like their general, been deſtitute of all courage, and armed only with harps, fiddles, maſques, buſkins, and ſuch-like theatrical implements. With this army he imbarqued, and landing

c

d

e

f

[r] Vide P. Pagi, an. 71. [s] Dio, l. lxiii. p. 719. Suet. c. 19.

a landing at *Caſſiope*, he immediately began to ſing before the altar of *Jupiter Caſſius*. Thence he advanced into the heart of *Greece*, playing, ſinging, and acting in all the cities, through which he paſſed. But he chiefly exerted his ſkill at the *Olympic* games, where, to the eternal ignominy of the *Roman* name, the head of the empire was not aſhamed to appear, as a competitor, among the common harpers, players, and charioteers. He won the prize of muſic, by corrupting, as was commonly believed, with large preſents, either the judges, or his competitors. The prize of chariot-driving he evidently forfeited; for having attempted to drive with ten horſes, he was thrown off, and ſo hurt, that though he remounted, yet he was conſtrained to give over before he had finiſhed the career. However, as he inſiſted with

Sings on the public ſtage, and drives a chariot at the Olympic *games.*

b the judges upon their excluding all caſual events and misfortunes, the prize was to his unexpreſſible ſatisfaction decreed him. When the games were over, *Nero* not only rewarded the judges with the rights of *Roman* citizens and rich preſents, but reſtored the whole province of *Achaia* to its ancient liberty, taking upon himſelf the office of crier, and ſolemnly proclaiming the freedom of the *Achæans* at *Corinth* on the day of the *Iſthmian* games: ſo that from this time the *Greeks* continued free from all manner of taxes, impoſitions, and tributes, governing themſelves by their own laws, till the reign of *Veſpaſian*, who revoked all the privileges and exemptions granted them by *Nero*, as *Galba* obliged the judges to refund the vaſt ſums, with which the chanting emperor had preſented them. As the province of *Achaia* belonged to the ſenate and people, *Nero*, when he declared it free, beſtowed upon them in its room the

c iſland of *Sardinia* [t]. After this he travelled all over *Greece*, not prompted by the commendable curioſity of viſiting the antiquities of that once celebrated country, but by the unprincely ambition of diſplaying his ſkill and art in ſinging and playing upon the harp. He challenged every-where the beſt performers, and never failed, as we may well imagine, being declared victor; inſomuch, that he is ſaid to have gained in this progreſs above eighteen hundred prizes. He tranſmitted a particular account of each victory to the ſenate, injoining them to acknowledge the favours of the gods towards him with victims, oblations, and public proceſſions, and to take care, that the ſame devotions were practiſed throughout the whole empire [u]. That there might

Sings in moſt of the cities of Greece.

d remain no monuments of other victors, he commanded all their ſtatues to be pulled down, to be dragged through the ſtreets, and to be either daſhed to pieces, or thrown into the common ſewers [w].

THE *Greeks*, notwithſtanding the favours he beſtowed upon them, longed for his departure, his numerous train occaſioning a great dearth of proviſions, and almoſt a general famine. *Philoſtratus* aſſures us, that *Xerxes*, who entered *Greece* in a hoſtile manner, putting all to fire and ſword, did not ſo grievouſly afflict that unhappy country, as *Nero*, who came as a friend, and with no other view, but to divert the inhabitants. He every-where ſtripped the cities and temples of the few pictures, ſtatues, and other ornaments, which his officers had left them. The unfortunate province felt

e the effects, not only of his avarice, but likewiſe of his cruelty, of which *Philoſtratus* gives us the following inſtance: An actor in a tragedy at the *Iſthmian* games having ſung, ſo as to deſerve the chief applauſe, and refuſing, as he was better ſkilled in muſic than in the courtly art of flattery, to lower his voice, which quite drowned *Nero*'s, the emperor, tranſported with rage, cauſed him to be ſtrangled on the ſtage in the ſight of all *Greece* [x]. No wonder that his art every-where triumphed, when it was backed by ſo much cruelty. Loaded with the crowns and prizes he had won, he went to

Conſults the oracle of Del phos.

conſult the oracle at *Delphos*, and was warned by the pretended deity of the place, *To beware of ſeventy-three*, which, not reflecting on *Galba*'s age, he imagined to be the

f term of his life, and conceived ſo great aſſurance of his living and enjoying an uninterrupted happineſs till that age, that having ſoon after loſt many things of great value by ſhipwreck, he confidently told his friends, that the very fiſh would bring them again; nay, he was ſo poſſeſſed with this notion, that two years after, when the firſt tidings were brought him of the inſurrections in ſeveral provinces, he was ſo far from being alarmed, that he ſeemed rather to rejoice at thoſe diſturbances, ſince they furniſhed him with a plauſible pretence of ſeizing the eſtates of the inhabitants. The pythoneſs he preſented with a large ſum, which *Galba* not long after obliged her to pay back [y]. Thus *Dion Caſſius* and *Suetonius*; but *Lucianus Samoſatenus* [z], *Themiſtius*,

[t] SUET. l. vi. c. 22. DIO, l. lxiii. p. 719. PAUSAN. in Cor. [u] APOLL. THY. l. v. c. 3. DIO, l. vi. p 323. PAUSAN. ibid. [w] SUET. c. 24. [x] PHILOS. ſtrat. ibid. & PAUSAN. in Bœot.
[y] SUET. c. 40. DIO, p. 634. [z] LUCIAN. SAM. Nero dialog.

Themistius [a], and the emperor *Julian*, surnamed the *apostate* [b], assure us, that the pythoness reviled him as an *Orestes*, an *Alcmæon*, two parricides who had murdered their mothers, without deigning to return him any further answer; which so provoked him, that he caused all the issues from the oracle to be stopt up; commanded several persons to be murdered in the temple, in order to profane it; stripped *Apollo*, or rather his priests, of the lands he possest at *Cyrrha*, in the neighbourhood of *Delphos*; and carried away with him five hundred statues of brass, which no tyrant before him had offered to remove. We are told, that, as he departed, *Apollo* snatched the crown from off his head, signifying thereby, as was afterwards interpteted, that he was not to wear it long [c]. He declined visiting *Athens*, which city was said to be haunted by the furies, and likewise *Lacedæmon*, abhorring the very name of *Lycurgus* and his laws [d]. This year, *Cestius Gallus*, governor of *Syria*, being defeated on the eighth of *November* by the *Jews*, after he had raised the siege of *Jerusalem*, acquainted *Nero* with his overthrow; who thereupon appointed *Mucianus* governor of *Syria* in his room, and named *Flavius Vespasianus* to the command of the troops in that province, though he had not long before forbid him his presence, and threatened him with destruction, for having nodded while the emperor was singing on the stage [e].

Vespasian *sent against the* Jews.

Before he left *Greece*, he undertook to cut the *Isthmus*, in order to open a communication between the *Ionian* and *Ægean* seas, and by that means prevent the frequent wrecks that happened on the coast of *Peloponnesus*. As the isthmus, or neck of land which parts the two seas, is scarce six miles over, *Julius Cæsar*, *Caligula*, and *Claudius*, had formed the same design; but dropt it, as we are told, upon their being assured, that by their undertaking, if it succeeded, whole countries would be drowned, by reason that the *Ionian* sea was much higher than the *Ægean*. Besides, at the first breaking of the earth, blood was said to have issued, groans to have been heard, and frightful spectres seen [f]. But *Nero*, not crediting such reports, and always ready to attempt what was generally deemed impossible, assembled his prætorian guards, encouraged them with large promises to undertake the work chearfully, and having solemnly prayed that the design might turn to his advantage, and to the advantage of the commonwealth, without so much as mentioning the senate, he ordered the trumpets to sound, and advanced at the head of his guards, singing and dancing, to the place where the work was to begin. There, with a golden pick-ax, which the governor of the province presented to him, he pretended to set an example to others; but being tired after three strokes, he carried away in a basket the handful of earth he had moved, and posted away to *Corinth*, as proud as if he had undergone the labours of *Hercules*. He ordered the prisoners from all parts to be transported into *Greece*, and such as were convicted, whatever their crimes were, to be condemned only to this work [g]. *Vespasian* sent him six thousand *Jews*, whom he had already taken prisoners. These were, according to *Josephus*, employed in the laborious work of hewing the rocks, while the prætorian guards only removed the rubbish [h]. But either the insurmountable difficulties that occurred, or the troubles, which began to break out, or were apprehended, about this time, obliged *Nero* to drop the enterprise, though he was with such ardor and eagerness bent upon the execution of it, that he had rather have renounced the harp for ever, than seen his favourite project thus defeated [i].

Nero *undertakes to cut through the isthmus of* Corinth.

Drops that enterprize.

The following year, *L. Capito* and *C. Rufus* being consuls, *Nero*, continuing still in *Greece*, and wanting money to supply his prodigality and defray his exorbitant expences, plundered first the province of *Achaia*, putting, under various pretences, such of the *Greeks* to death as were thought wealthy, and seizing their estates. From *Achaia* he extended his rapines to *Italy* and *Rome*, where all the riches of the known world centred, injoining *Helius*, a freedman of the emperor *Claudius*, whom he had left governor of the city, to seize, under some pretence or other, the estates of all the wealthy citizens, to confiscate their effects, and turn them into money. *Nero* had taken with him into *Achaia*, such of the senatorial and equestrian order as were any ways considerable for their birth, virtue, or fortunes, with a design to dispatch them at a distance from *Rome*, and consequently with more safety and less noise; so that tidings were daily brought to the city of the death of some of her most illustrious

He plunders Greece.

[a] Themist. orat. quinque, p. 226. [b] Julian. p. 492. [c] Pausan. in Phoc. [d] Dio, l. lxiii. p. 721. [e] Joseph. bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 40. Tacit. annal. xvi. c. 31. [f] Plin. l. vi. c. 4. Dio, p. 722. [g] Suet. c. 31. Lucian. Nero, p. 143. [h] Joseph. bell. Jud. l. iii. c. 36. [i] Lucian. Nero dial. seu de Fossione Isthmi, p. 143.

illuſtrious citizens, and orders to *Helius* to ſeize their eſtates. For this year *Nero* a iſſued an edict, declaring, contrary to the cuſtom which had hitherto obtained, the eſtates confiſcated even of thoſe who anticipated their ſentence by a voluntary death. Of the many great men who ſuffered this year, none was more generally lamented than the brave *Domitius Corbulo*. He was equal, ſays *Tacitus*, in courage, prudence, *The character of* Corbulo. and experience, to the moſt renowned commanders of ancient *Rome*, and at the ſame time a true pattern of the modeſty, virtue, and integrity of the primitive *Romans*. He was adored on account of his unbounded generoſity, beneficence, and good-nature, even by the moſt inveterate enemies of the *Roman* name, who would readily have ſubmitted to *Rome*, had *Rome* been governed by a *Corbulo*. *Nero*, well acquainted with his commendable qualities, honour, and integrity, repoſed in him an b intire confidence, and inveſted him with an unlimited power in the eaſt, where he performed thoſe feats, which we have deſcribed at length in our hiſtory of *Armenia*. Though he commanded a powerful army, intirely at his devotion, was by all judged the moſt worthy of the ſovereign power in the whole *Roman* empire, and might have eaſily ſeized it, as he was equally adored by *Romans* and foreigners of every rank and condition; yet he never entertained the leaſt thought of aſſuming it. This inviolable fidelity to ſo cruel a tyrant, ſo worthleſs a prince, was the only thing, which either *Romans* or foreigners ever blamed in him. To this *Tiridates* alluded, when ſpeaking of him to *Nero*, he told the emperor, that *in* Corbulo *he had an excellent ſlave*. But this year, *Nero*, having reſolved to extirpate virtue from off the face of the earth, c wrote a letter to *Corbulo*, filled with the moſt tender expreſſions of friendſhip imaginable, ſtyling him his father, his benefactor, his only refuge, *&c.* In the letter he invited him into *Greece*, pretending an eager deſire to ſee one, to whom he was ſo highly indebted. *Corbulo*, judging of the emperor's ſincerity from the uprightneſs of his own heart, immediately ſet out for *Greece*. But *Nero*, the inſtant he was informed of his arrival at *Cenchreæ*, the port of *Corinth* on the ſide of the *Ægean* ſea, diſpatched orders for his immediate execution; which were no ſooner communicated to the brave general, than drawing his ſword, he plunged it into his breaſt, ſaying, that *he well deſerved to die*, no doubt, on account of his credulity and inviolable attachment to *His death.* d ſo vile a monſter [l]. Such was the end of the greateſt commander and the beſt man in the whole *Roman* empire. He was beloved by the emperor, ſays *Dion Caſſius*, for his unſhaken fidelity; but hated for his virtue, of all crimes the greateſt. He left behind him an account of his wars and other tranſactions in the eaſt, which are frequently quoted by *Pliny*, but have not reached our times [m]. The ſame year, *Annæus Cornutus*, one of the moſt learned men in *Rome*, was baniſhed and confined to a deſert iſland, for no other crime, but the ſtudy of philoſophy and profeſſion of virtue. The famous poets *Lucan* and *Perſius* had been his diſciples; for he took great pleaſure in inſtructing the *Roman* youth in the principles of the philoſophy of the *Stoics*, of which ſect he was himſelf. *Perſius* had a great veneration and eſteem for him; whence e he left him by his laſt will, for he died in the ninth year of *Nero*'s reign, ſeven hundred volumes, and a conſiderable ſum of money, which he reſtored to the heirs of the deceaſed, being ſatisfied with the books. He is ſaid to have adviſed *Perſius*'s mother to ſuppreſs ſome poetical compoſitions, which her ſon had wrote in his youth [n] (S). *Nero*, upon his leaving *Rome*, had committed the government of the city,

[l] Dio. p. 690. [m] Vide Voss. hiſt. Lat. l. i. c. 25. & Norris. de Cænotaph. Piſana. p. 334. Ven. 1681. [n] Dio, p. 715. Perſ. vit. p. 495.

(S) *Dion Caſſius* tells us (35), that *Nero* having a mind to write the *Roman* hiſtory in verſe from the foundation of the city to his own time, for he had ſome genius for poetry, and being told, that he could not compriſe it in fewer than four hundred books, conſulted *Cornutus* upon that ſubject, who anſwered, that the number of books was too great, and that no one would read them. This *Nero* did not reſent, believing *Cornutns* only meant, that no one would read them on account of their number. But one urging, that the books of *Chryſippus* were more numerous, and yet generally read, *The books of* Chryſippus, replied *Cornutus*, *contain many uſeful precepts, which ſerve to improve both our manners and underſtanding*. This anſwer provoked *Nero* to ſuch a degree, that he was for having him immediately put to death; but, ſeveral of *Cornutus*'s friends and diſciples interpoſing in his behalf, he was only baniſhed. *Aulus Gellius* quotes certain comments upon *Virgil* done by *Annæus Cornutus*, whom he ſtyles an *illuſtrious and learned grammarian* (36), and likewiſe his ſecond book upon the figures of rhetoric (37). *Macrobius* too ſpeaks of *Annæus Cornutus* as a man well ſkilled in the *Greek* tongue. *The treatiſe of the theology of the* Greeks, which has reached our times, and paſſes under the name of *Phornutus*, is by *Theodoret* and others

(35) *Dio, l.* xlii. *p.* 715. (36) *Aul. Gell. l.* ii. *c.* 6. (37) *Idem, l.* ix. *c.* 10.

Cruelties exercised in Rome *by* Helius *the freedman.*

city, as we have hinted above, to *Helius*, a freedman of the late emperor, investing him with an absolute power over all persons, senators not excepted, whom he was allowed to banish, condemn, and execute, without so much as acquainting the emperor with the crimes laid to their charge, or waiting for his consent. And truly *Helius*, assisted by *Polycletus*, another freedman, made no less dreadful havock of the *Roman* nobility at *Rome*, than his master did in *Achaia*. Virtue, quality, or wealth were unpardonable crimes, and punished with death. Few noble families escaped the cruelty of the emperor, or the imperial freedman. The latter, more cruel, if possible, than *Nero* himself, cut off the neareſt relations, and even the children of those he condemned; which alarmed the city to such a degree, that a general insurrection was apprehended. Hereupon *Helius* dispatched messengers after messengers to the emperor, representing to him the state of affairs, and pressing him to return to the capital with all possible expedition. As *Nero* put off his departure from day to day, and returned no other answer to *Helius*, than that if he truly loved him, he could not envy him the glory he was daily acquiring in *Greece*; but would rather wish, that *Nero* might return worthy of himself; the freedman left *Rome* unexpectedly, and arriving in seven days in *Greece*, so terrified the emperor with the exaggerated account he gave him of the general discontent that reigned in the city, that he immediately left *Greece*, where he had stayed at least a year, and imbarqued for *Italy*. In his passage his fleet was dispersed by a violent storm, the ships, laden with all the wealth of *Greece*, cast away, and he himself in imminent danger of being lost with them. But with much ado he escaped, and upon his landing caused many of his numerous retinue to be inhumanly massacred, for having imprudently betrayed joy while he was in danger of perishing [o]. He entered *Naples* through a breach in the wall, according to the custom of the victors in the *Olympic* games, and in the same manner *Antium*, *Albanum*, and *Rome*. He made his entry into the latter city in the triumphal chariot of *Augustus*, pompously attired, having with him in the same chariot another player upon the harp, by name *Diodorus*, wearing an *Olympic* crown on his head, and carrying a *Pythic* crown in his hand. Before him marched in great pomp and richly dressed, eighteen hundred persons, each of them with a crown in his hand, and under it an inscription, signifying where it had been won, the name of the person whom the emperor had overcome, the subject and title of the song, and such-like important circumstances. His chariot was followed by the whole rabble of the city, crying out by way of derision, that they were the soldiers of *Augustus*, and claimed a share in the glory of the triumphant victor. From the *via sacra* the procession turned to the circus, which *Nero* entered through a breach, having caused one of the arches to be thrown down. Thence they proceeded through the *Velabrum* and the forum to the palace, and from the palace to the temple of *Apollo*, where he displayed all his crowns, and ordered them to be carried from thence to his golden house, and there hung up round his bed, upon the many statues which he had erected to himself in the habit and attire of a harper. The remaining part of the year he spent in playing upon the harp, singing, and acting upon the stage, no one of the nobility daring to absent themselves, upon any pretence whatsoever, from his theatrical representations, though they often lasted, not only the whole day, but the night too. We are told, that he personated with great art *Canace* in labour, *Orestes* murdering his mother, *Œdipus* pulling out his own eyes, and *Hercules* phrentic; in which last representation a raw soldier, then upon guard, seeing the emperor bound in chains, as the argument required, and supposing it real violence, ran in, sword in hand, to his relief, and cleared the stage, which did not a little divert the weary and tired out multitude. While he was acting in a tragedy, the battoon happening to fall out of his hand, he betrayed such concern, and fear of forfeiting the reputation of an able

Nero *returns to* Italy.

His entry into Naples, Rome, *&c.*

Spends the remaining part of the year in acting upon the stage.

[o] Dio, p. 723. Suet. c. 23.

others ascribed to *Cornutus*. From this work *Porphyrius* pretends, that *Origen* learnt to explain the scripture by allegories (38). It is certain, that *Origen* often makes use of the writings of *Cornutus* to prove the tenets of the *Christian* religion (39). But whether this be the *Annæus Cornutus*, who was banished by *Nero*, is much questioned by the critics (40). *Suidas* likewise mentions a philosopher, named *Cornutus*, and born at *Leptis* in *Libya*, who, according to him, came to *Rome* before the reign of *Nero*, and wrote several philosophical tracts. This we take to be the *Annæus Cornutus* mentioned by *Dion Cassius*; but *Suidas* is mistaken in supposing him to have been put to death by *Nero*.

(38) *Euseb. l.* vi. *c.* 19. (39) *Vide Hier. ep.* 84. (40) *Vide Voss. hist. Lat. l.* i. *c.* 26.

a able actor, that he could not purſue his part, till one of his fellow actors aſſured him upon his oath, that not one of the audience had taken the leaſt notice of ſo ſmall a fault, and merely caſual. To preſerve his voice, he uſed to lie conſtantly on his back, with a thin plate of lead upon his ſtomach, took frequently vomitory and purging potions, and abſtained from all ſorts of fruit, and meats reputed prejudicial to his voice: nay, he gave over at length, through fear of hurting his voice, making ſpeeches to the ſoldiery or ſenate, contenting himſelf to ſignify his pleaſure to them in writing, or by the mouth of ſome of his friends or freedmen. After his return from *Greece*, he eſtabliſhed a new employment, charging one, whom he called, with a name borrowed from the *Greek* tongue, his *phonaſcus*, to take care of his voice. He b would never ſpeak but in the preſence of this new officer, who was firſt to admoniſh him, when he talked too loud, or ſtrained his voice, and afterwards, if the emperor, tranſported with any ſudden emotion, did not hearken to his admonitions, to ſtop his mouth with a napkin. The moſt effectual means of courting his favour was to commend his voice, to pretend raptures while he ſung, to appear dejected, and be very importunate, if he took a fancy, as he ſometimes did, like other ſingers, not to do what he was moſt ardently deſirous of doing [p]. Thus he trifled away his time, not forbearing, however, in the midſt of diverſion and pleaſures, to purſue feats of cruelty and blood, till the next year, the fourteenth of his reign, when a bloody doom overtook at length this man of blood. Either this, or the preceding, year, a c conſpiracy was formed againſt him by *Vinicius*, and diſcovered at *Beneventum*; and this is all we find concerning it in the hiſtories of thoſe times, which have reached ours. Of this conſpiracy, *Plutarch*, we conjecture, ſpeaks in his treatiſe of *talkativeneſs*, where he tells, that a plot formed againſt *Nero* was diſcovered in the following manner, when it was ripe for execution: One of the conſpirators, ſeeing a priſoner dragged to *Nero*'s tribunal, accoſted him, as he was bewailing his misfortune, and whiſpered him in the ear, If by the favour of the gods you eſcape to-day, you will be to-morrow indebted to me for your ſafety. The priſoner underſtood him, and as he was chiefly ſolicitous about averting his own doom, he immediately acquainted *Nero* with what had been told him. Hereupon the conſpirator was forthwith ſeized, d and being put upon the rack, owned the conſpiracy and diſcovered his aſſociates [q]. Of this conſpiracy we find no further account in the ancients, which makes us the more ſenſible of the irreparable loſs we have ſuffered by the chaſm in this part of *Tacitus*'s annals.

He takes particular care of his voice.

A conſpiracy diſcovered.

THE next conſuls were *Silius Italicus*, the celebrated poet, and *Galerius Trachalus* [r]. Theſe were the laſt conſuls named by *Nero*. *Pliny*, in one of his letters [s], gives us a ſuccinct account of the life and death of *Silius*, for he died in the reign of *Trajan*; and tells us, that under *Nero* he accuſed, not by conſtraint, but choice, ſeveral perſons of great diſtinction, and procured their deſtruction; but adds, that under the ſucceeding emperors he led a life free from all blemiſh. We ſhall have e occaſion to ſpeak of him in the reign of *Domitian*, when he wrote his poem on the *Punic* war. *Trachalus* was an orator and civilian of great note [t], and nearly related to *Galeria*, the wife of *Vitellius*, who ſaved his life, as we ſhall relate hereafter. This year, *Nero*, after having long wallowed in the blood of human race, and made ſpoil, we may ſay, of the creation, was at length overtaken by the bloody doom, which his enormous and crying iniquities well deſerved. His raging fury had quite tired out and exhauſted the patience both of *Romans* and foreigners, who were equally diſpoſed to a general revolution, and only wanted a perſon of credit and experience to head them. The firſt, who had courage enough openly to declare his generous reſolution of redeeming the world, from the no leſs ignominious than tyrannical yoke, f under which it had now groaned for thirteen years and upwards, was *Julius Vindex*, deſcended from the ancient kings of *Aquitain*, and at this time governor of *Celtic Gaul*. He was a true lover of his country, had on ſeveral occaſions ſignalized his courage, prudence, and experience in the military art, bore an utter averſion to ſlavery, and was poſſeſſed with an ardent ambition of tranſmitting his name to poſterity by ſome commendable action [u]. We are told, that before he openly declared his deſign, he communicated it to *Galba*, then governor of *Hiſpania Tarraconenſis*, who neither countenanced nor diſcovered it to *Nero*, as did ſeveral of the governors of other provinces,

Julius Vindex *revolts in* Gaul.

[p] SUET. c. 25. [q] PLUT. de garrulitate. [r] PLIN. l. iii. ep. 7. FRONT. AQUÆDUC. p. 119. IDATIUS, &c. [s] PLIN. ibid. [t] TACIT. hiſt. l. i. c. 90. [u] DIO, l. lxiii. p. 724. SUET. c. 40. TACIT. hiſt. l. i. c. 16.

provinces, to whom *Vindex* had imparted it by letters, which they immediately ſent a to *Nero* [w]. *Philoſtratus*, in his life of *Apollonius Tyanæus*, writes, that the governor of *Bætica*, now *Andaluſia*, coming to *Gades*, or *Cadiz*, to viſit *Apollonius*, conferred with him in private for three days together; and that it was afterwards believed, that *Apollonius* had encouraged the governor to revolt from *Nero* and join *Vindex*, whoſe deſign was not yet publicly known [x]. Whether *Philoſtratus* ſpeaks here of *Galba*, or of ſome other, we know not. *Galba* indeed was not governor of *Bætica*; but in *Philoſtratus* ſuch miſtakes frequently occur. Though *Galba* did not at firſt ſhew himſelf inclined to favour the revolt, yet the brave *Vindex*, having about the beginning of *March*, aſſembled the *Gauls*, haraſſed and reduced to beggary, by heavy tributes and impoſitions, openly declared to them his deſign, encouraged them to concur b
chearfully in his meaſures, and in a long ſpeech diſplayed their many grievances, from which he ſaid there were no hopes of relief, ſo long as their tyrannical and cruel oppreſſor lived or reigned. His deſign was univerſally applauded by the *Gauls*, who immediately flocked to him from all parts; inſomuch, that though he had no *Roman* troops under his command, yet he found himſelf in a ſhort time at the head of a hundred thouſand armed men. Hereupon he wrote once more to *Galba*, exhorting him to eſpouſe the common cauſe of mankind, and put himſelf at the head of the *Gauls*, who were already a body of a hundred thouſand armed men, and could, upon occaſion, raiſe a greater force. At the ſame time arrived an expreſs from the governor of *Aquitain*, demanding ſuccours againſt *Vindex*. Upon the receipt of theſe important diſpatches, *Galba* called a council of his friends to adviſe with them, before he returned an anſwer to either of the meſſengers. In the council they were almoſt all of opinion, that he ought to wait, and ſee how *Rome* ſtood inclined before he declared. But *Titus Vinius*, tribune of the only legion in the province, ſtanding up, "What "room, ſaid he, is there here for deliberation? It is a crime even to queſtion, whether or "no we ſhall continue faithful to *Nero*, and as ſuch it will be puniſhed by him. There "is no medium; you muſt either hearken to the overture of *Vindex*, and look on *Nero* "as your declared enemy, or march this inſtant againſt a perſon, who had rather have "*Galba* for emperor than *Nero*." This ſpeech made a deep impreſſion upon the mind of *Galba*, who was likewiſe animated by ſeveral favourable omens, and above all by a d
prediction, which was uttered about this time by a young virgin of great diſtinction in *Spain*, and anſwered exactly another, which had been delivered two hundred years before, *viz.* that *Spain* ſhould one day give a prince to *Rome*, and to the world a ſovereign. He therefore heſitated no longer; but by an edict appointed a certain day for the *Spaniards* to meet at *New Carthage*, now *Carthagena*. The *Spaniards*, who had heard of the revolt in *Gaul* and ſuſpected his deſign, obeyed the ſummons with great alacrity; for they abhorred the very name of *Nero*, and flocked from all quarters to *Carthagena*, where *Galba*, aſcending the tribunal, round which were placed the images of ſeveral illuſtrious perſons, whom *Nero* had cauſed to be inhumanly maſſacred, openly declared his deſign in the following ſpeech: "Fellow-ſoldiers and friends, we are aſſem- e
"bled to beſtow on mankind the great benefit of liberty and freedom, a benefit, "which indeed is our birth-right, though we have not theſe many years been allowed "to taſte the ſweets of it. For what ſlave has endured greater hardſhips, has ſuffered a "more cruel ſervitude, than we under the inhuman tyrant, whom the evil fortune of the "*Roman* empire had placed over us? What kind of extortions has he not uſed to ſupply, "with rapine and injuſtice, what he has ſpent, with ignominy and ſhame? What kind "of cruelty has he not practiſed? Has he not wallowed in the blood of his father, his "brother, his mother, his wife, his inſtructor, and of all, who, in the ſenate, city, or "provinces, were any-ways conſiderable for their birth, wealth, courage, or virtue, "without diſtinction of ſex or age? The blood of ſo many innocent victims cries aloud f
"for vengeance. Let us therefore appeaſe the manes of our deceaſed friends and rela-"tions with the blood of the tyrant, by whom they have been thus inhumanly butchered. "Let us rouſe our courage, and ſo long as we have arms, and ability to manage them, "be aſhamed tamely to obey, like ſo many ſlaves, not a prince, but an incendiary, "a parricide, a ſinger, a minſtrel, a player, a charioteer, nay one who is not even a "man, but a monſter of mankind, having a man to his huſband, and a man to his wife. "The *Gauls* have already ſhaken off the ignominious yoke, and the whole empire "is ready to follow their example and join us and them. For myſelf, I have never "entertained

And raiſes a powerful army.

Galba *revolts in* Spain.

His ſpeech againſt Nero.

[w] Plut. vit. Galbæ. [x] Philostrat. vita Apoll. Tyan. l. v. c. 13.

a " entertained any ambitious or aſpiring deſigns, and heartily wiſh I were allowed to
" ſpend the ſmall remainder of my days in privacy and retirement; but ſince ſome
" have impoſed upon me a part, which I never deſigned to act, and leaſt of all at
" this age, I will not decline, with your approbation, the heavy taſk, but chearfully
" ſacrifice my own inclinations to the good of my country, not with the awful title
" of *emperor* or *Auguſtus*, which ſacred names I adore"---Here he was interrupted by the loud ſhouts, and joyful acclamations of the numerous aſſembly, ſaluting him with one voice, *emperor* and *Auguſtus*. But *Galba*, declining theſe ſpecious titles, declared, that he devoted himſelf to the ſervice of his country only as lieutenant to the ſenate and people [y]. This happened nine months and thirteen days, as we read in *Dion Caſſius*, b before *Galba*'s death, and conſequently on the third of *April*; for he was aſſaſſinated on the fifteenth of *January* of the following year. After this *Galba* ordered levies to be made throughout the whole province; ſelected a certain number of perſons of known prudence and experience, and with them formed a kind of ſenate; appointed a band of young knights, whom he called *evocati*, to be as a guard at the door of his chamber; and cauſed edicts to be fixed up in every city of the province, inviting all to join him, and lend what aſſiſtance they could towards the recovery of their liberty, and the ſucceſs of an enterpriſe, which ſo nearly concerned them. We are told, that as he was fortifying a town, which he deſigned for a place of arms, a ring was found of great antiquity, on the ſtone whereof was engraved a *Victory*; and c that about the ſame time a ſhip from *Alexandria* came into the port of *Dertoſa* or *Tortoſa*, laden with arms, without either pilot, mariners, or paſſengers [z]. *Otho*, who ſtill governed *Luſitania*, was the firſt of all the governors of provinces who declared for *Galba*, ſending him all his gold and ſilver plate to turn it into money, and likewiſe his domeſtics, who were more accuſtomed to a court, and knew better than *Galba*'s how to ſerve an emperor [a].

He declines the title of emperor.

THE firſt tidings of the revolt of *Vindex* and the *Gauls* came to *Nero* at *Naples*, on the ſame day, on which he had cauſed his mother to be murdered, that is, on the 19th of *March*. But he was ſo far from being affected with it, that he ſeemed rather to rejoice at the news, as having a plauſible pretence to plunder thoſe wealthy pro- d vinces; ſo that he continued to ſing, play, and act upon the ſtage, as uſual, for eight days together, without iſſuing any orders for ſuppreſſing the revolt, or even writing or ſpeaking to any one about it: he was only once heard to ſay, upon receiving letters of a freſher date, exaggerating the impending danger, that he would make *Vindex* and the *Gauls* pay dear for diſturbing his pleaſures. At length the edicts of *Vindex*, filled with moſt bitter invectives, rouſed him ſo far as to prompt him to write to the ſenate, recommending to the fathers the revenging of the injuries offered to him, and in him to them and the whole republic, and excuſing his abſence with the pretence of an inflammation in his throat. But he reſented nothing ſo much as *Vindex*'s calling him in one of his edicts an *unſkilful harper*, and *Ahenobarbus* inſtead of *Nero*. e He declared, that he would quit his adopted name, and reſume that of his family ſince they reproached him with it, as if it were a name to be aſhamed of. The other imputation affected him ſtill more; he could not bear it: but in the tranſports of his paſſion broke out into bitter invectives againſt *Vindex*, abuſing him as one intirely ignorant of an art, which he had, with his own induſtry and indefatigable pains, refined and brought to the greateſt perfection: to refute this calumny, he played more frequently than ever, obſerving with great attention the countenances of the ſpectators, and aſking them whether they had ever heard or known a more ſkilful player upon the harp than himſelf? But, the alarm increaſing, and meſſenger after meſſenger arriving with diſmal accounts, he at length left *Naples* in a great fright, and repaired to *Rome*. f However, his fear was greatly abated by his obſerving on the road a tomb, on which was engraved a *Gaul* overcome by a *Roman* knight, who dragged him on the ground by the hair. This frivolous preſage ſo revived him, that he returned thanks to the gods for ſuch an auſpicious omen. Upon his arrival in the city, inſtead of aſſembling the ſenate or people, he only ſummoned ſome of the principal men to his palace, and after a ſhort conſultation, in which no reſolution was taken, he ſpent the reſt of the day in ſhewing his counſellors certain muſical inſtruments lately invented by himſelf, and ſo contrived as to play by water. Here, intirely forgetful of the danger that threatened him, he diſcourſed of the nature and workmanſhip

Nero *is not affected with the tidings of the revolt of* Vindex.

What he chiefly reſented.

His unconcern

[y] SUET. in Galba, c. 10. DIO, l. lxiv. p. 730. PLUT. in Galb. [z] SUET. in Galb. c. 10. [a] Idem ibid. & PLUT. in vit. Oth.

manſhip of each of them, promiſing to produce them, ere it was long, upon the ſtage, *provided* Vindex *would give him leave.* The following night he ſent in haſte for the chief men of the ſenatorial and equeſtrian order, who immediately flew to the palace, not doubting, but the emperor deſigned to adviſe with them in the preſent moſt urging juncture, and come to ſome ſpeedy reſolution. But they were greatly ſurpriſed to find, that they had been ſummoned in the dead of the night to be entertained with a farther account of the inſtruments, which had been ſhewn them the day before, and ſome new improvements, which had ſince occurred to *Nero* [h]. However, he wrote a letter to the ſenate, complaining of *Vindex*, ſet a price upon his head, called back the troops that were on their march towards *Albania*, and ordered the legions in *Illyricum* to be forthwith tranſported into *Italy*. We are told, that when news was brought to *Vindex*, that *Nero* had promiſed ten millions of ſeſterces to any one who ſhould bring him his head, he anſwered with great calmneſs, *Whoever ſhall bring* Nero's *head to me, ſhall, if he pleaſes, have mine in exchange.* *Nero* ſeemed to deſpiſe *Vindex*, and to be under no apprehenſion of the *Gauls*; but intelligence being brought him of the revolt of *Galba*, juſt as he was ſitting down to ſupper, he was ſo ſtruck with it, that he remained a long time motionleſs, without being able to utter a ſingle word; and when he came to himſelf again, he overturned in a violent rage the table, tore his garments, broke in pieces two cups of great value, and daſhing his head againſt the wall, cried out, he was undone; his misfortunes were without example; his empire was ſeized, while he was ſtill alive, and become the prey of an uſurper. However, he could not, even in the height of his conſternation and fear, refrain from his uſual debaucheries; but purſued his former courſe of life, feaſting, revelling, and, upon his receiving news out of the provinces that ſeemed any-ways favourable to his affairs, jeſting and ridiculing the heads of the rebellion. He even appeared in the theatre, and becauſe one of the actors performed his part ſo as to deſerve an extraordinary applauſe, he ſent him word, that he invaded the rights of the emperor [c]. In the mean time, the ſenate, out of fear and flattery, declared *Galba* a traitor and an enemy to the ſtate; whereupon *Nero* immediately ſeized his eſtate, and commanded it to be put up to auction; which *Galba* no ſooner underſtood, than he in his turn expoſed to ſale *Nero*'s eſtate in *Spain*, and found a great number of purchaſers [d]. This inraged *Nero* to ſuch a degree, that, in the firſt tranſports of his fury, he reſolved to ſend perſons into all the provinces to murder the governors and commanders of the armies, under pretence of their being privy to the conſpiracy, to order all the exiles to be maſſacred, leſt they ſhould join the revolters, to cut the throats of all the *Gauls* in *Rome*, as accomplices and favourers of their countrymen, to poiſon the whole ſenate at an entertainment, to ſet fire to the city, and at the ſame time let looſe the wild beaſts kept for the public ſpectacles, that the people being thus diverted from extinguiſhing the flames, their deſtruction, and the deſtruction of the city, might be the more inevitable. But dropping, upon farther thoughts, theſe barbarous deſigns, not out of remorſe, but deſpair of effecting them, he reſolved to march in perſon againſt the rebels; and depoſing the two conſuls, *Silius* and *Trachalus*, entered alone upon the conſulſhip, pretending an ancient prediction, importing, that when *Rome* had but one conſul, by him the *Gauls* ſhould be overcome. Having therefore aſſumed the faſces and other marks of the conſular dignity, he ordered levies to be made throughout *Italy*, named the officers who were to command under him, and cauſed an immenſe number of waggons to be got ready for conveying with ſafety, not the engines of war, but his muſical inſtruments and the decorations of the ſtage; for he was ſo mean-ſpirited as to declare to his intimate friends, that he did not intend to try his fortune with the rebels in the field, but upon his arrival in the province, to preſent himſelf without arms before the armies, to weep, and with ſighs and tears beg forgiveneſs of his former conduct; which if, touched with compaſſion, they ſhould grant him, as he hoped they would, he deſigned to engage and fix their affections, by diverting them with plays and ſongs of triumph, which, he ſaid, it was high time for him to begin to compoſe. That he had no deſign of facing the enemy in the field was manifeſt from his other preparations; for he ordered all the players upon inſtruments, ſingers, and actors to attend him; and arming his concubines, like *Amazons*, with battle-axes and ſhields, appointed them to guard his perſon [e].

Complains of Vindex *to the ſenate.*

Is alarmed at the news of the revolt of Galba.

His deſperate reſolution.

Depoſes both the conſuls.

His meanneſs.

In

[b] Suet. c. 40, 41. Dio, p. 694—697. [c] Suet. c. 42. [d] Plut. vit. Galb. [e] Suet. c. 44.

In the mean time, *Galba*'s party gained daily new ſtrength, all the governors of
a the provinces declaring for him, except *Clodius Macer*, who commanded in *Africa*, and *L. Rufus Verginius*, or *Virginius*, governor of *Upper Germany*, where he had under his command ſome of the beſt legions in the whole empire. The latter even marched againſt *Vindex* with all his forces, and being joined by the inhabitants of *Treves*, capital of *Belgic Gaul*, and powerfully aſſiſted in *Celtic Gaul* itſelf by the cities of *Langres* and *Lions*, he advanced as far as the city of *Beſançon*, which he beſieged. Upon this intelligence, *Vindex* haſtened to the relief of the place; but upon his arrival, *Virginius* deſiring an interview with him, the two generals had a private conference, in which they agreed, as was commonly believed, to act againſt *Nero*; but *Verginius* could not by any means be prevailed upon to declare for *Galba*. After they
b had long conferred together, *Vindex* retuned to his troops, and with them advanced to *Beſançon*, in order to take poſſeſſion of the place, purſuant to the private agreement of the two chiefs. But *Verginius*'s men, believing that *Vindex* deſigned to attack them, marched out without their general's orders, fell upon the *Gauls*, who expected nothing leſs and were quite unprepared for an engagement, and with great ſlaughter put them to flight. Thus *Dion Caſſius* [f]; but *Plutarch* tells us, that the two armies engaged in defiance of the orders of their commanders, who did all that lay in their power to divert them from that wild reſolution [g]. Be that as it will, it is agreed on all hands, that the two armies engaged, that twenty thouſand *Gauls* were killed upon the ſpot, and that *Vindex* after the battle laid violent hands on himſelf. After the
c death of *Vindex*, the victorious legions tore the images of *Nero*, and importuned *Verginius* to accept the empire, ſaluting him *Cæſar*, *emperor*, *Auguſtus*, &c. *Verginius* was deſcended of an equeſtrian family; but had on many occaſions ſignalized his prudence, valour, equity, and ſuch virtues and endowments as are requiſite in a brave commander and excellent citizen [h]. *Dion Caſſius* aſſures us, that he might have eaſily ſeized on the empire, had he but ſeconded the ardent wiſhes of the troops under his command. But, either out of a greatneſs of ſoul truly heroic, or a lively apprehenſion of the evil conſequences, which would inevitably accrue from allowing the ſoldiery to chuſe the emperor, he not only rejected their offer, but reſolutely declared, that he
d would neither take upon himſelf the ſovereign power, nor ſuffer any one elſe to aſſume it, who was not named to it by the ſenate, to whom alone the diſpoſal of the empire belonged. The ſame anſwer he retuned to the ſoldiery, when, upon the news of *Nero*'s death, they importuned him anew to accept of the empire [k]. This refuſal ſays *Dion*, gained him higher renown than the empire itſelf could have done, and filled the world with the fame of his name [l]. He lived thirty years after this glorious and generous action, revered by all men; and having eſcaped the fury of ſo many princes, by whom he was both ſuſpected and hated on account of his virtue, he died at length under *Nerva*, being then conſul for the third time, in the eighty-third year of his age and ninety-ſeventh of the *Chriſtian* æra. *Tacitus* tells us, that, in the following troubles and
e ſeditions, no one was expoſed to greater dangers, no one ſo often threatened and aſſaulted by the ſoldiery as he; for though they admired his magnanimity, till then without example, yet they hated him, as having deſpiſed them by refuſing the empire. In how great eſteem he was held by the good princes, we may judge from the opinion which *Vitellius* entertained of him, a prince ſuſpicious, diſtruſtful, and open to every alarm. For though a ſlave of *Verginius* was charged as one employed to aſſaſſinate the emperor, though the ſoldiers had, upon the death of *Otho*, declared for him the third time, yet *Vitellius* never ſeemed in the leaſt to queſtion his fidelity [m]. Before he died, he ordered an epitaph, compoſed by himſelf, to be engraved on his tomb, importing, *that he had overcome* Vindex, *and thereby acquired the empire to his country, not to himſelf*. *Cluvius Rufus*, who wrote the hiſtory of thoſe times, begging
f him one day to excuſe him, if the laws of hiſtory obliged him to relate ſomething that he might not like, As to my actions and conduct, replied *Verginius*, I deſire you would relate them, ſuch as they are; for I am not conſcious to myſelf of having ever done any thing but with a view to the applauſes and approbation of poſterity [n]. This was the only time he was ever heard to ſpeak of his own actions, however great and glorious. *Cornelius Tacitus*, the celebrated hiſtorian, was conſul, when he died, and pronounced his funeral oration. *Pliny* the younger, who had received innumerable favours at his hands,

Rufus Virginius *marches againſt* Vindex.

Vindex *defeated.*

Lays violent hands on himſelf.

Verginius *refuſes the empire.*

His conduct and unblemiſhed character.

[f] Dio, l. lxiii. p: 725. [g] Plut. vit. Galb. [h] Tacit. hiſt. l. i. c. 52. Dio, p. 726. Plin. l. ii. ep. 1. [k] Dio, p. 727. Plut. ibid. [l] Dio, in excerpt. Val. p. 697. [m] Tacit. ibid. [n] Plin. l. vi. ep. 10 & l. ix. ep. 19.

hands, beſtows on him the following elogium; *No tongue can ſufficiently commend* a
Rufus Verginius, *or anſwer the opinion I entertain of his virtue* [b]. To reſume the
thread of our hiſtory.

The bad ſituation of Galba's *affairs.*

The death of *Vindex* and declaration of *Verginius* not to ſuffer any one to aſſume the ſovereignty, without the conſent of the ſenate, exceedingly perplexed *Galba*. Beſides, it was reported, that the legions commanded by *Verginius*, finding they could not perſuade their general to accept of the empire, threatened to return to *Nero*; nay ſome of *Galba*'s own troops, repenting the new oath they had taken, attempted to abandon him; and certain ſlaves, whom one of *Nero*'s freedmen had preſented him with, formed a conſpiracy againſt him, and would in all likelihood have diſ-
patched him, had they not diſcovered themſelves, by exhorting one another, as *Galba* b
was paſſing through a narrow-ſtreet to his baths, not to let ſlip ſo favourable an opportunity. The new emperor therefore, in the utmoſt conſternation, wrote to *Verginius*, earneſtly ſoliciting him to act in concert with himſelf againſt *Nero*, the common enemy of mankind, and to lend a helping hand to the great work of reſtoring *Rome* to her ancient liberty. What anſwer *Verginius* returned him, we are no-where told; but it ſeems to have been no-ways favourable to his deſign, ſince he retired a few days after with his friends to a city in *Spain* called *Clunia*, quite diſheartened, repenting what he had done, and ready to lay violent hands on himſelf [c]. In the mean time, at *Rome* the levies commanded by *Nero* went on but ſlowly; for though he ſummoned all the tribes to take the military oath, yet no one appeared who was fit c
to bear arms; inſomuch, that he was obliged to iſſue an edict, ordering all maſters to ſend him a certain number of ſlaves, whom he infranchiſed and liſted among his troops. He likewiſe obliged perſons of every rank and profeſſion to contribute the greateſt part of their yearly income towards the intended expedition, according as they were rated in the books of the cenſors. Theſe heavy impoſitions, together with his fooliſh and unſeaſonable niceneſs, for he would receive no money but what was

Nero *provokes the people at* Rome.

new coined, incenſed the people to ſuch a degree, that they openly oppoſed the collectors, telling them, that the beſt and moſt ready means of ſupplying the prince with money, was to oblige the informers to refund the immenſe ſums they had earned with their infamous practices [d]. As a famine began to be felt in the city, the fury of the d
populace was heightened by the arrival of a ſhip from *Egypt*, at that time the granary of *Rome*, laden not with corn, at was expected, but with ſand for the gladiators and wreſtlers. Upon this the people roſe in a tumultuous manner, overturned in the night moſt of the emperor's ſtatues, tore his images, plundered the houſes of his friends and favourites, and committed innumerable diſorders, no one offering to appeaſe or reſtrain them. At the ſame time, news arrived of the revolt of the legions in *Germany*, which

Is alarmed at the news of the revolt of the German *legions.*

ſo affected *Nero*, that calling for poiſon, he incloſed it in a golden box, and went immediately into the *Servilian* gardens, whence he diſpatched the freed-men, in whom he chiefly confided, to *Oſtia* to prepare his fleet, being reſolved to ſail to *Egypt*, whither he had already ſent ſome *German* troops. He was prompted to this reſolution by e
the predictions of ſome aſtrologers, who had foretold him long before, that he would one day be abandoned by all; but at the ſame time aſſured him, that in the end he would obtain the empire of the eaſt, or the kingdom of *Jeruſalem*. However, before he left the palace, he ſounded the tribunes and centurions of his guards, aſking them whether they were diſpoſed to accompany him in his flight? But ſome of them ſhifting, others poſitively refuſing to attend him, and one of them crying out, *Uſque adeone mori miſerum eſt? Is it ſo ſad a thing to die?* he was quite diſtracted and confounded in his thoughts; reſolving at one time to fly to the *Parthians*, at another to addreſs *Galba* as a ſuppliant, to appear in public clad in deep mourning, and, with all poſſible humility and dejection, implore the forgiveneſs of the people for his former conduct; f
and, if he found them inflexible, to beg the government of *Egypt*. To this purpoſe an oration was found after his death among the reſt of his papers; but he was deterred from delivering it by an apprehenſion of his being torn in pieces by the outrageous multitude, before he could reach the roſtra. He therefore put off the taking of any reſolution till the next day; and in the mean time his ruin was completed by one, whom he leaſt of all ſuſpected, *Nymphidius Sabinus*, who, though of a mean deſcent, had been by *Nero* upon the death of *Fenius Rufus* appointed collegue of *Tigellinus* in the command of the prætorian guards, and now entertained thoughts of ſeizeing

[b] Plin. l. ix. ep. 9. [c] Suet. c. 10. Dio, p. 698. Plut. in Galb. [d] Suet. c. 44.

a ing the ſovereignty for himſelf. However, he did not immediately declare his ambitious views; but, pretending to eſpouſe the cauſe of *Galba*, aſſured the guards, that *Nero* was fled, and promiſed them in *Galba*'s name ſuch ſums, as neither *Galba* nor any other was able to diſcharge. This promiſe ſecured for the preſent the empire to *Galba*, occaſioned afterwards the loſs of it, and in the end produced the deſtruction of *Nymphidius* and the guards themſelves. For the ſoldiery, thus deceived and tempted with the mighty promiſes of *Nymphidius*, abandoned *Nero*, notwithſtanding their long and ſworn fealty to the houſe of the *Cæſars*, and proclaimed *Galba* emperor: even *Tigellinus*, the chief author of the crimes that rendered *Nero*'s name ſo odious and deteſtable, forſook and betrayed him in his extremity. The emperor, altogether unacquainted with the treaſonable practices of *Tigellinus*, awaked about mid-

b night; and underſtanding, to his unſpeakable ſurprize, that his guards were retired, he leapt out of his bed, ſent in great haſte for his friends, and none of them obeying the ſummons, went at laſt in perſon, attended by a few domeſtics, to their ſeveral houſes; but finding the doors every-where ſhut, and no one deigning even to return an anſwer to his prayers and intreaties, he haſtened back to his chamber, which he found rifled and ſtript even to the coverings of his bed. The golden box, in which he kept the poiſon prepared by the famous *Locuſta*, being likewiſe carried off, he ſent for *Spicillus*, a celebrated gladiator, to diſpatch him; but neither he, nor any other being found who would undertake that taſk, he cried out in a fit of deſpair, *What! have I in this forlorn condition neither friends nor enemies?* Which words he had ſcarce

c uttered, when he left his room in a great hurry with a deſign to throw himſelf into the *Tiber*; but changing his mind, he ſtopt all on a ſudden, and deſired ſome private place to recollect himſelf and reſume his courage. Hereupon *Phaon*, one of his freedmen, offered him his country-houſe, which ſtood between the *Salarian* and *Numentan* roads, about four miles from the city. He accepted the offer, and, without further delay, attended by four perſons, of whom *Sporus* was one, left *Rome* meanly apparelled and worſe mounted, hiding his face, through fear of being diſcovered, with a handkerchief. Upon his ſetting out, he was terrified and diſmayed by dreadful flaſhes of lightning, and a violent earthquake, as if the ghoſts of the many perſons

d he had murdered were riſing up, ſays *Dion*, againſt the unmerciful tyrant. As he paſſed by the camp of the prætorian guards, he heard them curſing him, and wiſhing proſperity and ſucceſs to *Galba*. A paſſenger, whom he met on the road, in ſeeing him and his attendants, *Theſe*, ſaid he, *are no doubt in purſuit of* Nero; another aſked him, *What news of* Nero *in the city?* His horſe ſtarting at the ſight of a carcaſs that lay in the way, the covering of his face was ſhaken off, and he known by a ſoldier of the prætorian guards, named *Miſſicius*, who ſaluted him with the title of emperor; which ſo alarmed *Nero* and his attendants, that at the firſt turning they quitted their horſes, and, betaking themſelves to a narrow path, crept with much difficulty through buſhes and briars to the wall, which incloſed *Phaon*'s grounds,

e who intreated the emperor to conceal himſelf in a ſand-pit, till he found means of conveying him in with more ſecrecy: but *Nero* anſwered, that *he would not be buried till he was dead*; and lay concealed among the briars, while *Phaon*, examining the wall, was conſidering how he might introduce him undiſcovered. In the mean time, *Nero*, being preſt with drought, took up water out of a ditch with his hands, ſaying, *To this liquor is* Nero *reduced:* he likewiſe cleared with his own hands his garments of the briars that had ſtuck to them. In order to procure a more private acceſs for him to the houſe, a hole was opened in the wall, through which he was dragged, and conveyed into a room very indifferently furniſhed, where he paſſed the remainder of the night and part of the following day, in ſuch agonies as can hardly be expreſſed,

f alarmed at the leaſt noiſe he heard, as if aſſaſſins were come to murder him, and not daring to ſpeak through fear of being diſcovered. He now repented the many crimes he had committed, wiſhed he had purſued a quite different conduct, was ſenſible, that thoſe, who had put him upon the meaſures he had followed, were his greateſt enemies; and had conſtantly in his mouth the following words, taken out of a tragedy, entitled, *Œdipus baniſhed*, the laſt in which he had acted; *My father, mother, and wife, doom me to deſtruction*[c]. As thoſe who attended him were conſtantly ſoliciting and importuning him to prevent with a voluntary death the dangers that threatened him, he at laſt ordered his grave to be dug, and wood and water to be

Nero *betrayed by* Nymphidius, *and abandoned by his guards.*

His fright and conſternation.

Flies from Rome.

His forlorn condition.

[c] Suet. c. 48. Dio, p. 627.

be provided for the waſhing and burning of his body, bemoaning himſelf, while he a
gave theſe orders, in a manner altogether unmanly, and often repeating with many
ſighs and tears, *What an artiſt will the world loſe*[f].

Is declared by the ſenate an enemy to the ſtate, and condemned to die.

The news of *Nero*'s flight filled the city with joy; the ſenate aſſembled early in the morning and proclaimed *Galba* emperor; and, having taken the uſual oaths to him, declared *Nero* an enemy to the ſtate, and doomed him to be puniſhed *more majorum*. One of *Phaon*'s friends immediately diſpatched a meſſenger to him with a letter, acquainting him with the tranſactions of the ſenate. As ſoon as the meſſenger appeared, *Nero* ſnatched the letter out of his hand; and finding by it, that he was declared an enemy to the ſtate, and doomed to be puniſhed *more majorum*, he aſked, what kind of puniſhment that was? *Phaon* told him, that, purſuant to the ſentence b
of the ſenate, he was to be ſtript naked, his head was to be faſtened in a pillory, and he in that poſture to be whipt to death; which ſo terrified him, that he ſnatched up two daggers, which he always carried about with him, as if he were determined to anticipate in that inſtant the execution of ſo cruel a ſentence by a voluntary death; but, after trying their points with a trembling hand, he put them up again,

Betrays great meanneſs.

ſaying, that *his fatal hour was not yet come*: then turning to *Sporus*, he deſired him to begin his complaints and lamentations, ſince the fatal moment approached. He betrayed ſuch meanneſs as to deſire with many tears, that ſome of his attendants would by their example encourage him to die with reſolution and intrepidity. But none of them ſhewing the leaſt inclination to animate him at the expence of their own lives, c
he ſtrove to raiſe his drooping ſpirits with the following words; *Courage*, Nero, *courage*; *ſuch puſillanimity in an emperor is baſe and diſhonourable*; *the pains of death are but ſhort and momentary*; *ſtrike boldly*, &c. Thus he continued animating himſelf, but to no effect; till hearing the noiſe of ſome horſemen, ſent by the ſenate to ſeize him and bring him alive to *Rome*, he cried out in a *Greek* verſe, *A diſmal noiſe of horſes ſounds in my ears*; and drawing one of his daggers, he put it to his throat; but his heart failing him, he begged *Epaphroditus* his freedman and ſecretary to lend him his aſſiſtance; which he did with geat reluctance, and paid dear for it, being afterwards put to death by *Domitian*, for imbruing his hands in the blood of the *Cæſars*. Before he was quite dead, the centurion, ſent by the ſenate to apprehend d
him, entered the room, and, pretending he was come to his relief, endeavoured to

His death.

ſtop the blood: *Nero* gave him no other anſwer, but, *'Tis too late*: *Is this your fidelity and allegiance?* With which words he expired, his eyes ſtaring in a frightful manner, and ready to ſtart out of his head, to the great terror and amazement of all who were preſent[g]. Upon the firſt rumour of his death, one of *Galba*'s freedmen, not truſting to common report, flew to the place where his body lay, and having with his own eyes beheld the lifeleſs carcaſs extended on the ground, and all covered with gore, haſtened away to *Spain* with the important tidings[h]. Many others, prompted by the like curioſity, flocked to *Phaon*'s country-houſe; ſo that his death

The joy of the Roman people.

being no longer queſtioned, the joy of the *Roman* people was ſo great and univerſal, e
that they ran up and down the ſtreets, with ſuch caps on their heads as were worn by manumitted ſlaves, congratulating one another upon their deliverance from ſo hard a bondage, overturned and daſhed in pieces moſt of *Nero*'s ſtatues, knocked out the brains of as many of his friends as fell into their hands, *&c.* Amongſt others they faſtened the gladiator *Spicillus* to one of *Nero*'s ſtatues, which they dragged along the ſtreets, and cruſhed the unhappy favourite to pieces: they laid a famous informer, named *Aponius*, flat on the ground, and drove carts heavy loaden with ſtones over him. Many others were ſeized by the outrageous and undiſtinguiſhing multitude, and by them torn in pieces, though they had no ſhare in *Nero*'s crimes: inſomuch, that *Mauriſcus*, who was deſervedly eſteemed one of the beſt men in the city, declared in full ſenate, that he was afraid they ſhould ſoon have cauſe to wiſh for *Nero*[i]. Such was the miſerable end of *Nero*, the ſixth emperor of *Rome*, who by his unheard-of iniquities well deſerved all the misfortunes which befel him. He died in the thirty-firſt year of his age, after having reigned thirteen years and eight months complete, according to ſome, or eight months wanting two days, according to others: for St. *Jerom*, *Euſebius*[k], and *Zonaras*[l] place his death on the eleventh of *June*; whereas the learned archbiſhop *Uſher*, father *Pagi*, and cardinal *Noris* alledge ſtrong arguments to prove, that he died on the ninth of the ſaid month. We need not inlarge

[f] Suet. c. 49. Euseb. in chron. [g] Suet. ibid. [h] Plut. vit. Galb. [i] Plut. ibid. [k] Hier. & [l] Zonar p. 190.

a inlarge on his character, ſince the name of *Nero* is by moſt nations made uſe of emphatically to expreſs a barbarous, raging, and abandoned tyrant. *Pliny* calls him the common enemy and fury of mankind [m], and moſt writers propoſe him as the pattern of a complete tyrant; and truly his whole life ſeems to have been a conſtant ſtruggle, to ſhew how abandonedly wicked, how execrably bad a human creature can be, when veſted with great power. The only thing he earneſtly commended to his attendants before he died was, that his head might not be cut off, but his body burnt intire. His requeſt was readily granted by *Icelus*, one of *Galba*'s freedmen, who likewiſe allowed his obſequies to be performed with the uſual ſolemnity. His aſhes were carefully gathered, and depoſited in the ſtately monument of the *Domitian*
b family, by his concubine *Acte*, and two other women, who in his infancy had been charged with the care of his education. He was no eloquent ſpeaker, *Seneca* having diverted him, if *Suetonius* is to be credited, from peruſing the works of the ancient orators, leſt he ſhould deſpiſe his ſtyle and compoſitions. He had a genius for poetry, and wrote verſes with great eaſe: ſome indeed accuſed him as a plagiary; but from this imputation *Suetonius* clears him, aſſuring us, that from the tablets on which he wrote, according to the cuſtom of thoſe times, and which our author narrowly examined, it evidently appeared, that the verſes were neither tranſcribed by him, nor dictated by another, being effaced, interlined, and corrected, as thoughts or expreſſions occurred to him, which he liked better [n]. Though he died generally
c hated and abhorred, yet the vulgar, abandoned to debauchery and inured to the idle amuſements of the theatre and circus, began ſoon to regret the loſs of a prince, by whoſe infamous vices they ſubſiſted. Hence they flocked to his tomb, adorned it with flowers, carried his images, as it were, in triumph, *&c.* *Vologeſes* likewiſe, king of the *Parthians*, ſhewed a particular reſpect for *Nero* after his death, and by the embaſſadors, whom he ſent to the ſenate to renew his alliance with the *Roman* people, earneſtly begged, that the memory of *Nero* might be revered, and a monument erected to him [o]. Some even gave out, that he was not dead, but would ſoon appear again and take vengeance of his enemies: edicts were publicly hung up as iſſued by him, and ſoon after a ſlave, who greatly reſembled him, and was no leſs
d ſkilled in ſinging and playing upon the harp, attempted to paſs himſelf upon the provinces of *Aſia* and *Achaia* for the deceaſed prince; but was ſeized and executed in the iſland of *Cythnus* [p]. Several counterfeit *Neros* appeared afterwards; one eſpecially in the reign of the emperor *Domitian*, near twenty years after the true *Nero* was dead, created great diſturbances in the eaſt, where he was followed by vaſt crouds. *Artabanes*, who then reigned in *Parthia*, eſpouſed his cauſe, and ſent him powerful ſuccours; but was at length, with much ado, prevailed upon to abandon the impoſtor, and deliver him up to the *Romans* [q]. But what above all to us ſeems ſurpriſing is, that, towards the end of the third and the beginning of the fourth century, an opinion prevailed in the church, that *Nero* was to appear again at the end of the world, and
e either to be himſelf the antichriſt, or to reign in the weſt and re-eſtabliſh idolatry there, while the antichriſt reigned in the eaſt. This opinion is by *Sulpicius Severus* aſcribed to St. *Martin* [r]. Some believed, that *Nero* was to be raiſed from the dead under another name; others, that he did not really die; but, his wound being cured, was conveyed to ſome private place, where he is to lie concealed, till the time appointed for the appearance of the antichriſt. This opinion, which ſome pretended to prove from the *Revelations*, is taken notice of by *Lactantius* [s]; but what were his ſentiments upon that ſubject is hard to determine, all the copies of his works being in that place ſtrangely corrupted. It is, however, manifeſt, that he ſuppoſes with *Sulpicius Severus*, *Nero*'s body never to have been found, notwithſtanding the account
f which both *Suetonius* and *Plutarch* give us of his obſequies. St. *Auſtin* expreſſes no ſmall ſurprize, that ſuch an abſurd, and, as he ſtyles it, ridiculous, opinion ſhould have found partizans amongſt men of knowledge and learning [t]. But what opinion has hitherto been broached, that has not found ſome zealous proſelytes among the learned? The family of the *Cæſars*, properly ſpeaking, ended in *Caligula*, who had been adopted by *Tiberius*; but nevertheleſs, as *Nero* was, as well as *Claudius*, deſcended from *Auguſtus* by his mother *Agrippina*, the houſe of the *Cæſars* is ſaid to have ended in

[m] PLIN. l. vii. c. 8. [n] SUET. c. 50---52. [o] SUET. c. 57. AUR. VICT. epit. [p] Dio, l. lxiv. p. 732. [q] SUET. c. 57. TACIT. hiſt. l. i. c. 2. [r] SULP. SEVER. hiſt. ſacr, l. ii. [s] LACTAN. de morte perſecutor. c. 2. [t] AUG. de civit. Dei, l. xx.

the people, but to lead them aſtray (74). In the above-mentioned book he diſapproved of the *Jewiſh* ceremonies; but never once mentioned the chriſtians; which, in the opinion of St. *Auſtin*, plainly ſhews, that he found nothing in their religion but what he judged commendable, though he durſt not commend it, through fear of diſobliging the prince and the miſled multitude. Some letters of his to St. *Paul*, and of St. *Paul* to him, were publiſhed very early, which St. *Auſtin* and St. *Jerom* ſeem to have thought genuine; nay, the latter was by them induced to place *Seneca* among the eccleſiaſtic writers (75). But theſe letters are now univerſally rejected as ſpurious, and altogether unworthy of St. *Paul*, and even of *Seneca*; which inclines us to believe, that the letters, which have been conveyed down to us, are not the ſame with thoſe which were handed about in the time of St. *Auſtin* and St. *Jerom*. *Lipſius* is of opinion, that the ſuppoſed letters from *Seneca* to St. *Paul*, and from St. *Paul* to *Seneca*, were written by one and the ſame impoſtor (76); and *Baronius* diſcovers in them ſome enormous miſtakes (77). And thus much of the writers who flouriſhed under *Nero*.

(74) *Idem ibid. & in pſal.* cxl. (75) *Aug. epiſt.* liv. *Hieron. de vir. illuſt. c.* 12. (76) *Lipſ. in proleg. in Senec.* (17) *Vide Baron. ad ann.* 66. *art.* 11---13. *& Godeau hiſt. eccleſ. ad ann.* 6[illegible].

CHAP. X.

From the death of Nero, *to the death of* Vitellius, *when the empire became hereditary a ſecond time.*

SErvius *Sulpicius Galba*, the ſeventh emperor, was, by his father, deſcended from the *Sulpician* family, one of the moſt ancient and illuſtrious in *Rome*. *Sulpicius* a

Galba governed *Spain* in quality of prætor in the year of *Rome* 602, and was the chief cauſe of the war with *Viriatus*, the celebrated leader of the *Luſitanians*. He was afterwards created conſul; but required greater renown by his eloquence, than by the offices he bore, being reckoned the moſt eloquent orator of his time. His grandſon, *Sergius Galba*, ſerved with great reputation under *Julius Cæſar*, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the *Gauliſh* war; but afterwards, imputing the loſs of the conſulſhip to the ill offices of the dictator, he joined *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, and was on that account condemned by the *Pedian* law. His ſon, *Servius Galba*, was more famous for his ſtudies, than his employments; for he was not advanced above the degree of b
a prætor, when he publiſhed ſeveral hiſtories, which are greatly cried up by the ancients. His ſon, *Sergius Galba*, married *Mummia Achaica*, the grand-daughter of the celebrated *Q. Lutatius Catulus Capitolinus*, and great grand-daughter of *L. Mummius*, who took and razed *Corinth*. By her he had two ſons, *Caius* and *Servius Sulpicius Galba* the emperor. *Caius*, having in his youth ſquandered away his eſtate, led a retired life in the country, till the twenty-ſecond year of *Tiberius*'s reign; when, upon his receiving a letter from that prince, forbidding him to draw his lot for a province, he laid violent hands on himſelf. *Tacitus* ſuppoſes him to have been conſul [u]; but *Suetonius* tells us, that he fell by his own hand, upon his being by *Tiberius* forbidden to ſtand for the conſulſhip [w]. The emperor was born on the twenty- c
fourth of *December*, the fifth year before the common chriſtian æra, that is, the eve of the nativity of our Saviour. His mother, *Mummia Achaica*, dying while he was yet an infant, his father ſoon after took to his ſecond wife *Livia Ocellina* (U), a lady of great quality and wealth. She adopted young *Galba*, who thereupon took the

[u] Tacit. annal. vi. c. 40. [w] Suet. in Galb. c. 3.

(U) *Suetonius* tells us, that *Galba*, appriſed of the paſſion which ſhe had conceived for him, called her one day aſide, and pulling off his robe, ſhewed her the imperfections of his ſhape, for he was ſtrangely diſtorted; which, inſtead of leſſening, heightened her eſteem for him to ſuch a degree, that though ſhe was courted on account of her wealth and beauty by the chief nobility of the city, ſhe conſtantly declared, that if ſhe could not marry *Galba*, ſhe would not marry at all (78).

(78) *Suet. c.* 3.

a the name of *L. Livius Ocella*; which, however, he ſeems to have retained but a ſhort time. We are told by *Suetonius*, that while he was one day amongſt other noble youths of his own age ſaluting *Auguſtus*, the emperor laying his hand upon his head, *And you too, my ſon*, ſaid he, *ſhall one day taſte of empire.* The ſame writer adds, that *Tiberius*, who was greatly addicted to the ſtudy of aſtrology, foreſaw the future grandeur of *Galba*; but at the ſame time knew, that he was not to attain the ſovereign power till he was ſtricken in years; ſo that he never betrayed the leaſt uneaſineſs or concern about his diſtant promotion [x]. *Livia Auguſta*, the mother of *Tiberius*, to whom he was related, ſhewed a great kindneſs and eſteem for him while ſhe lived, and at her death left him an immenſe ſum of money; which *Tiberius* never paid
b him, he being without that legacy one of the moſt wealthy citizens of his time. He was well verſed in all the liberal ſciences, eſpecially in the civil law. He married *Lepida*, deſcended of an illuſtrious family; but ſhe, and the two ſons he had by her, dying, he led ever after a ſingle life, withſtanding even the ſolicitations of *Agrippina* the mother of *Nero*, become a widow by the death of *Domitius*. She had conceived a great paſſion for him in his wife's life-time; which occaſioned a quarrel between her and the mother of *Lepida*, who publicly upbraided her with her ſcandalous conduct [y]. He was, by the intereſt of *Livia*, preferred to employments before the age required by the laws. During his prætorſhip he diverted the people at the ſports called *Floralia*, with a new kind of entertainment, *viz.* elephants walking upon
c the rope. When his prætorſhip was expired, he was appointed governor of *Aquitain*, and about a year after raiſed to the conſulſhip, in which office he ſucceeded *L. Domitius*, the father of *Nero*, and was ſucceeded by *Salvius Otho*, the father of *Otho*, who was emperor after him. *Caligula* named him to the command of the legions in *Germany*, in the room of *Getulicus*; which truſt he diſcharged with great reputation, having in a ſhort time reſtored the ancient diſcipline, which his predeceſſor had intirely neglected. Beſides, he repulſed with incredible expedition the *Germans*, who had made an inroad into *Gaul*; which gained him the favour and eſteem of *Caligula*. Upon the death of that emperor, he was earneſtly ſolicited by many perſons of great intereſt and power, to lay hold of that opportunity, and ſeize the empire for him-
d ſelf; but he, without hearkening to their propoſals, obliged his troops to take the uſual oaths to *Claudius*, who thereupon received him into the number of his moſt intimate friends, and ever after ſhewed ſo great eſteem for him, that being upon the point of ſetting out on his expedition into *Britain*, he put off his journey for ſome days, on account of a ſlight indiſpoſition which ſeized *Galba*. Some time after, *Africa* being ſtrangely haraſſed with inteſtine troubles and the invaſions of the neighbouring barbarians, he was, without drawing lots according to cuſtom, ſent into that province in quality of proconſul, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf there even above thoſe, who had gained the greateſt reputation in that government. He remained there two years, during which time he reſtored, with great prudence and neceſſary
e ſeverity, the province to its former tranquillity. *Suetonius* tells us, that one of his ſoldiers having ſold, while proviſions were very ſcarce, his allowance of corn for a hundred denarii, the proconſul, to puniſh his avarice, forbad his comrades to ſupply him; by which means he was ſtarved. Upon his return from *Africa*, he was honoured with the triumphal ornaments, and admitted among the *Titian* prieſts and the prieſts of *Auguſtus*. From this time to the middle of *Nero*'s reign, that is, the ſixtieth year of the chriſtian æra, he led a retired life, dreading to give the tyrant any umbrage. During his retirement, he never ſtirred out, even to take the air, but attended by a chariot with a vaſt ſum of money in it, that he might not be reduced to want, in caſe he found it neceſſary to conſult his ſafety by a ſudden flight.
f Thus he lived, till *Nero*, of his own motion, named him to the government of *Hiſpania Tarraconenſis*, that prince not having yet learnt, as *Plutarch* obſerves, to fear, and exclude from the great employments, men of intereſt and power. He governed that province for the ſpace of eight years, at firſt with exceſſive rigor, of which authors give us ſeveral inſtances: a banker being convicted of fraud in his profeſſion, he ordered both his hands to be cut off and nailed to his counter. He cauſed a guardian to be crucified for poiſoning his ward, whoſe next heir he was. The criminal urged, that he was a *Roman* citizen, and, as ſuch, exempted from that ignominious death; upon which *Galba* commanded, by way of diſtinction, a white croſs to be prepared

[x] Suet. c. 4. [y] Idem, c. 5.

prepared for him much higher than uſual, but would not revoke his former ſentence. However, by degrees he abated of his rigor, through fear of giving *Nero* occaſion of jealouſy, and abandoned himſelf, contrary to his inclination, to ſloth and idleneſs, ſaying, that no man could be called to an account for doing nothing: Nevertheleſs he took no care to ſuppreſs the many bitter lampoons, which were handed about againſt *Nero* and ſung throughout his province, or to inquire after or puniſh the authors of them. He could not check the cruelties and extortions practiſed by the imperial procurators, whoſe province it was to collect the taxes and other duties belonging to the revenue; but openly ſhewed a tender concern for the ſufferings of the oppreſſed people, which gained him the hearts of the natives, but provoked the emperor's officers to ſuch a degree, that, at their inſtigation, *Nero* had already ordered him to be privately diſpatched. But, before theſe orders could be put in execution, he openly revolted in the manner we have related above [a]. a b

We left *Galba* at *Clunia*, a city of his province, whither he had retired with his friends, in the utmoſt conſternation, upon the news of the death of *Vindex*, and the declaration of *Virginius* not to ſeize the empire himſelf, nor ſuffer any one elſe to aſſume it, who was not choſen by the ſenate. While he was deliberating with his friends what meaſures to take, and in the utmoſt deſpair ready to lay violent hands on himſelf, his freedman, by name *Vicellius*, of whom we have ſpoken above, arriving in ſeven days from *Rome*, and underſtanding upon his arrival, that *Galba* was repoſing in his chamber, opened the door, and, entering in ſpite of his guards, acquainted him, that *Nero* was dead, and he, by the army, the ſenate, and people, declared emperor; adding, that not truſting to common report, he had gone himſelf to the place where the tyrant lay, ſeen his lifeleſs carcaſe extended on the ground, and heard *Galba*, in the camp of the prætorian guards, proclaimed emperor. We may well imagine, how great was the joy of *Galba* upon this intelligence; it flew in a trice through the neighbouring cities, and drew vaſt crouds to *Clunia*: *Galba* received them in the moſt obliging manner, communicated to them the news he had received, and aſſured them of the truth of it, tho' the expedition uſed by the meſſenger rendered it almoſt incredible. Two days after, *Titus Vinius*, tribune of the only legion then in the province, having received from his friends in *Rome* a diſtinct account of what had paſſed in the capital, came from the camp and imparted it to his general. Nor was it long, ere meſſengers arrived from the conſuls *Silius* and *Trachalus*, who, tho' depoſed by *Nero*, had, it ſeems, upon his death, reſumed the faſces, with the decrees of the ſenate, declaring *Galba* emperor and veſting him with the ſovereign power [b]. *Suetonius* writes, that he no ſooner received theſe diſpatches, than laying aſide the title of lieutenant to the ſenate and people, he aſſumed that of emperor [c]; but *Zonaras* tells us, that he would not ſuffer himſelf to be ſtyled *emperor* or *Cæſar*, till he was acknowledged as ſuch by the deputies, who were ſent to him by the ſenate and met him at *Narbonne* [d]. Be that as it will, he no ſooner received the decrees of the ſenate, than he left *Spain* and ſet out for *Rome*, attended by his *Spaniſh* guard, by his chief friends, and by *Otho*, proprætor of *Luſitania*, the firſt governor who had declared for him; but advanced ſlowly, being, on account of his age, carried the whole way in a litter. *Suetonius* tells us, that on his journey he diſpatched aſſaſſins into *Judæa*, with private orders to murder *Veſpaſian*, whoſe power and abilities he dreaded. But *Tacitus* [e] and *Joſephus* [f] aſſure us, that *Veſpaſian* entertained not the leaſt thought of revolting from *Galba*; but, on the contrary, upon the firſt news of his aſſumption to the empire, he diſpatched his ſon *Titus* to perform fealty and homage in his name, and to receive his orders concerning the war he was carrying on againſt the *Jews*. With *Titus* king *Agrippa* ſet out from *Judæa*, in order to aſſure the new emperor of his ſubmiſſion and obedience; but they proceeded no farther than *Achaia*, where they received news of *Galba*'s death. The only perſon whom *Galba* ſeemed to dread and ſuſpect was *Virginius Rufus*, who was at the head of a powerful army in *Germany*, and acquired great reputation by the defeat of *Vindex*, and was greatly beloved by the ſoldiery. But he, tho' earneſtly preſſed to aſſume the ſovereignty, not only by the troops under his command, but likewiſe by deputies from the legions, which, by *Nero*'s orders, had from *Illyricum* croſſed over into *Italy*, continued firm to his firſt reſolution of reſerve-

Galba *receives the news of* Nero's *death.*

Aſſumes the title of emperor.

Virginius *refuſes the empire.*

c d e f

ing

[a] Suet. c. 6—9. [a] Suet. c. 9, 10. Dio. l. lxiii. p. 725. [b] Plut. ibid. [c] Suet. c. 11.
[d] Zonar. p. 190. [e] Tacit. hiſt. l. i. c. 10. [f] Joseph. bell. Jud l. iv. c. 29.

a ing to the ſenate the power of electing an emperor; nay, when certain news was brought him of *Nero*'s death, he ſtill perſiſted in refuſing the title of emperor, tho' his ſoldiers bound themſelves by a ſolemn oath to ſtand by him to the laſt drop of their blood, and one of the tribunes, forcing his way into his tent, with his drawn ſword, threatened to kill him upon the ſpot, if he continued to withſtand the ardent wiſhes of the whole army. When he received from *Rome* a certain account of the reſolutions of the ſenate, he immediately took the oath of fidelity to the new emperor, and perſuaded, not without much difficulty, the troops under his command to lay aſide all thoughts of raiſing him to the empire, which by the ſenate had been decreed to another. *Galba* was ſo taken with his loyal and generous conduct, that he immediately ſent for him, with a deſign to have him near his perſon, and b confer upon him ſuch rewards as his fidelity well deſerved. *Virginius* received with the utmoſt reſpect *Flaccus Hordeonius*, who was appointed to command in his room, reſigned the army to him, and ſet out without delay to meet the emperor, who already approached the frontiers of *Gaul*. Upon his arrival, he was received very coldly by *Galba*, without the leaſt token, ſays *Plutarch*, of affection or hatred, of gratitude or reſentment. The emperor had a perſonal value and eſteem for him, and would have raiſed him, had he followed his own inclination, to the chief employments in the ſtate. But *Titus Vinius*, who had already gained a great ſway over the emperor and was jealous of *Virginius*, did all that lay in his power to c eſtrange from him the mind of the emperor, and to put a ſtop to his promotion. But herein he was more his friend, as *Plutarch* obſerves, than he intended, and contributed to that happineſs which he thought he was oppoſing: for, by preventing his preferment, he preſerved him from thoſe calamities, in which the other officers of the army were involved, and ſecured to him a life of quiet and tranquillity, which he enjoyed to an advanced age[g]. *Galba*, upon his arrival at *Narbonne*, found there the ambaſſadors ſent to him from the ſenate, received them in a moſt obliging manner, and invited them to an entertainment, at which he refuſed to make uſe of the ſilver and gold plate which belonged to *Nero*, and had been ſent him from *Rome*, contenting himſelf with his own, which ſhewed, that he utterly d deſpiſed all pomp and outward appearances of grandeur. However, he was ſoon perſuaded by *Vinius* to alter his conduct in this particular, and put upon other meaſures, which haſtened his ruin. He treated with the utmoſt ſeverity ſome cities of *Spain* and *Gaul*, that had been backward in acknowledging him, publiſhed threatening edicts againſt them, and deprived ſome of them of great part of their territories, loading them with heavy taxes, and cauſing their walls to be beaten down[h]. In *Gaul* he ordered *Vettius Chilo*, and in *Spain Obultronius Sabinus* and *Cornelius Marcellus* to be put to death, and with them, if we believe *Suetonius*[i], even their wives and children, for having refuſed to join him, when he firſt revolted from *Nero*. As *Galba* was known to be a man of an humane temper, and naturally e averſe to all manner of cruelty, theſe executions were generally imputed, and not undeſervedly, to *Vinius* and his other favourites, of whom we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak in the courſe of the preſent reign.

Obliges his legions to acknowledge Galba.

Is received coldly by Galba.

Galba's *ſeverity.*

In the mean time, at *Rome*, *Nymphidius Sabinus*, of whom we have ſpoken in the preceding reign, having, by his immenſe largeſſes, gained the affections of the prætorian guards, and perſuading himſelf, that *Galba*, by reaſon of his infirmities and old age, would never reach the capital, uſurped all the authority there. Preſuming upon his intereſt, he obliged *Tigellinus*, who commanded, jointly with him, the prætorian guards, to lay down his commiſſion. After this, he made ſeveral magnificent and expenſive entertainments, inviting to them ſuch as had been conſuls f or had commanded armies, diſtributed large ſums among the people, and with ſhews and other diverſions, which he daily exhibited, gained ſo great an intereſt with all ranks, that he already looked upon himſelf as ſovereign. The ſenate, dreading his power, conferred extraordinary honours upon him, ſtyled him their protector, attended him when he appeared in public, and had recourſe to him for the confirmation of their decrees, as if he had been already inveſted with the ſovereign power. This baſe compliance puffed him up to ſuch a degree, that he uſurped, not leiſurely and by degrees, but all at once, an abſolute authority. *Plutarch* tells us, that he was ſo provoked againſt the conſuls for ſealing the diſpatches,

Nymphidius Sabinus *aſpires at the empire.*

His power in Rome.

[g] Plut. ibid. [h] Tacit. hiſt. l. i. c. 53. [i] Suet. c. 13.

patches, which they ſent to the emperor, with their own ſignets, and not with his, a
that he would have depoſed them, had they not ſtudied to appeaſe him with ſub-
miſſions quite unbecoming perſons of their rank and ſtation. Tho' he acted as ſove-
reign, he had not yet openly declared his deſign of ſeizing the ſovereignty; but
when he underſtood, that *Galba* was already in *Gaul* and approached the borders
of *Italy*, that *Cornelius Laco* was appointed commander of the prætorian guards,
and *Titius Vinius* the new emperor's chief favourite, he ſummoned the officers under
his command, and, after having bitterly inveighed againſt *Galba*'s favourites, who,
Attempts to ſtir up the prætorian guards to a revolt.
he ſaid, would exerciſe the ſame power and authority, which had been uſurped by
Tigellinus, if they were allowed time to eſtabliſh themſelves, he exhorted them to
ſend embaſſadors to the emperor, and beg, in the name of the whole army, that b
he would diſcharge from his ſervice *Laco* and *Vinius*. If *Galba* complied with their
requeſt, he did not doubt, but the whole power would devolve upon him, ſince he
had contributed more than any other to the ruin of *Nero* and promotion of *Galba*;
and this power he deſigned to make uſe of againſt *Galba* himſelf: if the emperor
rejected the petition of the army, that, he hoped, would eſtrange their minds from
him, and diſpoſe them to a revolt. But the officers did not approve of the motion;
on the contrary, they thought it abſurd and unreaſonable to direct an emperor of
Galba's years and experience, and tell him who of his friends were to be truſted,
and who diſcharged. Hereupon *Nymphidius* changed his meaſures, and, contrary
to the advice of *Clodius Celſus*, a native of *Antioch*, his intimate friend, reſolved to c
conceal no longer his deſign. Accordingly he imparted it, without diſguiſe, to ſome
of the officers, and they to the ſoldiers under their command; and it was agreed,
that *Nymphidius* ſhould be conveyed that very night into the camp, and there
proclaimed emperor. But *Antonius Honoratus*, one of the tribunes, touched with
remorſe, aſſembled his men in the evening, ſignified to them his repentance, and
encouraged them to continue ſteady in their allegiance to *Galba*. *We had, indeed,*
The ſpeech of one of the tribunes againſt him.
ſaid he, *ſome colourable pretence to revolt from Nero, whoſe cruelty and tyranny*
we could no longer bear. But what can prompt us to abandon and betray Galba?
Can you reproach him with the murder of his wife and mother? did he ever diſ-
grace the imperial dignity by debaſing himſelf to act upon the ſtage? Notwith- d
ſtanding all the provocations that monſter had given us, we thought ourſelves
bound to continue faithfull to him, to defend and protect him, till we were aſſured
by the traytor Nymphidius, that he had abandoned us and was fled into Egypt.
What, but ſome evil genius, can thus hurry us on from one treaſon to another?
Muſt Galba fall a victim to appeaſe the ghoſt of Nero? muſt one of Livia's family
be ſacrificed to make way for for the ſon of Nymphidia? Let us rather call him to
an account for the Death of Nero, and approve our fidelity to Galba by inflicting
on the baſe traytor the puniſhment he deſerves. The diſcourſe of the tribune brought
all who heard him over to his ſentiments; ſo that they reſolved to maintain invio-
lable the oath which they had taken to *Galba*. Moſt of the other cohorts joined e
He goes to the camp.
them, and with loud ſhouts proclaimed a-new *Galba* emperor. *Nymphidius* hearing
the noiſe, and either imagining they proclaimed him, or fearing ſome inſurrection,
haſtened to the camp, attended by a great number of lights, and holding a ſpeech
in his hand compoſed by *Ciconius Varro*, which he intended to pronounce to the
army. Upon his arrival at the camp, he found the gates ſhut and the ſoldiers
under arms on the ramparts. This greatly alarmed him; but nevertheleſs advancing
nearer, he aſked them, *What they deſigned, and by whoſe orders they had taken*
arms? To this queſtion they anſwered with one voice, *We are determined to ac-*
knowledge no other emperor but Galba. *Nymphidius*, pretending to concur in their
ſentiments, commended their fidelity; and, not yet deſpairing of being able by large f
promiſes to gain them over to his intereſt, ordered them to open the gates to their
general. They obeyed; but *Nymphidius*, upon his firſt entering the camp, was
ſaluted with a dart, which *Septimus*, who marched before him, received on his
Is there murdered.
ſhield. The traitor immediately betook himſelf to flight; but being cloſely pur-
ſued by the ſoldiery, was overtaken and ſlain. His body was dragged through the
camp, and next morning expoſed to public view in an incloſure made for that
purpoſe[i]. For this account we are indebted to *Plutarch*; for *Tacitus* and *Suetonius*
only tell us, that *Nymphidius* embarked in meaſures to ſeize the ſovereignty, but
periſhed

[i] Plut. ibid.

a perished in the attempt. *Nymphidius* boasted himself, as we have related above [k], the son of the emperor *Caligula*; but was commonly thought, according to *Plutarch* [l], to be the son of a celebrated gladiator named *Martianus*, to whom he bore a greater resemblance than to *Caligula*; for his mother *Nymphidia* was a public prostitute. *Galba* being at the same time informed of the treason and the punishment inflicted on the traitor, dispatched orders to the senate, injoining them to put all his accomplices to death without distinction. Among these were executed *Cingonius Varro*, consul elect, who had composed his speech, and *Mithridates* of *Pontus*, the same, as we conjecture, who having been by the *Romans* stript of his dominions twenty years before, had delivered himself into their hands, and had by them been b conveyed to *Rome*. They were both, without all doubt, privy to the conspiracy; nay, *Mithridates* had said publicly, while men of all ranks were with emulation testifying their joy for the promotion of *Galba*, that while he was at some distance, they entertained mighty expectations of him; but the moment he appeared, they would think it a disgrace to the present age, that he had ever been styled *Cæsar*. But, notwithstanding their guilt, they were deemed to perish as innocents, because they died without being heard in their own defence. Every one expected, from a man of *Galba*'s years and experience, a quite different conduct; and therefore the whole city was greatly alarmed at such illegal and arbitrary proceedings, against persons of their rank and quality [m]. But what occasioned a far greater surprize was, c his ordering *Petronius Turpilianus*, who had been consul in the eighth year of *Nero*'s reign, to be forthwith put to death, for no other crime, but because he had been faithful to that prince, and commanded as general under him. As *Turpilianus* was broken with age, and had no longer any troops under his command, the emperor, as was publicly said, ought to have put off his execution, till his arrival at *Rome*, and heard him himself. From these hasty and illegal executions it was generally concluded, that the new prince would not observe that moderation in his actions, which he had promised in his speeches.

His accomplices punished by Galba's *orders.*

Galba's unseasonable severity.

After a long and bloody march, *Galba* reached at length the *Milvian* bridge, within twenty-five furlongs of the city, and was there met by a numerous body of d marines, who by *Nero* had been formed into a legion, and were come to address the new emperor for a confirmation of their establishment. But *Galba* either rejecting their petition, or putting off the affair to another time, they grew mutinous, beset the emperor, stopping up the way to all others who came to wait upon him, and with a tumultuous noise, required an eagle and legionary ensigns. Hereupon *Galba* ordered his horse to ride in among them, who put many of them to the sword and the rest to flight. The emperor, not satisfied with this severity, commanded every tenth man of those who had escaped to be decimated; so that, according to *Tacitus*, several thousands fell, either by the swords of the horse, or those of the executioners [n]. *Dion Cassius* tells us, that seven thousand of the disarmed e multitude were cut in pieces upon the spot. Such, as had the good luck to outlive the massacre and execution of their companions, were, by *Galba*'s orders, committed to prison, where they lay till his death, when they were by *Otho* set at liberty, and anew formed into a legion [o]. The entrance of the new emperor into the capital, through so much blood and slaughter, was looked upon as an omen portending greater calamities, than the city had suffered even under *Nero*; and the populace were confirmed in their apprehensions by several prodigies, especially by an earthquake, attended with a dreadful noise, which happened upon *Galba*'s first entering the palace [p]. But what most of all rendered him both odious and contemptible was, his suffering himself to be entirely governed and blindly controuled by his three f favourites, *Titus Vinius*, *Cornelius Laco*, and *Marcianus Icelus*, who, as they lodged in the palace, and were continually about the emperor, were commonly styled his *pedagogues*. *Titus Vinius* was descended of an illustrious family, but disgraced it by his infamous conduct, being, according to *Tacitus*, of all men the most notoriously wicked. In his very first campaign under *Calvisius Sabinus*, he was branded with infamy; for the wife of that general, led with a prepostrous curiosity to view the disposition of the camp, entered it in the night, disguised in the habit of a soldier; and, having there ventured into the place where the guard was kept, was debauched by

He causes a great number of marines to be massacred.

Is governed by his favourites.

The character of Titus Vinius.

[k] Hist. Univers. vol. V. p. 558. [l] Plut. ibid. [m] Tacit. hist. l. i. c. 5. [n] Tacit. c. 6.
[o] Dio, l. lxiv. p. 729. Tacit. c. 87. [p] Suet. c. 18.

by *Vinius*, in the very quarter which was ſacred to the *Roman* eagles and banners. a
For this crime he was by the emperor *Caligula* put in irons, and kept under cloſe
confinement; but being ſoon after ſet at liberty by *Claudius*, he diſcharged ſeveral
public employments with a character free from reproach. Upon the expiring of
his prætorſhip, he was preferred to the command of a legion, and acquitted him-
ſelf in it with applauſe. Afterwards he was guilty of a crime, altogether infamous
and worthy only of a ſlave; for being invited by *Claudius* to an entertainment, he
purloined a golden cup of great value. But the only puniſhment which the empe-
ror inflicted upon him for ſo ſcandalous an action was, to invite him again to his
table the very next day, and to diſtinguiſh him from the reſt of his gueſts, by
ordering, that *Vinius* alone ſhould be ſerved in an earthen cup. Yet he ruled the b
province of *Narbonne Gaul*, in quality of proconſul, with unbiaſſed juſtice and
eminent integrity. He was, upon the cloſe of his proconſulſhip, appointed to com-
mand, under *Galba*, the legion which was quartered in *Spain*; where, contrary to
the opinion of the other officers, he encouraged his general, in the manner we have
related above, not to let ſlip the opportunity that offered to ſeize the ſovereignty.
He was a man of great boldneſs and addreſs, and, according as he choſe to apply
his talents, capable of performing great things for the public welfare, or plunging
Of Cornelius Laco *and* Icelus. the ſtate in endleſs calamities. *Cornelius Laco*, the other favourite, whom *Galba*
had appointed captain of the prætorian guards before he left *Spain*, was a man of
ſlender parts, of no courage or activity, but mightily conceited with his own talents, c
a certain enemy to every counſel, however excellent, if not ſuggeſted by himſelf,
and headſtrong in oppoſing every man eminent for ability and diſcernment. *Icelus*
was a manumiſed ſlave, but not inferior to the other two in favour and authority.
Nero had veſted him, by the gold ring, with the order of knighthood, and he was
now every-where called by an equeſtrian name, that of *Martianus*. He was a man
of inſatiable avarice, and is ſaid, by ſpoil and rapine, to have amaſſed more wealth
in the ſeventh months that *Galba* reigned, than the moſt rapacious freedman of *Nero*
had done during the fourteen years of his reign. As the aged emperor repoſed an
entire confidence in theſe miniſters, without ever inquiring into their conduct, they
Their ſcanda-lous conduct. proſtituted the credit and character of their maſter to their own vile gain and wicked d
paſſions. By them all things were ſet to ſale; offices, provinces, public revenues,
public juſtice, and the lives of men both innocent and guilty. He was old; they
were inſatiable, and eager to make the moſt of a ſhort reign; ſo that in the court
of *Galba* appeared all the evils and exceſſes lately ſeen and abhorred in that of *Nero*:
they were equally grievous, ſays *Tacitus*, but not equally excuſed, in a prince of
Galba's years and experience. He had himſelf a heart altogether upright and well-
meaning; but, as the numberleſs iniquities of his miniſters were imputed to him,
he was no leſs hated, than if he had committed them himſelf. This, ſays *Dion*
Caſſius [q], is the unhappy condition of princes: it is not enough for them to abſtain
from all violence; they muſt reſtrain others, eſpecially their miniſters, from com- e
mitting any: no prince will be reckoned good, when his miniſters are known to be
bad; nor to be much beloved, when they are much hated. Miniſters, it muſt be
owned, are often doomed to ſuffer imputations altogether groundleſs, as proceeding
rather from envy and the nature of their poſt, than from their evil conduct; in which
caſes it is but reaſonable and generous to protect them. But here the guilt was
notorious, and manifeſt to all men but *Galba*. He, whom of all men it moſt im-
ported to know it, knew it not; and hence, without check or controul, they abuſed
the power with which he too blindly entruſted them, and ſacrificed his life, his glory,
and diadem to their own private views, to ſordid intereſt, which was the ſmalleſt
thing they ought to have ſacrificed for ſo good a maſter. But the meaſures, which f
they took, proved in the end no leſs fatal to them, than to the emperor, as we
ſhall have occaſion to relate.

Galba *calls to account and puniſhes the miniſters of* Nero. *Galba*'s firſt care, after his arrival in the capital, was to call to an account,
and puniſh, according to their deſerts, ſuch as had borne the chief ſway in the late
tyrannical adminiſtration. Among theſe, *Elius Polycletus*, *Petinus*, *Patrobius*, *Nar-
ciſſus*, all *Nero*'s freedmen, and *Locuſta*, the famous poiſoner, were publickly exe-
cuted, to the infinite ſatisfaction of the people, who, with loud ſhouts of joy,
attended them as they were led to the place of execution. No one doubted, but
Tigellinus

[q] Dio, l. lxiv. p. 728.

a *Tigellinus* would ſuffer the like doom. He had been the chief author and promoter of all *Nero*'s iniquities, had perpetrated many unknown to him, and at laſt forſaken and betrayed him. Hence the execution of no man was more ardently wiſhed for, more vehemently urged, by ſuch as hated, by ſuch as lamented, *Nero*; both concurring from oppoſite paſſions, in the ſame antipathy and requeſt. But he had, with immenſe preſents, purchaſed the favour of *Vinius*, who protected him with his mighty authority, on pretence that his daughter had been ſaved by *Tigellinus*; and truly he had ſaved her, ſays *Tacitus*, not from any clemency of his, after ſuch numbers murdered by him, but purely to purchaſe means of ſhelter and eſcape in time to come. For this is the policy, continues our hiſtorian, of every b deſperate offender, from diſtruſt of preſent fortune and dread of change, to arm himſelf betimes with private favour againſt the public hatred. Hence it comes, that for the protection of innocence no regard is ſhewn, but the guilty combine for mutual exemption from puniſhment [q]. Of this ſcandalous partiality the people loudly complained: *Turpilianus*, ſaid they, without having been guilty of any iniquity, or been polluted with the crimes of *Nero*, has been put to death for no other guilt, but becauſe he would not betray his prince and maſter; whereas he who plunged his prince into thoſe abominations, for which he deſerved to die, and afterwards treacherouſly forſook and betrayed him, is not only ſuffered to live, but to enjoy the immenſe wealth, which by all manner of rapine he has accumulated. c As often as the emperor appeared abroad, the people crowded about him, demanding the execution of *Tigellinus*. This they earneſtly begged, in the theatre, in the circus, at the gates of the palace, *&c.* As the execution of this execrable inſtrument of *Nero*'s tyranny was thus demanded by the univerſal voice of the *Roman* people, it had been but juſt, as well as politic and popular, to have ſacrificed him, though he had been leſs guilty than he really was, to the manes of ſo many illuſtrious *Romans* murdered by him, and to the honeſt rage of the public. This would have obliged both the friends and enemies of *Nero*, gained the affections of the people, and ſtrengthened *Galba*'s party. But theſe were ſmall conſiderations with *Vinius*, in compariſon of filling his coffers. In order, therefore, to oblige d *Tigellinus*, who had engaged to pay him an immenſe ſum, in caſe he eſcaped unpuniſhed, he perſuaded *Galba*, who repoſed in him an entire confidence, not only to withſtand the ardent wiſhes and earneſt ſolicitations of the whole *Roman* people, but to check them with an edict, wherein he reproached them with cruelty, and begged they would not make his government appear tyrannical, nor inſiſt upon the execution of an unhappy man, who was dying of a conſumption. Nothing ſo much provoked the indignation of the people as this edict; for it was afterwards known, that *Tigellinus* had that very day made a ſacrifice to the gods for his recovery, which was followed by a magnificent entertainment; and that *Vinius*, after having ſupped with the emperor, had ſpent the whole night in revelling with *Tigellinus*: e it was moreover known, that *Vinius* had carried his daughter with him to the entertainment; and that *Tigellinus*, after having thanked the father for the edict, preſented the daughter, firſt with two hundred and fifty thouſand drachmas, and afterwards with a necklace, which he took from the neck of the chief of his concubines, valued at one hundred and fifty thouſand more. *Halotus*, another of *Nero*'s miniſters, and perhaps no leſs hated, on account of his enormous cruelties and extortions, than *Tigellinus*, (for with equal ardour the *Roman* people demanded his execution) was in the ſame manner, and from the ſame motives, protected by the authority of *Vinius*; nay, in conſideration of an immenſe ſum, which he paid to that wicked miniſter, he not only eſcaped unpuniſhed, but was preferred to a moſt honourable f and profitable employment [r]. Thus were criminals, notoriouſly guilty of the moſt crying iniquities, but poſſeſſed with wealth enough to purchaſe the favour of the reigning miniſter, ſcreened from the puniſhment due to their crimes, while others, leſs guilty, were by droves hurried to execution. This ſcandalous and bareface partiality gained to the miniſter what he chiefly aimed at, immenſe treaſures, but derived upon the prince infinite public hatred; for, by not reſtraining his miniſter, he incurred the ſame cenſure and blame, as if he himſelf had done the evil, or authorized it [s].

Tigellinus *is protected by* Vinius.

The people demand his execution.

Galba *checks them with an edict.*

Halotus *is likewiſe pardoned and preferred.*

Which derives public hatred upon Galba.

THE

[q] Tacit. c. 72. [r] Plut. ibid. Suet. c. 15. [s] Plut. ibid. Tacit. c. 4.

The example of *Vinius* was followed by the other miniſters and favourites of a the new emperor; for being indulged in immoderate power, they expoſed to common ſale all the honours and emoluments of the ſtate. His bondmen too were greedy to profit by their ſudden ſunſhine, and eager to convert into haſty gains the ſhort reign of a maſter already enfeebled with age. So that the people began loudly to complain: Why, ſaid they, was *Nero* depoſed, if things are not mended under *Galba?* Why a new prince choſen, but for the eaſe of the public, after a reign of violence and tyranny? The public hatred, which the numberleſs iniquities of the new emperor's miniſters derived upon him, was heightened by his ill timed ſtrictneſs and unpopular parſimony; though his parſimony was chiefly aſcribed to *Vinius*, who was ſaid to have checked the emperor's generoſity to others, that he b might the better gratify his own avarice. However that be, while the emperor endeavoured to reform the abuſes, and retrench the exorbitant expences that had prevailed in the preceding reign, he ran into the other extreme. No man's money, ſays *Tacitus*, did he ever covet, but was ſparing of his own, and of the public money greedy and tenacious. Authors relate ſeveral inſtances of his unſeaſonable

Galba's parſimony.

parſimony, altogether unbecoming a perſon of his rank and ſtation. *Plutarch* tells us, that one *Canus*, a celebrated player upon the flute, having one night entertained him while he was ſupping, the emperor, after having highly commended the excellence of his performance, ſent for his purſe, and preſented him with five denarii, about three ſhillings of our money, telling him, that he made him that c preſent out of his privy purſe, and not out of the public money. *Suetonius* adds, that when his table, upon any extraordinary occaſion, was more ſpendidly ſerved than uſual, he could not refrain from ſighing and expreſſing his diſſatisfaction, in a manner inconſiſtent with common decency [t]. As the public treaſure had been quite exhauſted by *Nero*, who had conſumed above ſeventeen millions in profuſe penſions and donations, *Galba*, after examining every expedient to find the neceſſary ſupplies, preferred to all others, as the moſt juſt, that of ſupplying the public at

He orders nine tenths of Nero's *donations to be reſtored.*

the expence of thoſe, for whoſe ſake the public had been impoveriſhed. All the partakers, therefore, in the late emperor's extravagance were called to account; and it was enacted, that they ſhould retain only a tenth of that wild liberality, d and reſtore the reſt. But, as they had ſcarce a tenth left unwaſted, having laviſhed the plunder of the public and of their fellow-citizens, in the ſame riot and prodigality in which they had ſquandered away their own private fortunes, the emperor obliged thoſe who had had any dealings with them, who had bought or received any thing from them, to refund the whole. For theſe ſearches and exactions a new court was inſtituted, in which preſided according to *Tacitus* thirty, according to *Suetonius* fifty, *Roman* knights; who extended their inquiries even into *Greece*, and there obliged the players upon inſtruments, the actors, wreſtlers, charioteers, the judges at the *Olympic* games, the prieſteſs of *Apollo Delphicus*, &c. to reſtore nine tenths of *Nero*'s donations. As this was an affair without bounds, and many e were affected by it; as on all hands were ſeen open ſales and the public crier, and this court was new in its inſtitution, and from the multitude of officers, from the numerous ſuits, heavy and vexatious, the whole city, nay, the whole empire, was in a ferment. The ſoldiers of the prætorian guards were kept quiet a while in expectation of the mighty donative, which had been promiſed them by *Nymphidius* in *Galba*'s name, ſuppoſing, that though they did not receive the full, yet the

Refuſes the ſoldiery the uſual donative

emperor, notwithſtanding his parſimony, would not ſcruple to beſtow upon them the ſame ſum that had been given them by *Nero*. But when he refuſed to fulfil the promiſe which had been made in his name, and ordered only a ſmall ſum, leſs then had yet been given by any prince, to be diſtributed among them, they f could not refrain from ſeditious invectives, vilifying the emperor for his old age and avarice. This diſaffection was heightened by a ſaying of *Galba*: a ſaying, according to *Tacitus*, worthy of the primitive virtue of the *Romans* and the commonwealth, but to himſelf dangerous; *That he choſe his ſoldiers, and did not buy them*. His ſeverity too in exacting a ſtrict obſervance of military diſcipline, a quality ſo admired of old, and by the armies ever diſtinguiſhed with applauſe, was very grievous to a ſlothful ſoldiery, ſcorning the ancient diſcipline, and for fourteen years ſo accuſtomed to the baſe reign of *Nero*, that at this time they no leſs admired

[t] Plut. ibid. Suet. c. 16.

admired the vices of their princes, than of old they had adored their virtues [u]. Though the reſt of his conduct did not, according to *Tacitus*, anſwer his ſeverity in keeping the ſoldiery to their duty, yet he performed, as *Suetonius* informs us, many things worthy of ſo great a prince [w]. That writer does not deſcend to particulars; but *Zonaras* tells us, that he puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity thoſe who had, by falſe accuſations, occaſioned the ruin of innocent perſons; that he delivered up to all maſters ſuch of their ſlaves as had borne witneſs againſt them; and that he recalled from exile thoſe, who had been baniſhed by *Nero* upon the law of majeſty [x]. *Caſaubon* thinks it plainly appears from an ancient inſcription, that he ſuppreſſed the tax of the *quadrageſima* or fortieth penny, which had been firſt taken off, and afterwards reſtored by *Nero* [y]. He diſcharged ſeveral of the prætorian guards, who had been engaged in the conſpiracy of *Nymphidius*; and diſmiſſed, without the uſual rewards, the *German* cohort, which had ſerved the other *Cæſars* with unſhaken fidelity, ordering them to return to their country, becauſe he ſuſpected them more inclined to *Cn. Dolabella* than to him [z]. However, he took particular care of ſome other cohorts of *Germans*, who having been ſent by *Nero* before him to *Alexandria*, while he meditated a journey thither, and ſoon after recalled, were returned ſickly, and greatly fatigued with ſo long a courſe of ſailing [a].

Diſcharges the German *cohort.*

About the ſame time that *Julius Vindex* revolted in *Gaul*, *Clodius Macer*, who governed *Africa* in quality of proprætor, took up arms againſt *Nero*, levied new forces, and even a legion, which from him was called the *Macrian* legion, but was ſoon after diſbanded by *Galba*, whom he refuſed to acknowledge, through fear of being called to account for the numberleſs murders and extortions, to which his unbounded avarice and cruelty had prompted him. *Plutarch* tells us, that, without either accepting or rejecting the imperial title, he ſtrove to maintain himſelf in poſſeſſion of *Africa*, and to famiſh the city, by ſtopping the veſſels which thence conveyed corn to *Rome*. He was inſtigated to this revolt, according to *Tacitus* [b], chiefly by *Galvia Criſpinilla*, who had been to *Nero* the directreſs of his luſts, and afterwards, paſſing over into *Africa*, had inſinuated herſelf into the favour of the proprætor *Macer*. According to this account, *Macer* ſeems not to have revolted till after *Nero*'s death. Be that as it will, he was ſlain at the command of *Galba* by *Trebonius Garucianus*, the imperial procurator in *Africa*. As for *Criſpinilla*, ſhe returned to *Rome*; and though it was notorious, that ſhe had ſuggeſted to *Macer* the pernicious counſel of famiſhing the *Roman* people, and on that ſcore capital puniſhment was demanded againſt her by the univerſal voice of *Rome*; yet, by the connivance of the prince and the favour of his miniſters, (for ſhe was both opulent and childleſs) ſhe eſcaped her doom, and lived in perfect impunity during the reigns of *Galba*, *Otho*, and *Vitellius* [c]. About the ſame time, was aſſaſſinated *Fonteius Capito*, who commanded in *Lower Germany*, by *Cornelius Aquinas* and *Fabius Valens*, two tribunes, without ſtaying for the emperor's command. There were who believed, that *Capito*, however abominable he was, however ſtained with avarice and immerſed in impurities, had yet declined engaging in any turbulent counſels; that having rejected the ſolicitations of *Aquinas* and *Valens* to rebel with them, he was by them charged with their own ill faith and treaſon; and that *Galba*, either impoſed upon or afraid of making further inquiry, ratified the execution. However it was, both theſe executions, that of *Macer* as well as that of *Capito*, were ill received, this being, as *Tacitus* well obſerves, the uſual fate of a prince under public hatred, that every action of his, whether good or evil, is generally diſapproved, perverſly conſtrued, and contributes to his ruin [d]. *Suetonius* tells us, that, after the death of theſe two commanders, *Galba* at length quitted his military habit, and a dagger, which till then he had worn faſtened to his neck, and hanging down on his breaſt, tho' he was not in a condition to make uſe of it, being enfeebled with age and infirmities [e]. *Capito* was ſucceeded in the government of *Lower Germany* by *Aulus Vitellius*, afterwards emperor, who was raiſed to that poſt chiefly by the intereſt of *Vinius*, whoſe favour he had gained, by ſupporting the ſame faction in the circus. *Galba*, in conferring upon him that command, openly declared, that he did not prefer him out of any eſteem he had for him, or opinion of his abilities, but becauſe he believed thoſe to be leſs feared, who were moſt addicted to gluttony, and that his keen appetite might be ſatiated with the plenty of that province; ſo

Clodius Macer *killed in* Africa.

And Fonteius Capito *in* Lower Germany.

Vitellius *governor of* Lower Germany.

[u] Plut. ibid. Tacit. c. 5. Suet. c. 16. Dio, p. 729. [w] Suet. c. 14. [x] Zonar. p. 190. [y] Vide Spanh. l. ix. p. 793. [z] Suet. c. 12. [a] Tacit. c. 31. [b] Idem, hiſt. l. i. c. 7. [c] Idem ibid. [d] Idem ibid. [e] Suet. c. 11.

ſo that his preferment was owing to the contempt, and not to the eſteem, the emperor had for him [f]. *Philoſtratus*, in his life of *Apollonius Tyaneus*, tells us, that this year was born at *Syracuſe*, and expoſed to public view, a child with three heads; which monſtrous birth denoted, according to the interpretation of his *Apollonius*, the three heads or emperors, *Galba*, *Otho*, and *Vitellius*, by whom the *Roman* ſtate was for ſome time governed in one and the ſame year. He adds, that the cities of *Sicily* were then in arms againſt each other, and ſtrangely haraſſed with inteſtine diviſions [g]. But of theſe diſturbances we find no farther account in that writer, nor any mention of them in others. a

The following year on the calends of *January*, *Galba* entered on his ſecond conſulſhip, having his favourite miniſter, *Titus Vinius*, for his collegue. He had ſcarce aſſumed the faſces, when an expreſs arrived from *Pompeius Propinquus*, procurator of *Belgic Gaul*, informing him, that the legions in *Upper Germany*, in open violation of their oaths and allegiance, demanded imperiouſly another emperor, and referred the free election of one to the pleaſure of the ſenate and people of *Rome*. *Verginius* had been removed from them, as we have related above; and as he had neither been reſtored, nor preferred to any other command or employment, but treated, in a manner, like a criminal, they conceived themſelves to be charged as delinquents, for having offered him the empire. *Hordeonius Flaccus*, who had been ſent to ſucceed him, they utterly contemned; and truly he was a man void of firmneſs, void of authority, and, from his lameneſs and the infirmities of his age, unequal to the direction of the moſt orderly and peaceable army. Hence, under their preſent frenzy, they were further inflamed by his impotent endeavours to reſtrain them. This intelligence ripened the deſign, about which *Galba* had been for ſome time deliberating with himſelf and in concert with his friends, concerning the adoption of a ſucceſſor; for he imagined himſelf to be deſpiſed, not ſo much on account of his age, as for want of iſſue. But his favourites, already at variance and purſuing each his own private views, were divided into two factions: *Vinius* was for *Otho*; *Laco* and *Icelus* were combined together, not ſo much to favour the intereſt of any particular, as to exclude him. As *Vinius* had a daughter, who was a widow, and *Otho* was not married, no one doubted but an alliance between them was intended. But *Galba*, moved with a concern for the commonwealth, which, he thought, was in vain reſcued from *Nero*, were it to devolve upon *Otho*, the chief confident of that prince's impure pleaſures, did not, in this particular, ſuffer himſelf to be blindly guided by *Vinius*; but, hearing him favourably, referred the farther conſideration of the affair to another time. However, out of complaiſance to his chief miniſter, he appointed him and *Otho* conſuls for the enſuing year. Hence it was generally taken for granted, that *Otho* would, upon his entering the conſulſhip, be by *Galba* declared his ſucceſſor; which cauſed an univerſal joy among the ſoldiery, who, for the moſt part, favoured *Otho*, and among the courtiers and creatures of *Nero*, who were paſſionate for a prince ſo reſembling their former. But while *Galba* was deliberating about the choice, and putting it off from day to day, diſmal tidings were daily brought from *Upper Germany*; for the legions there, being ſummoned, according to cuſtom, on the calends of *January*, to take the uſual oath of fidelity to the emperor, had torn his images, broken his ſtatues, and openly declaring, that they would never acknowledge *Galba*, ſworn allegiance to the *Roman* ſenate and people. Hereupon the emperor, beſet with anxieties, as not knowing whither the fury of the revolters might tend, and not truſting to the faith of the troops in *Rome*, applied what to him ſeemed the only remedy, and held a council for declaring a ſucceſſor, to which, beſides *Vinius* and *Laco*, he ſummoned *Marius Celſus*, conſul elect, and *Ducennius Geminus*, governor of *Rome*. On this occaſion *Vinnius* promoted anew with great zeal the adoption of *Otho*, and *Ducennius Geminus* that of *Dolabella*, who was nearly related to *Galba*. But the emperor, preferring the welfare of the publick to all other regards, after a ſhort ſpeech concerning his great age, ordered *Piſo Licinianus* to be ſent for, and, to the great ſurprize of all, named him his ſucceſſor. *Piſo* was the ſon of *Marcus Craſſus* and *Scribonia*, and both by father and mother nobly born, being by his father deſcended from the celebrated *Marcus Licinius Craſſus*, who was ſlain in the fatal battle of *Carrhæ*, and by his mother from *Pompey the Great*. He was at this time in the thirty-firſt year of his age, and by all highly eſteemed on account of his extraordinary parts, his

The legions in Upper Germany *revolt.*

Galba *deliberates concerning the adoption of a ſucceſſor.*

He adopts Piſo Licinianus.

b c d e f

[f] Suet. in Vitell. c. 7.

[g] Phil. vit. Apoll. Tyan. l. v. c. 4.

a his engaging behaviour, and ſingular modeſty. His gravity, reſembling that of the ancient *Romans*, was, ſays *Tacitus*, by thoſe who judged cenſoriouſly, accounted melancholy and auſtere; but that part of his temper, which alarmed the diſcontented, pleaſed the perſon adopting [h]. *Suetonius* tells us, that *Galba* had always ſhewn a great eſteem for him, and named him in his laſt will for his heir, before he was raiſed to the empire [i]. Some, however, believed, that he was by *Laco* prevailed upon to adopt him for his ſucceſſor; for *Laco* had, unknown to *Galba*, held private conferences with him at the houſe of *Rubellius Plautus*, but artfully recommended him to *Galba*, as one to whom he was an utter ſtranger. *Galba*, after having declared to him, in the preſence of his friends and counſellors, his deſign of adopting him, and naming him for his ſucceſſor in the empire, is ſaid to have taken him by the hand, and

b to have ſpoken thus: "Were I as a private perſon to adopt you for my ſon, glorious "even then would be the adoption to us both, ſince my family would receive new luſtre "from the blood of the great *Pompey* and of *Marcus Craſſus*, and yours from that of "the *Sulpitian* and *Lutatian* families. I am now a publick perſon, called to the em- "pire by the united conſent of the gods and men; and of this ſovereignty, for which "our anceſtors have often expoſed their lives, I offer you the poſſeſſion, while you "are neither ſeeking nor purſuing it. To this I am urged only by the love of my "country, and your excellent qualifications. *Auguſtus*, who would intail the empire "upon his own houſe, in his own houſe ſought a ſucceſſor. I chuſe out of the common-

c "wealth an heir to the commonwealth: not that I am reduced to this choice by any "want of relations of my own; but them I overlook, as well as your relations, becauſe "I do not judge them ſo well qualified for ſo important a charge as yourſelf. You "have a brother, in nobility your equal, in age your ſuperior, a man worthy of this "fortune, did I not find in you one ſtill more worthy. You have paſſed your youth "without reproach, and ſuch hitherto has been your courſe of life, that nothing in "your conduct thus far is ſubject to blame: but you have yet only had adverſe fortune "to contend with. Proſperity is more enſnaring; it tries the temper of the ſoul, and "expoſes its weakneſſes: calamities we often bear with patience; but are utterly ſub-

d "dued and corrupted by a flow of felicity. I do not doubt but you will, with your "uſual firmneſs, ſtill retain the ſame integrity, faith in friendſhip, candour, and free- "dom of ſpirit, endowments, which, above all others, adorn the mind. But in "others, you will find a different conduct towards you: by falſe complaiſance they "will endeavour to weaken your fortitude, and, by deceitful flattery and ſoothing "ſpeeches, poiſon every honeſt affection of your mind; and to his own ſordid gain "will every particular be wreſting your honour and good inclinations. You and I, "upon this occaſion, converſe with hearts perfectly ſincere; but others will make their "addreſſes to our fortunes, rather than to us: and indeed, to reaſon princes into their "duty is a dangerous taſk; but eaſy is the art of flattering any prince whatſoever.

e "Could this immenſe empire ſubſiſt without a ſingle ruler, I ſhould glory in reſigning, "glory in being the firſt emperor, who reſigned the power of the republic into her "own hands; but ſuch long ſince has been the unhappy ſituation of the ſtate, that all "the good, which my old age allows me to do the *Roman* people, is, to leave them a "good ſucceſſor; nor can you, with all your youth, do more for them, than afford "them in yourſelf a benevolent prince. Under *Tiberius*, *Caligula*, and *Claudius*, we "were all the inheritance of one family. That the empire has begun in me to be "elective, is ſome equivalent for our ancient liberty, and the only liberty we are capa- "ble of enjoying. Now the *Julian* and *Claudian* families being extinct, the beſt men, "by this way of adoption, will become the greateſt. To be deſcended from princes is "the effect of chance; but, in the work of adoption, the judgment is exerciſed;

f "and whenever you want to chuſe, the general conſent will direct you to the perſon "moſt worthy to be choſen. Have always before your eyes the example of *Nero*, "who, elated with the glory of his race and a long genealogy of the *Cæſars* was not "in reality dethroned by *Julius Vindex*, the governor of a province, unprovided with "forces, nor by me aſſiſted with one legion, but by his own cruelty and infamous de- "baucheries; nor was there, till then, any inſtance of an emperor by public ſentence "condemned and depoſed. It was my lot to be called to an unſettled ſtate; nor muſt you "be alarmed, if while the whole world continues in this general uproar, there are "two legions which yet remain unreclaimed to obedience. As to my old age, the "only objection to my government, it is no longer one, ſince when it comes to be known

His ſpeech to him on that occaſion.

[h] TACIT. c. 14. PLUT. in Galb. [i] SUET. c. 17.

" known that I have adopted you, I ſhall ſeem young in my ſucceſſor. *Nero* will a
" ever be regretted by the moſt abandoned and profligate: to you and me it belongs
" to govern, that he may not alſo be regretted by the good. To ſay more in this
" way of inſtruction the preſent conjuncture does not allow me. One certain rule you
" have to obſerve, which is, ſo to behave yourſelf towards your ſubjects, as, were you
" a ſubject, you would wiſh your prince to comport himſelf towards you. This rule
" comprehends the whole art of reigning with juſtice and equity; for you muſt re-
" member, that it is not with us as with other nations, where a particular family rules
" with abſolute ſway, and all beſides are ſlaves; but you are to govern a people in-
" capable of complete liberty, and impatient of abſolute bondage[i]."

Piſo's *modeſt behaviour.*

When *Galba* had done ſpeaking, *Piſo* returned him thanks for the extraordinary b
and unexpected honour conferred on him, addreſſing him, now both his father and
emperor, with a ſpeech full of reverence, and, where he mentioned himſelf, full of
modeſty. He betrayed no ſymptoms of joy, no change in his countenance, none
afterwards in his behaviour, as if he had been inſenſible of ſo mighty a favour; mani-
feſt indications, ſays *Tacitus*, that he was more capable of reigning, than deſirous to
reign. The next thing that came under debate in the council was, where to declare
the adoption, whether to the people aſſembled, to the ſenate, or to the army. The
reſult was to do it in the camp; and thither he immediately repaired, tho' that day,
the tenth of *January*, was rendered unuſually terrible by heavy rains, frequent claps
of thunder, and inceſſant lightning; which, in ancient times, would have proved c
ſufficient ground for diſſolving public aſſemblies, but were looked upon by *Galba*, and
contemned, as fortuitous and unmeaning. Upon his arrival in the camp, he declared

His adoption declared to the ſoldiery.

to a full aſſembly of the ſoldiers, with the brevity becoming an emperor, that he
adopted *Piſo* after the precedent of the deified *Auguſtus*, and according to the cuſtom
of the army, where every one chuſes his man. And leſt the revolt of the *German*
legions might, if by him concealed, be thence thought more formidable, he frankly
told them, that the fourth legion and the eighteenth, at the inſtigation of ſome few
incendiaries, had departed from their duty, but would ſoon return to their allegiance.
As no mention was made of the diſtributions uſual on ſuch occaſions, only the ſoldiers
who ſtood next to him applauded his ſpeech, and through all the reſt was obſerved a d
ſullen ſadneſs and ſilence for having thus loſt the donative, which cuſtom and their
own inſolent claims had, in ſome degree, rendered neceſſary. *Tacitus* tells us, that
with any liberality, however ſmall, *Galba* might have gained the affections of the ſol-
diery; but ſuffered by practiſing, out of ſeaſon, the rigorous purity of ancient times,

And to the ſenate.

which they were no longer able to bear[k]. From the camp *Galba* proceeded to the
ſenate, where he ſpoke with the ſame brevity and bluntneſs as to the ſoldiery. The
ſpeech which *Piſo* made was better received. In the mean time, *Otho*, who had been
the foremoſt to eſpouſe the cauſe of *Galba*, had promoted it with vigor, and thence
conceived hopes of being adopted and named by him for his ſucceſſor, inraged at
his diſappointment, and burning with anger againſt *Galba*, with envy towards *Piſo*, e

Otho *reſolves to attempt the ſovereignty.*

determined to make a reſolute effort, while the authority of the one was daily decay-
ing, and that of the other not yet confirmed. Many concurring motives inſpired
him with this reſolution. As he had conſumed his fortune in a courſe of riot and
expence, and contracted immenſe debts, in the quiet eſtabliſhment of the ſtate he ſaw
nothing but deſpair, and only upon public confuſion founded his hopes. Beſides, he
looked upon his being thus put by, as a certain ſign of the diſpleaſure and ill-will of
Galba towards him, and thence thought reſignation and acquieſcence more threatening,
than boldneſs and temerity. His favourite freed-men too and his ſlaves, inured to
a licentiouſneſs and riot inconſiſtent with the œconomy of a private family, were to
their lord continually diſplaying the alluring advantages attending the ſovereign f
power, and repreſenting them as his own, if he rouſed himſelf, and made them ſo.
The aſtrologers at the ſame time urged him by their predictions, while they were
confidently averring, that the ſtars preſaged approaching revolutions and a year of
great glory to *Otho*. Of this tribe *Ptolemy* was one, who having accompanied *Otho*
into *Luſitania*, and foretold him that he ſhould ſurvive *Nero*, had gained mighty
credit from the event. Now he perſuaded him, that, if he exerted his might and
laid hold of the preſent opportunity, he would certainly attain the accompliſhment
of his wiſhes, the ſovereign power. Hereupon *Otho*, with whom theſe predictions
paſſed

[i] Tacit. c. 15. [k] Idem, c. 18, 19.

a passed as uttered by a prophetic spirit, and as the propitious warnings of the fates, resolved to make a bold push and try his fortune. The direction of the treasonable design he committed to one of his freed-men, by name *Onamastus*, who introduced to him two men as proper instruments in it, *Veturius*, a soldier of the life-guard, and *Barbius Proculus*, tesserarius of the same band; that is, one whose office it was to receive the parole from the tribune in writing, and carry it to the tents of the soldiers. *Otho*, having first in a long conversation tried their temper and capacity, and found them to be men of great address and resolution, imparted to them his design, loaded them with mighty presents, promised them more ample rewards, and furnished them with vast sums to bribe and debauch the inclinations of as many of the rest as they were able. Thus two common soldiers undertook to transfer the *Roman* empire

b from one prince to another, and transferred it effectually. They admitted very few into the secret; the minds of the rest, already uneasy and wavering, they estranged from the emperor by various artifices, especially by filling them with utter despair of the donative, which had been promised, and so often put off. This, said they, is not only defrauding us of our deserved rewards, but blasting our expectations for ever, and giving a bad precedent to other emperors, who will not fail to follow an example so prejudicial to us, so advantagious to themselves. *Rome* was at this time filled with troops; *Galba* had brought with him a *Spanish* legion; the legion, which had been raised by *Nero*, still remained in the city; and besides these forces, there

c were many from *Germany*, *Britain*, and *Illyricum*, such as had been thence detached by *Nero*'s orders, and sent forwards to the *Caspian* streights, for the war which he meditated against the *Parthians*, but recalled to suppress the revolt of *Vindex* in *Gaul*. These, dreading the severity of discipline, which in this reign began to be revived, were all ready to revolt; and though not combining in favour of any particular, yet prepared for the first daring spirit. The prætorian guards indeed, transported with a fondness for *Nero*, were entirely addicted to *Otho*, who, they hoped, would recal the licentiousness which they had enjoyed under that prince; nay, some of them were so impatient to see him invested with the sovereign power, that on the four-

d teenth of *January* they were prepared, as he returned home from supping abroad, to have hurried him away and declared him emperor; only they apprehended, that, during the dark, whoever chanced to be presented to the *German* or *Pannonian* army, might by them, for the most part unacquainted with the person of *Otho*, be, instead of him, saluted emperor. The execution of the design was therefore put off till the next day, when *Otho* early in the morning went to attend the emperor, and was, according to custom, received by him with a kiss, and admitted to be present at a private sacrifice, which *Galba* offered in the temple of *Apollo*. We are told, that *Umbricius* the soothsayer had no sooner viewed the intrails of the victim, than he warned the emperor of dismal presages, of treasonable plots just impending, and a domestic foe, all in the hearing of *Otho*, who stood next to him, and, by a different construction, understood it all as propitious to himself, and a successful issue foretold of his own machinations. However, he was not a little disconcerted at the disco-

e very, and could not help betraying some dismay and confusion. But, in the mean time, *Onomastus*, his freed-man arriving, acquainted him, that *the surveyor and builders waited his coming*. This was the signal before settled amongst them, to intimate that the soldiers were assembling, and the conspiracy ripe for execution. He therefore immediately withdrew, feigning to those who asked him the cause of his departure, that he was about purchasing certain houses, which being old, and thence suspected to be decayed, it was necessary first to examine them. Then, leaning on his freedman, he proceeded through the palace of *Tiberius* to the *Velabrum*, and from thence to the gilt pillar by the temple of *Saturn*, where the several highways in

f *Italy* terminated. There he was received by a party of the guards and proclaimed emperor; but as they were not above twenty-three, though his soul was not of the same soft temper and effeminacy with his person, but, on the contrary, bold and daring, yet he was so dismayed at the smallness of their number, that he desired to retire and drop his design. This the soldiers would not suffer; but putting him in great haste into a chair, hurried him away with their drawn swords. *Plutarch* tells us, that he pressed them to make all the haste they could, crying out, *I am a lost man.* The party that attended him was soon joined by much the like number of soldiers, and these, in their progress to the camp, were followed by others, who came in, three and four at a time, till at last they made up a considerable body. Upon their

Gives credit to an astrologer.

Two common soldiers undertake to transfer the empire.

Galba *is warned of a treasonable plot.*

Otho *is saluted emperor by a small party of the guards;*

g arrival

And carried to the camp.

arrival at the camp, *Julius Martialis* the tribune, who that day commanded the a main guard, ſuffered them to enter, either overcome with ſurprize at ſo daring an undertaking, or privy to the conſpiracy, or elſe believing the camp to be generally infected, and that it was in vain to reſiſt. In the camp they met with no oppoſition, thoſe who were not privy to the deſign being incompaſſed by ſuch as were; ſo that ſome out of fear, others by choice, joined the revolters, and at laſt all with one voice ſaluted *Otho emperor* and *Cæſar* [i].

In the mean time, *Galba*, utterly unacquainted with the revolution, was ſtill bent upon the ſacrifice, and tiring, ſays *Tacitus*, with his ſupplications, the guardian gods of the empire, already under the ſway of another head. News was firſt brought him, that a ſenator, it was uncertain who, was by a party of the guards hurried away b to the camp, there to be preſented to the ſoldiery; and ſoon after word was brought, that *Otho* was the ſenator thus hurried thither. Inſtantly from all parts of the city people crouded to *Galba* with the ſame tidings, each relating them his own way. Some exaggerated every thing beyond meaſure; others, not laying aſide, even at ſo deſperate a juncture, their wonted flattery, ſoothed him with relations far ſhort of facts. In this ſudden alarm *Galba* haſtily ſummoned his friends, and in a conſultation held with them it was reſolved, that the temper of the cohort then upon duty in the palace ſhould firſt of all be ſounded, not by *Galba* in perſon, whoſe authority was reſerved as the laſt remedy upon the higheſt emergency, but by *Piſo*; who having cauſed them to be aſſembled at the foot of the ſtairs of the palace, exhorted them with c great eloquence and energy, to continue ſteady in their allegiance, diſplayed the vices and debaucheries of *Otho*, and aſſured them, that they ſhould receive from *Galba* and him as large a donative for their fidelity preſerved, as was offered them by *Otho* for dipping their hands in the blood of their ſovereign. When he had ended his ſpeech, ſome of the cohort ſtole away; but the major part diſplayed their enſigns, and prepared their arms to defend their emperor. *Celſus Marius* was immediately ſent to ſecure the troops that had been detached from the army in *Illyricum*, and were then poſted in the *Vipſanian* porch. To *Amulius Serenus* and *Domitius Sabinus*, centurions of the firſt rank, orders were given to bring away from the court of the temple of *Liberty* the band of *German* ſoldiers there. To the camp of the prætorian guards repaired the tribunes *Cerius Severus*, *Subrius Dexter*, and *Pompeius Longinus*, to d try, whether, by reaſon and exhortations, the mutiny, then in its infancy, might not be quelled and obedience reſtored. Two of theſe tribunes the ſoldiers only terrified with threats, but laid violent hands on *Longinus*, ſtripped him of his arms, and ignominiouſly drove him out of the camp, he being, above the reſt, obnoxious to them, on account of his known fidelity and invincible attachment to *Galba*. The band detached from the *Illyrian* army drove *Celſus* from amongſt them with flights of darts. The ſecond legion of marines, eager to revenge the blood of their brethren, maſſacred by *Galba* on his firſt entry as emperor into *Rome*, joined, without heſitation, the prætorian bands. The *German* troops continued a great while wavering and irreſolute, being in their bodies ſtill feeble, (for they were lately returned from *Alexandria* e ſickly and fatigued) and in their minds entirely peaceable, and rather inclined to *Galba*, out of gratitude for the care he was taking to cheriſh and reſtore them [k]. *Suetonius* tells us, that they immediately haſtened to the aſſiſtance of *Galba*; but not being acquainted with the ſtreets, they miſtook their way and came too late [l]. *Galba*, in the mean time, was held in ſuſpenſe between two different counſels. *Vinius* was of opinion, that the emperor ſhould remain in the palace, arm his ſlaves in his defence, fortify the avenues, and by no means iſſue forth amongſt men mad with rage. All the reſt alledged the neceſſity of diſpatch and inſtant meaſures, before the conſpiracy of a few, yet weak and unſupported, had gathered ſtrength and numbers. *Galba* yielded to the advice of the latter, their counſels appearing to him more plauſible. *Piſo*, however, was ſent away before to the camp, as a young man of great fame and reputation, and one who was generally looked upon as an enemy to the hated miniſter *Titus Vinius*. Scarce had he left the place, when it was rumoured about, that *Otho* was ſlain in the camp; and ſoon after there appeared perſons who averred, that they themſelves had been upon the ſpot when the traitor was killed, and beheld his dead body extended on the ground. It was by many conjectured, that this rumour was firſt framed, and afterwards heightened, by the partizans of *Otho*, with no other view,

Meaſures taken by Galba *to ſuppreſs the revolt.*

The troops refuſe to obey the officers ſent to them.

Galba *is in ſuſpenſe what to do.*

Receives falſe information from the crowd.

[i] Plut. ibid. Suet. in Oth. c. 6. Tacit. c. 23—28. [k] Idem, c. 31, 32. [l] Suet. in Galb. c. 20.

a view, but to entice *Galba* from his retirement. However that be, upon this occaſion, not only the ſimple and thoughtleſs vulgar broke out into loud ſhouts and extravagant demonſtrations of zeal; but the greater part of the *Roman* knights and ſenators, now diveſted of their fears, and therefore void of caution and reſerve, forced the gates of the palace; and ruſhing in, preſented themſelves before *Galba*, complaing, that the vengeance, by them meditated in his behalf, was now ſnatched out of their hands. The moſt cowardly, ſuch as had not courage enough to face the leaſt danger, as the event well proved, were at this juncture profuſe of words and boaſts, and in tongue valiant and daring. No man knew the fact, and all averred it; ſo that *Galba*, deprived of true information, put on a breaſt-plate; and
b finding himſelf unable, through age and infirmities, to ſuſtain the preſſing crowd, he was put into a chair. Before he left the palace, *Julius Atticus*, one of the guards, preſſing through the crowd, preſented himſelf before the emperor, and, diſplaying a ſword all over bloody, declared with a loud voice, that by his hand *Otho* had been ſlain. *Galba* returned no other anſwer, than, *Fellow ſoldier, whoſe orders hadſt thou?* Such was his firmneſs in reſtraining the licentious inſolence of the ſoldiery, without being diſmayed by menaces, or corrupted with the moſt ſoothing flattery [m].

And from JuliusAtticus

In the mean time, they had to a man declared for *Otho* in the camp; and placing him amidſt the enſigns upon that very tribunal, where a little before ſtood the golden ſtatue of *Galba*, encompaſſed him round with banners diſplayed. The common
c ſoldiers refuſed to the tribunes and centurions acceſs to his perſon; nay, they gave him caution to beware of all who were in command or authority among them. Firſt the prætorian guards, and then the legion of marines, unanimouſly ſwore allegiance to him, and, with loud ſhouts, ſaluted him *emperor*, *Cæſar*, and *Auguſtus*. After this, *Otho*, now confiding in his ſtrength, inflamed them with a long ſpeech, filled with bitter invectives againſt *Galba* and his favourites; and then ordered the common armoury to be thrown open, whence arms were inſtantly ſnatched at random, without any regard to the cuſtom of war, or the different orders and ranks of men. *Galba*, in the mean time, having left the palace, was approaching the forum, when he was overtaken by *Piſo*, who, hearing the cries of the rebellious
d ſoldiery reſounding quite to the city, had thought it adviſeable not to proceed to the camp. At the ſame time, *Celſus Marius*, who had been ſent to the *Illyrian* army, returned with a melancholy account. In this conjuncture, ſome adviſed *Galba* to retire back to the palace; others propoſed ſeizing the capitol; and ſeveral were for taking poſſeſſion of the place where the people uſed to aſſemble. In this conteſt, as in a ſtorm, *Galba*'s chair was borne, ſometimes one way and ſometimes another, according to the different movement and fluctuation of the multitude; when on a ſudden appeared firſt a party of horſe, and then a body of foot, ruſhing furiouſly into the forum. At this ſight, the ſtandard-bearer to the cohort, which had remained with *Galba*, rent from his ſtandard the effigies of the emperor, and

The zeal of the ſoldiery for Otho.

e daſhed it againſt the ground. Upon this ſignal, the whole cohort abandoned him, and joined the detachments from the camp. Hereupon, thoſe who carried *Galba*, ſeized with dread and trembling, flung him from his chair proſtrate upon the ground, and there left him to the mercy of his enemies. His laſt words are differently reported, as he was hated by ſome, or admired by others. By ſeveral it was ſpread abroad, that he aſked in the ſtyle of a ſuppliant, What evil he had merited? and begged time, only for a few days, to diſcharge the donative, which had been promiſed in his name. But moſt agree, that of his own accord he preſented his throat to the aſſaſſins, bidding them ſtrike reſolutely, if the good of the commonwealth ſo required. Of the very perſon, who gave him the mortal
f blow, we have no clear account. Some hold it to have been one *Terentius*, an *evocatus*, or reſumed veteran; others one *Lecanius*. The more current tradition in *Tacitus*'s time was, that *Camurius*, a common ſoldier of the fifteenth legion, cut his throat with his ſword. The reſt hacked and mangled in a dreadful manner his legs and arms (for his breaſt was covered with armour); nay, they were tranſported with a ſpirit ſo brutal and inhuman, that even after they had cut off his head, they ſatiated their rage by diſfiguring with numberleſs wounds his lifeleſs body. Upon *Titus Vinius* they next diſcharged their rage. Some writers tell us, that through fear he was quite bereft of ſpeech; others, that with a loud voice he cried out, they had

Galba *abandoned by all.*

He is murdered

With Titus Vinius.

[m] Tacit. c. 35.

had no ſuch orders from *Otho*; whence they conclude, that he was privy to the conſpiracy, and had imbarqued in that treaſon, for which he had adminiſtered cauſe. Before the temple of *Julius Cæſar*, he was wounded in the knee; and preſently after, by one *Julius Carus*, a legionary, pierced quite through the body. Among the many perſons who had firſt made boaſt of their inviolable faith and attachment to their ſovereign, one was found who performed what he had promiſed. This was *Sempronius Denſus*, centurion of a prætorian cohort, and by *Galba* appointed to guard the perſon of *Piſo*. He had not received any particular favour of *Galba*; but only from a principle of honour, and in compliance with the oath he had taken, he placed himſelf before the emperor's chair, commanding thoſe who were advancing againſt him, to ſpare the emperor. As they ſtill advanced, he threw away the vine branch, which he held in his hand as the badge of his office; and drawing his ſword, ſingly encountered them all, boldly upbraiding them as deteſtable parricides; inſomuch, that, partly by his blows partly by his reproaches, he drew upon himſelf the ſwords of the aſſaſſins; and though he could not ſave the emperor, yet procured to *Piſo*, who was already wounded, opportunity to retire. He was himſelf killed; but *Piſo* eſcaped to the temple of *Veſta*, where he was by a bondman of the ſtate received through compaſſion and concealed in his chamber; which *Otho* no ſooner knew, than he diſpatched *Sulpitius Florus*, belonging to the *Britiſh* bands, a man juſt before preſented by *Galba* with the privilege of a *Roman* citizen, and *Statius Murcus*, one of his guards, with orders to diſpatch *Piſo*. By them therefore *Piſo* was dragged forth, and butchered near the gate of the temple. His head was immediately cut off and carried to *Otho*, who beheld it with unſpeakable joy, thinking himſelf now relieved from all fear and perplexity. The bleeding heads of the emperor and his adopted ſon were ſtuck upon long poles, and thus carried along amidſt the banners of the military bands, cloſe by the eagle of a legion. Many, who had not the leaſt ſhare in the murder either of *Galba* or *Piſo*, diſplayed their ſwords and hands all embrued with blood, and demanded of the new emperor a gratuity. *Tacitus* and *Plutarch* tell us, that above an hundred and twenty petitions of this nature, preſented in one day to *Otho*, fell afterwards into the hands of *Vitellius*, who commanded ſearch to be made after the authors, and puniſhed them all with death, not from any tenderneſs for *Galba*, but out of policy, looking upon their puniſhment as a wholeſome method of ſecuring himſelf againſt ſuch traitors [n].

The fidelity and bravery of Sempronius Denſus.

Piſo *murdered*

THE news of *Galba*'s death was no ſooner divulged, than the ſenate, the *Roman* knights, and the people earneſtly crowded to the camp, ſtriving to out-run each other, and to overtake and paſs ſuch as were before them. To a man they condemned the conduct of *Galba*, magnified the judgment and choice of the ſoldiery, kiſſed the hands of *Otho*; and the more counterfeit their indications of zeal were, the more loud were their proteſtations. The ſenate, as if they were not the ſame men, ſays *Plutarch*, or had other gods to ſwear by, took the ſame oath to *Otho*, which *Otho* had not long before taken to *Galba*, and had juſt then violated. The new emperor received all who preſented themſelves to him with great demonſtrations of kindneſs; and at the ſame time endeavoured to pacify the ſoldiery, breathing menaces and ravage. They demanded, that *Manius Celſus*, conſul elect, and a faithful friend to *Galba* even in his laſt diſtreſs, might be inſtantly put to death. They hated him on account of his integrity and unſhaken fidelity; but what they chiefly aimed at was, to have their hands let looſe to general pillage and maſſacre, and to deſtroy every worthy and able man in the *Roman* ſtate. But, as *Otho* had not ſufficient authority to check the fury of the licentious ſoldiery, he perſonated great wrath againſt *Celſus*, ordered him to be put in irons, as if he reſerved him for ſome more ſevere puniſhment; and by that means redeemed him from a violent death juſt impending. From this moment all things were tranſacted by the arbitrary will of the ſoldiers. By them were choſen the captains of the prætorian guards, namely *Plotius Primus*, once a common ſoldier, thence preferred to command the watch, and during the reign of *Galba*, a chief man among the partizans of *Otho*. With *Plotius* they joined *Licinius Proculus*, one in high confidence with *Otho*, and thought to have been employed by him to promote his intrigues. To the government of *Rome* they advanced *Flavius Sabinus*, partly in deference to

The ſenate and people flatter the new emperor.

Otho *ſaves* Celſus.

The ſoldiery act arbitrarily.

[n] TACIT. c. 38——42. PLUT. ibid.

a to the judgment of *Nero*, in whoſe reign he had adminiſtered the ſame office, and partly out of regard to his brother *Veſpaſian*. They then demanded, that the fees, wont to be by them paid to their centurions, for exemption from certain military burdens, ſhould be utterly aboliſhed; for under this name every ſoldier paid, as it were, an annual tribute. Hence the fourth part of a legion uſed to be abſent at once, roaming like vagrants up and down the countries, where they were quartered, and robbing and plundering, in order to raiſe money wherewithal to purchaſe a diſpenſation from military toils. As moſt of the ſoldiers were debauched by ſuch wild immunity, and reduced to beggary by the fees they paid for it, they were always ready to run headlong into ſedition, diſſention, and civil wars. *Otho*, there-

b fore, readily granted them their requeſt: but that he might not eſtrange from him the affections of the centurions, he undertook to pay out of his own revenue the fees for ſuch exemptions and furloughs, when they were judged neceſſary; a regulation, which, by his ſucceſſors, was perpetuated as part of the military eſtabliſhment. In the cloſe of the day, *Laco*, captain of the guards to *Galba*, was ſeized, and ſoon after by *Otho* condemned to an iſland, where, by his orders, he was murdered by a veteran, whom the emperor had ſent before him for that purpoſe. *Icelus*, as he was only a manumiſed ſlave, was publickly executed. The day, thus ſpent in black and tragical iniquities, was concluded with public rejoicings. The next day, the city prætor aſſembled the ſenate, when to *Otho* were decreed the tri-

c bunitial authority, the title of *Auguſtus*, and all the honours enjoyed by other emperors. From the ſenate, the new emperor was carried in a kind of triumph croſs the forum, ſtill flowing with blood, and over heaps of dead bodies to the capitol, and thence to the palace, where at length he granted leave to burn and bury the ſlain. The remains of *Piſo* were, by his wife *Verania* and his brother *Scribonianus*, committed to the grave, as were thoſe of *Titus Vinius* by his daughter *Criſpina*, after they had found out and redeemed, at a great price, their heads, which their murderers had retained, in order to ſell them to their relations. The body of *Galba*, after it had lain long neglected in the ſtreets, and ſuffered, during the licentiouſneſs of the night, inſults without number, was, by *Argius* one of his

d principal bondmen, bearing the office of ſteward, depoſited in a mean grave within his own gardens. His head, miſerably mangled and ſtuck upon a pole by the vile rabble attending the camp, was by them ſet up before the tomb of *Patrobius*, a freedman of *Nero*, whom *Galba* had cauſed to be executed. Here it was found the day following, and laid with the remains of his body, which had been already burnt[o]. Such was the end of *Galba*, after he had lived ſeventy-two years and twenty-three days, and reigned, from the time he declared againſt *Nero*, nine months and thirteen days, but from that prince's death only ſeven months and as many days. He had paſſed through the reigns of five emperors, much happier under the ſovereignty of other princes, than in his own. He had but moderate

e talents, and was, according to *Tacitus*, rather free from vices, than endowed with many virtues. He had commanded with great reputation in the *German* wars, afterwards governed *Africa*, as proconſul, with moderation and gentleneſs, and, in the latter part of his life, ruled with the ſame equity and juſtice the *Hither Spain*. He would, to uſe the expreſſion of our hiſtorian, in the opinion of all men, have paſſed as one capable of the empire, had he never been emperor; not that his being advanced to that high ſtation cauſed any alteration in him, but becauſe he ſuffered himſelf to be blindly governed and controuled by his freedmen and miniſters; men who were continually proſtituting the credit and character of their maſter, to their own vile gains and wicked paſſions. Had he been bleſſed with good counſellors,

f he would, in all probability, have proved an excellent prince. He was temperate, frugal, free from ambition, an enemy to the inſolence of the ſoldiery, and wiſhed well to the commonwealth. But what availed his good qualities? He himſelf robbed no man; but his ſervants and miniſters ſet no bounds to their rapines; and he, who ought not to have employed bad men, or at leaſt ought to have reſtrained and puniſhed them, was blind to all their iniquities. As he never inquired into their behaviour, nor blamed it, they never mended it, nor feared him. The ſad fate, which their corruption and his own indolence brought upon him, is a ſufficient warning to princes, either never to truſt implicitly to the advice and conduct of any

Otho *ſuppreſſes the fees paid by the ſoldiers to their centurions.*

Laco *and* Icelus *put to death.*

Otho *acknowledged by the ſenate.*

Galba's *body buried.*

His character.

[o] Tacit. c. 47, 48. Plut. ibid. Suet. c. 20.

any miniſters, or at leaſt to be well aſſured, that they are ſuch, if ſuch are to be found, as may be implicitly truſted.

Otho, now honoured by the ſenate with the title of *Cæſar* and *Auguſtus*, took upon him the conſulſhip, having for his collegue his brother *Salvius Titianus*; but reſigned the faſces on the firſt of *March* to *Virginius Rufus*, as his brother did to *Poppæus Vopiſcus*. The new emperor had ſcarce taken poſſeſſion of the ſovereignty, when he was alarmed with diſmal tidings concerning *Vitellius*; tidings, which, before the murder of *Galba*, had been ſuppreſſed, with a deſign to have it believed, that only the army in *Upper Germany* had revolted. *Vitellius*, as we have related above, had been by *Galba* preferred to the command of the legions in *Lower Germany*, which he had entered about the beginning of *December* in the preceding year, and with great care viſited the winter quarters of the legions there. To their ranks he reſtored numbers who had been degraded; many he redeemed from ignominious puniſhments; and cancelled the marks of ignominy inflicted upon others.

Vitellius is excited to take upon him the ſovereignty by Valens.

Having by this means gained the affections of the ſoldiery, *Fabius Valens*, who commanded a legion under him and was highly diſguſted with *Galba*, who, he thought, had not rewarded him according to his deſerts, ſolicited his new general to aſſume the ſovereignty, magnifying to him the zeal and ardour of the ſoldiery, by whom he was no leſs beloved, than *Galba* hated. By his ſpeech *Vitellius* was, ſays *Tacitus*, excited to covet the ſovereignty, rather than to hope for it. In *Upper Germany*, *Alienus Cæcina*, who commanded a legion there, had entirely captivated the affections of the ſoldiers by his graceful perſon and engaging behaviour. He exerciſed the office of quæſtor in the province of *Spain* called *Bætica*, when *Galba* revolted, whom he immediately joined, and was thence by him preferred to the command of a legion. But *Galba*, having ſoon after diſcovered, that he had embezzled the public treaſure, ordered him to be proſecuted. *Cæcina*, reſenting this, did all that lay in his power to ſtir up the troops to a revolt, hoping, by an univerſal confuſion, to eſcape the puniſhment due to his crime. Neither in the army itſelf were there wanting ſeeds of tumult and diſcord: for they had all to a man been engaged in the war againſt *Vindex*; nor could they be induced to acknowledge *Galba*, till after *Nero* was ſlain. Hence a report was maliciouſly raiſed among them, and raſhly believed, that the legions were to be decimated, and the centurions, for the moſt part, caſhiered. The cities of *Treves* and *Langres*, which lay contiguous to the winter quarters of the legions, and had been by *Galba* deprived of great part of their territories, were more inflamed againſt him than the legions themſelves; and therefore aſſured them by their deputies, that they were ripe for an inſurrection, and ready to join them, as ſoon as they declared againſt *Galba*.

The troops in Upper Germany *inclined to a revolt.*

Refuſe the oath to Galba.

On the firſt of *January*, when the legions were, according to cuſtom, to ſwear allegiance to the emperor, they refuſed the oath, tore the images of *Galba*, and declared, that they acknowledged no other ſovereign, but the ſenate and people of *Rome*; not one tribune or commander daring to exert himſelf in behalf of the emperor, or offering to harangue the multitude from a tribunal. It is true, *Hordeonius Flaccus*, commander in chief, was upon the ſpot; but had not courage enough either to reſtrain ſuch as were already ruſhing into rebellion, or to recover ſuch as were only wavering, or even to rouze and animate thoſe who ſtill continued ſteady and faithful to *Galba*. Four centurions, *viz. Nonius Receptus*, *Donatus Valens*, *Romilius Marcellus*, and *Calpurnius Repentinus*, all belonging to the eighteenth legion, would have protected the images of *Galba*, but were by the furious multitude ſeized and confined in chains. Further than this, none of them ſhewed the leaſt regard to their duty, or their former oaths: but it happened in this as in other inſurrections, whither the greater part led, the reſt blindly followed. The following night, the eagle-bearer of the fourth legion haſtening to *Cologn*, where *Vitellius* then reſided, acquainted him with what had paſſed, and exhorted him to lay hold of the preſent opportunity. Hereupon meſſengers were by *Vitellius* forthwith diſpatched to acquaint the troops under his command, that the army in *Upper Germany* had revolted from *Galba*; ſo that they muſt either make war upon the revolters, or, if they preferred peace and tranquillity, join with them and create an emperor: at the ſame time, he deſired them to conſider, that, with much leſs danger, they might elect a prince at once, than continue in ſearch of one. The winter quarters of the firſt legion lay neareſt, and with it *Fabius Valens*, who entering *Cologn* the very next day, accompanied with the cavalry of his legion and a body of auxiliaries, openly ſaluted

Vitellius *proclaimed emperor.*

Vitellius

a *Vitellius* emperor, and led him in a kind of triumph through the principal and moſt frequented ſtreets in the town. His example was immediately followed, with great competition, by all the legions of the ſame province. The army in *Upper Germany* no ſooner heard, that *Vitellius* had been ſaluted emperor by the troops under his command, than, relinquiſhing the plauſible names of the ſenate and people of *Rome*, they acceded to the party of *Vitellius*. This happened on the third of *January*; whence it is evident, ſays *Tacitus*, that they had been no-ways attached to or concerned about the free *Roman* ſtate the two days before. The zeal of the inhabitants of *Cologn*, *Treves*, and *Langres* was equal to that of the legions; they all offered, with great ardour, ſupplies of men, horſes, and money, each according to *The zeal of the people in behalf.*

b the meaſure of his power and ſufficiency. Neither was ſuch liberality confined to the leading men of thoſe colonies; but the common people too ſignalized their zeal for *Vitellius*, in ſurrendering, inſtead of money, of which they were deſtitute, their girdles, the trappings of their horſes, the ſilver ornaments upon their armour, *&c.* not doubting, but they ſhould, in due time, be amply rewarded for their ſeaſonable generoſity; for, while *Vitellius* was giving away his own fortune and laviſhing in bounties that of others, without meaſure or diſcernment, they beſtowed, as *Tacitus* obſerves, upon this extravagance the title of liberality and good-nature [p].

And now *Vitellius*, truſting to his ſtrength and the zeal of the ſoldiery, began *He begins to exerciſe the ſovereign power.*

c to act as ſovereign, and diſpoſed of ſeveral employments, which had hitherto been adminiſtered by the imperial freedmen, but were by him conferred upon *Roman* knights. At the ſame time, to gain the affections of the ſoldiery, he ordered the fees exacted from them by the centurions, for exemptions from duty, to be paid out of his own treaſure as emperor. He could not help humouring, in many inſtances, the revengeful temper of the ſoldiers, demanding the execution of particulars: however, in ſome inſtances, he defeated it, under colour of committing the obnoxious perſons to priſon. *Pompeius Propinquus*, governor of *Belgic Gaul*, who had acquainted *Several perſons put to death at the requeſt of the ſoldiery.*

Galba with the commotions begun in *Germany*, was immediately put to death; but *Julius Burdo*, commander of the naval forces in *Germany*, was, by *Vitellius*'s orders ſecured in priſon, and afterwards diſcharged, when the rage of the ſoldiery began

d to abate. They ſuſpected, that he had firſt inticed *Fonteius Capito*, of whom we have ſpoken above, to revolt, and then betrayed him: hence againſt him chiefly the fury of the army raged; but *Vitellius*, who had a particular value for him, ſaved him by deceiving them; and indeed there was no other means of protecting and ſhewing mercy. *Criſpinus*, the centurion, by whom *Fonteius Capito* had been put to death, was publicly executed, and with him *Nonius*, *Donatus*, *Romilius*, and *Calpurnius*, the four centurions lately mentioned; men condemned for adhering to their faith and duty; a crime ever thought moſt henious by ſuch as have renounced both [q].

Upon the news of the revolt of the armies in *Germany*, *Valerius Aſiaticus*, go-

e vernor of *Belgic Gaul*, declared for *Vitellius*: his example was followed by *Junius Blæſus*, governor of *Gallia Lugdunenſis*, or that part of *Gaul* which took its name from the city of *Lions*, and by an *Italian* legion and a body of horſe quartered at *Lions*. The forces in *Rhætia* and thoſe in *Britain* went likewiſe, without heſitation, over to his ſide. *Vitellius*, now become, by the acceſſion of ſo many armies, mighty both in forces and treaſure, appointed two generals to conduct the war, and to each aſſigned a different rout. To *Fabius Valens*, he gave orders to croſs *Gaul*, *Orders his troops to march to* Italy.

and in his march endeavour to gain over the natives to his party; but if he could not prevail upon them to join, to over-run and pillage their country, and then make an irruption into *Italy*, by that part of the *Alps* which was called *Cottian*, and is now known by the name of mount *Cenis*. *Cæcina* was ordered to advance thither

f by a nearer way, and to paſs over the mountains called *Penini*, now the *Great St. Bernard*. *Valens* had under his command the flower of the army of *Lower Germany*, to the number of forty thouſand fighting men. From *Upper Germany*, *Cæcina* led thirty thouſand. *Vitellius* was to follow, with a numerous body of *German* troops, to ſupport the whole weight of the war. But while the ſoldiers were urgent for action, and eager to begin their march, notwithſtanding the rigor of the winter ſeaſon, the general was paſſing his time in voluptuous ſloth, in revels, and banquets. By the middle of the day, he was always intoxicated with wine, and ſo gorged with feaſting, that he was not capable of giving any directions. But ſuch was the zeal

[p] Tacit. c. 56, 57. Plut. in Galb. Suet. in vit. c. 8. [q] Tacit. c. 57—59.

zeal and ardour of the ſoldiers, that of themſelves they ſupplied all the duties of a
the leader, as effectually as if he had attended in perſon. As ſoon as they were drawn
out and armed, they demanded with eagerneſs, that the ſignal might be given for
The march of Valens *through* Gaul. marching. We are told, that on the very day the army under the command of
Valens began their march, an eagle, meaſuring his motion by that of the troops,
glided gently along, and flew juſt before them, as if he ſhewed them the way,
without being frightened with the joyful ſhouts uttered by the ſoldiery, who thence
concluded, that the enterprize would prove ſucceſsful. They advanced with aſſure-
ance to the territories of *Treves*, as to thoſe of a friendly ſtate. But at *Dividurum*,
now *Metz*, tho' they were there received in a very friendly manner, they were ſeized
with a ſudden panic, ran to their arms, and would have put the inhabitants, all b
to a man, to the ſword, without the leaſt provocation, had not their general, with
much ado, reſtrained their fury, and by intreaties prevailed upon them to forbear
purſuing the utter deſtruction of the unoffending city. There were ſlaughtered,
however, not for the ſake of pillage or ſpoil, but from fury and madneſs, near
four thouſand perſons. The reſt of *Gaul* was ſo alarmed with the news of this
ſlaughter, that thenceforward, as the army approached any city, the inhabitants
crowded out to meet them, accompanied with their magiſtrates in the attire of ſup-
pliants, and readily ſupplied them with all manner of proviſions. in the capital
of the *Leucians*, that is, in the city of *Toul*, *Fabius* received tidings of the murder
of *Galba*, and that the ſovereignty was devolved upon *Otho*. This news did not c
affect the ſoldiers, for they were only intent upon war: as for the *Gauls*, they bore
equal hatred to *Otho* and *Vitellius*; but as they were poſſeſſed with dread of the
latter, they delared for him. From *Toul*, the army advanced to *Langres*, a city
intirely attached to the party of *Vitellius*, and were there kindly received. The
inhabitants of *Autun* ſupplied them out of fear (for they hated *Vitellius*) with mo-
ney, arms, and proviſions. What the city of *Langres* had done out of fear, that of
Lions did through joy; for *Galba* had loaded them with taxes, deprived them of
part of their territories, and converted to his own exchequer the revenues of their
ſtate. As animoſities had been long ſubſiſting between the people of *Lions* and
thoſe of *Vienne*, *Valens*, at the inſtigation of the former, marched againſt the latter, d
under pretence, that they had aided the conſpiracy and attempts of *Vindex*, and
had lately levied troops for the ſupport of *Galba*. But the people of *Vienne*
gained over *Valens* with an immenſe ſum, and a donative to the ſoldiery of three
hundred ſeſterces a man. They were commanded, however, to ſurrender the arms
belonging to the ſtate, and to ſupply the ſoldiers with proviſions. From thence, in
a ſlow progreſs, the army was led through the territories of the *Allobroges* and
Vocontii; the general, upon every march which he made, upon every ſhifting of
his camp, ſtriking infamous bargains with the proprietors of the ſeveral lands, and
the magiſtrates of the ſeveral cities, for the favour and exemptions. This he did with
ſuch open menaces, that he ordered *Lucus*, a municipal town of the *Vocontii*, to be e
ſet on fire, becauſe they ſhewed ſome reluctance to pay the ſum he had required.
Lucus was, in former times, one of the chief cities of the *Vocontii*, or *Dauphiné* but
He arrives at the Alps. has been long ſince utterly deſtroyed. Marching in this manner, *Valens* arrived
at length at the *Alps*. *Tacitus* obſerves, that he had been long ſordidly poor, but
by this march became ſuddenly rich, and abandoned himſelf, as his appetites had
been whetted by a long courſe of penury, to all manner of riot and exceſſes[r].

Cæcina *commits great devaſtations in the country of the* Helvetii. On the other hand, *Cæcina* rioted in greater ſpoil and more blood. The *Helve-
tians*, not appriſed of the tragical end of *Galba*, refuſed to own the ſovereignty of
Vitellius. Hereupon *Cæcina*, who longed paſſionately for a pretence to plunder their
country, inſtantly decamped, and entering their territories in a hoſtile manner, ra- f
vaged their fields, ſacked their cities, and made a dreadful havock of the unhappy
inhabitants: many thouſands were cut off, and great numbers made priſoners, and
ſold for ſlaves; for the *Helvetians*, once renowned for their valour and experience
in war, were at this time only famous for the reputation which they had formerly
acquired: they were fierce and daring, ſays our hiſtorian, while danger was at a di-
ſtance, but ſtruck with terror when it arrived. As the army, after having com-
mitted univerſal ravage and ſpoil, was marching in order of battle to *Aventicum*,
the metropolis of the country, deputies from thence were diſpatched to offer a ſur-
render

[r] Tacit. c. 60——67

render of the city, which was accepted. *Julius Alpinus*, a leading man among the *Helvetians*, was, by *Cæcina*'s orders, put to death; the fate of the reſt was referred to the judgment of *Vitellius*, who, moved with the tears and intreaties of *Claudius Coſſus*, their deputy, a man of great eloquence and addreſs, granted to all pardon and ſecurity [s]. While *Cæcina* was waiting in the country of the *Helvetians*, till he had learnt the pleaſure of *Vitellius*, and preparing at the ſame time to paſs the *Alps*, he received joyful tidings from *Italy*, that the ſquadron of horſe named *Sylana*, and then encamped on the banks of the *Po*, had declared for *Vitellius*. They had ſerved under him in *Africa*, when he was proconſul there; had been recalled from thence by *Nero*, in order to be ſent forward into *Egypt*; and, upon the inſurrection of *Vindex*, detained in *Italy*. As the officers were unacquainted with *Otho*, and engaged by obligations to *Vitellius*, they eaſily prevailed upon their men, by magnifying to them the great ſtrength of the approaching legions and the renown of the *German* armies, to go over to the ſame party, and ſwear fealty to *Vitellius*. With themſelves, as a preſent to their new prince, they brought into his intereſt the ſtrongeſt municipal cities beyond the *Po*, *viz.* *Milan*, *Novara*, *Jurea*, and *Vercelli*. As ſuch an extenſive country could not be guarded by a ſingle band of cavalry, *Cæcina*, who had this information directly from themſelves, diſpatched thither forthwith the ſeveral cohorts of *Gauls*, *Luſitanians*, and *Britons*, with a body of *German* troops, and the ſquadron of horſe called *Taurina*. As for himſelf, he was ſome time in ſuſpenſe, whether it were not adviſeable to bend his march over the mountains of *Rhætia* towards *Noricum*, againſt *Petronius*, governor of that province, who, having on all hands raiſed forces and broken down the bridges over the rivers, was ſuſpected to act for *Otho*. But fearing he might loſe the detachments already ſent forward, and reflecting, that where-ever the deciſive battle was fought, *Noricum* would certainly prove one of the acquiſitions following a general victory, he ordered his ſoldiers lightly armed to take their rout over the *Apennine*, and led himſelf the heavy body of legionaries over the *Alps*, ſtill covered with ſnow [t].

A ſquadron of horſe revolts to Vitellius, *and brings over ſeveral cities to the ſame party.*

He paſſes the Alps.

The arrival of theſe troops in *Italy* filled *Rome* with conſternation. Not only the ſenate and equeſtrian order, who had ſome ſhare in the adminiſtration and ſome concern for the public welfare, but even the populace, loudly complained, that two men, of all the moſt infamous for effeminacy, profuſion, and debauchery, were thus fatally choſen, as it were on purpoſe to rend and deſtroy the empire. They thought their vows for either would be alike deteſtable, their ſupplications alike impious, ſince ſuch men they both were, that whoſoever of the two proved the conqueror, would thence prove the worſt. In the mean time, *Otho*, tho' hitherto entirely abandoned to his pleaſures, was not at this juncture lulled aſleep by them; but, ſuſpending his voluptuous ſallies and artfully diſſembling his paſſion for luxury, conducted all things ſuitably to the dignity of the empire. In order to gain the affections of the people, who ſuſpected his virtues to be aſſumed, and apprehended a return of his vices, he cauſed *Celſus Marius*, conſul elect, to be brought before him in the capitol. He had already reſcued him, as we have related above, from the cruelty of the ſoldiers, under colour of committing him to priſon; and now he aimed at obtaining the character of tenderneſs and clemency, by mercy ſhewn to a man ſo illuſtrious, ſo beloved by the *Roman* people, and ſo odious to all the partizans of *Otho*'s cauſe. *Celſus*, when he appeared, confeſſed, without betraying the leaſt fear, the imputed crime of having perſevered ſteady in his allegiance to *Galba*; he even appealed to *Otho*, whether he ought not to approve ſuch an example of fidelity. *Otho* commended his ſteadineſs, and, in a very obliging manner, deſired him rather to forget his confinement, than remember his releaſe. Neither did he treat him as a criminal pardoned, but forthwith admitted him amongſt his moſt intimate friends, and preſently after choſe him one of his generals for conducting the war. The ſaving of *Celſus* cauſed an univerſal joy amongſt men of rank, was applauded with loud acclamations to the populace, and was not ill received even by the ſoldiers, who now admired in him the ſame virtue, againſt which they had, in the height of their fury, been ſo much incenſed [u]. The public joy for the deliverance of *Celſus* was greatly heightened by the doom of *Tigellinus*. He had been the chief author of all the enormities committed by *Nero*, whom he had afterwards betrayed and abandoned; and was therefore abhorred by thoſe who loved, and thoſe who

Rome *in great conſternation.*

Otho *ſtrives to gain the affections of the people.*

He pardons Celſus Marius.

[s] Idem, c. 68, 69. [t] Idem, c. 70. [u] Idem, c. 71. Dio, l. lxiv. p. 731.

who hated, *Nero.* While *Galba* reigned, he was protected, as we have related above, a by the power and authority of *Titus Vinius:* hence the people were the more inflamed againſt him, their old deteſtation of *Tigellinus* concurring with their recent hatred to *Vinius.* From every quarter of the city they now flocked to the forum and the palace, and filled with their multitudes the circus and the ſeveral theatres, demanding, with bold and ſeditious words, the execution of *Tigellinus*, till at length the fatal injunction to die was diſpatched to him, then at the baths of *Sinueſſa.* There, amidſt a herd of harlots, after many paſſionate embraces and unmanly delays, he at laſt cut his throat with a razor [w].

Tigellinus is ordered to put himſelf to death.

Frequent meſſengers and letters between Otho *and* Vitellius.

While the forces of *Vitellius* were yet on their march to *Italy*, *Otho*, with frequent meſſengers and private letters, ſtrove to divert his competitor from engaging b in a war, which might prove fatal to both. He offered him immenſe ſums, and ſuch a place of retirement as he himſelf ſhould chuſe to live in, agreeable to his profuſe life and taſte; nay, he engaged to take him for his partner in the empire, and to marry his daughter. With the ſame or the like offers *Vitellius* tempted *Otho*; ſo that they ſoon proceeded to reproaches, upbraiding each other with their debaucheries and profligate lives; nor in this did either bring a falſe charge againſt the other. *Otho*, having recalled the embaſſadors ſent by *Galba* to the armies in *Germany*, diſpatched others in their room in the plauſible name of the ſenate; but the embaſſadors continued with *Vitellius.* As for the prætorian guards, who, by the appointment of *Otho*, accompanied them, *Vitellius* obliged them to return back, without ſuffering them to c mix amongſt his legionaries. At the ſame time *Valens* tranſmitted letters to the prætorian bands and city cohorts, in the name of the *German* army, exhorting them to abandon *Otho* and embrace the ſame intereſt. He likewiſe upbraided them for transferring the ſovereignty to *Otho*, when it had been ſo long before conferred upon *Vitellius.* But the *German* army continuing faithful to *Vitellius*, notwithſtanding the great promiſes of *Otho*, and the prætorian bands ſteady in their allegiance to *Otho*, notwithſtanding the offers of *Vitellius*, the two chiefs began to employ ſnares and miniſters of death againſt each other: aſſaſſins were diſpatched by *Otho* into *Germany*, and by *Vitellius* to *Rome*; but the attempts on both ſides were defeated [x].

Moſt of the provinces declare for Otho.

The firſt tidings from abroad that raiſed *Otho*'s hopes were from *Illyricum*, whence d he received advice, that the legions in *Dalmatia*, in *Pannonia*, and *Mæſia*, had declared for him, and ſworn allegiance. The army in *Judæa* was by *Veſpaſian* ſworn to *Otho*, as were the legions in *Syria* by *Mucianus* governor of that province. *Egypt* too and all the provinces extending to the eaſt ſubmitted to him. The like ſubmiſſion was paid him in *Africa*, in *Spain*, and in *Narbonne Gaul*; but the latter province ſoon acceded to the party of *Vitellius*, which was the neareſt and ſtrongeſt. *Aquitain* likewiſe firſt declared for *Otho*; but ſoon after, from the ſame motive, ſwore fealty to *Vitellius*: for there was no true zeal, as *Tacitus* obſerves, in the people for the cauſe and intereſt of either of the pretenders, and only by the impreſſions of fear they were tranſported and changed from one ſide to another. *Otho*, in the mean time, e as if full peace had reigned, applied himſelf to the civil adminiſtration of the empire: in the ſenate he made many obliging and popular harangues; upon ſuch ancient ſenators as had already ſuſtained the firſt employments in the ſtate, he conferred the pontifical or augural dignities; ſeveral young noblemen, lately recalled from exile, he inveſted with ſuch ſacerdotal offices, as had been enjoyed by their fathers or anceſtors. To *Cadius Rufus*, *Pedius Blæſus*, and *Scævinus Promptinus*, ſenators degraded in the reigns of *Claudius* and *Nero*, he reſtored their former dignity. By the like benevo- lence he attempted to gain the affections of whole cities and provinces. He ſupplied the colonies of *Hiſpalis* and *Emerita* with a freſh recruit of families, and made the whole people of the *Lingons* free of *Rome*. To the province of *Bætica* he ſubmitted f all the cities of *Mauritania*; and granted great privileges to the *Cappadocians* and *Africans*. But not forgetting, even while his ſovereignty was at ſtake, to honour the memory of his once favoured *Poppæa*, he procured a decree from the ſenate for replacing her ſeveral ſtatues, which had been thrown down after the death of *Nero*; nay, he ſuffered the ſtatues of that prince to be reared in public places, and did not betray any diſtaſte, but rather ſatisfaction, upon his being ſaluted by the people in the theatre with the name of *Nero Otho*. *Cluvius Rufus*, who wrote the hiſtory of his own times, and ſucceeded *Galba* in the government of *Spain*, tells us, that *Otho*, in his

He ſtudies to gain their affections.

[w] Idem, c. 72. [x] Idem, c. 73. Suet. in Oth. c. 8. Plut. ibid.

a his firſt diſpatches to the governors of the provinces, in his grants and letters, ſubſcribed himſelf *Nero Otho*; but being appriſed, that this gave offence to the nobility, he omitted the former name [y].

WHILE the minds of all men were intent upon the progreſs and iſſue of the civil war, the *Roxolanians* a people of *Sarmatia*, having made an irruption into *Mœſia*, to the number of nine thouſand men, and cut off two cohorts, were unexpectedly attacked by the third legion, put to flight, and obliged to ſeek for ſhelter in the marſhes, where, through the rigor of the winter, they all periſhed to a man. For this victory, *Marcus Aponius*, governor of *Rome*, was diſtinguiſhed with a triumphal ſtatue, as were *Fulvius Aurelius*, *Julianus Titus*, and *Numiſius Lupus*, commanders b of the legions there, with the conſular ornaments. Great was *Otho*'s joy on this occaſion; for to himſelf he aſſumed the glory, as if the ſucceſs in war was owing to his auſpices [z]. *The* Roxolanians *defeated.*

AT *Rome*, in the mean time, aroſe, from an unforeſeen accident, a ſedition, which well nigh involved the city in deſtruction. *Otho* had ordered the ſeventeenth legion to be removed from *Oſtia*, where it was quartered, to *Rome*, and committed the care of ſupplying them with arms to *Varius Criſpinus*, a tribune of the prætorian guards. *Criſpinus* chuſing, for the execution of his orders, the cloſe of the evening, when the camp was compoſed and the ſoldiers retired to their tents, directed the armoury to be thrown open, and the carriages belonging to the cohorts to be loaded. The lateneſs of the hour gave no ſmall jealouſy to the drunken ſoldiery. Some of the moſt c turbulent, and moſt intoxicated with wine, began to cry out, That *Criſpinus* was diſaffected to *Otho*; that the ſenate was arming againſt the perſon and cauſe of their emperor; and that thoſe arms were to be employed, not for him, as *Criſpinus* gave out, but againſt him. This report being in a trice ſpread over the whole camp, a general uproar enſued; they all betook themſelves to their arms, and having cut in pieces *Criſpinus*, while he was endeavouring to repreſs their ſeditious fury, and with him ſuch of the centurions as were remarkable for ſeverity of diſcipline, they inſtantly advanced with their drawn ſwords to *Rome*, after to the imperial palace. *Otho* was then entertaining at a great banquet the chief lords and the women of the greateſt d diſtinction in the city. As they doubted whether the danger proceeded from the caſual rage of the ſoldiery, or the premeditated treachery of the emperor, they were all ſeized with dread and terror, and not knowing whether they ſhould fly or ſtay, they conſtantly watched the countenance of *Otho*; who, being alarmed at the danger threatening his gueſts, among whom were eighty Senators, not only diſpatched forthwith the captains of the guards to ſoften the rage of the ſoldiers, but ordered the company to retire with all ſpeed by private ways; which they did accordingly, rambling in the dark here and there, few to their own home, moſt to the houſes of their meaneſt dependants, where ſearch and purſuit were leaſt apprehended. They were no ſooner gone, than the ſoldiers, breaking down the gates of the palace, forced *Their rage and fury.* e their way into the banqueting room, and there, with one voice, demanded to have a ſight of *Otho*, having in their paſſage wounded *Julius Martialis* and *Vitellius Saturninus*, two officers, who ſtrove to oppoſe their tumultuous entrance. On every hand arms were brandiſhed, and terrible menaces uttered, not only againſt the tribunes and centurions, but againſt the whole body of the ſenate; for as they could aſſign no particular victim to their fury, they claimed a latitude for a general ſlaughter, as if the whole ſenate had conſpired againſt *Otho*; till the emperor, riſing from his banqueting couch, by ſupplications, intreaties, and even tears, to the diſgrace of the imperial dignity, prevailed upon them, with great difficulty, to deſiſt and return to their f camp. The next day, the houſes in the city continued cloſely ſhut up; ſcarce a ſoul was to be ſeen in the ſtreets; and the ſoldiers, with down-caſt looks, ſhewed rather tokens of anger and rage, than remorſe. Their captains therefore, *Licinius Proculus* and *Plotius Primus*, harangued them in companies apart, and endeavoured to appeaſe their fury; but to no purpoſe, till they diſtributed among them a large ſum, five *They are appeaſed with a large donative.* thouſand ſeſterces a man. Then, and not before, *Otho* ventured to enter the camp, where the ſoldiers, returned at length to a ſenſe of their duty, gathered round him, and, with a compoſed behaviour, required of their own motion, that the authors of the inſurrection ſhould be put to death. The emperor, aſcending the tribunal, repreſented to them the enormity of their late conduct, inlarged on the reſpect due to the ſenate,

A ſedition among the prætorian guards.

[y] TACIT. c. 77, 78. SUET c. 7. PLUT. in Oth. [z] TACIT. c. 79.

ſenate, and the neceſſity of maintaining military diſcipline in the camp; but as he was well appriſed, that a ſovereignty, like his, acquired by flagrant iniquity, could never be preſerved by reviving the rigid virtue and diſcipline of the ancient *Romans*, he concluded, that of the late tranſgreſſion but few were guilty, and that of theſe few two only ſhould bear the puniſhment. His ſpeech was favourably received, and two of the ringleaders in the late tumult were immediately executed, no one ſhewing the leaſt concern for them, though capital puniſhment was inflicted upon them in the ſight of their comrades and the whole army. Thus was the ſedition at length intirely quelled; but nevertheleſs the city ſtill continued in the utmoſt conſternation, from the apprehenſion of a civil war, and the dread of being involved in the ſame calamities, which had proved fatal to it in the time of *Antony* and *Auguſtus*. They were, on one hand, under neceſſity of obliging *Otho*, and, on the other, afraid to diſoblige *Vitellius*, who was ſupported by a ſtrong party, and might in the end get the better of his rival. The ſoldiers, diſperſed all over the city, crept into houſes in diſguiſed habits, as ſpies, watching for matter of miſchief and deſtruction againſt ſuch as were ſignal for their nobility or wealth. Some too believed, that certain ſoldiers from the army of *Vitellius* were arrived at *Rome*, to ſound the affections of the *Roman* people. Hence all places were filled with ſuſpicion and diſtruſt; nay, men were not exempt from caution and fear in the moſt ſecret receſſes of their own houſes. But, under the eye of the public, this ſort of dread chiefly prevailed: there people ſtudied with great care to frame their faces agreeable to the quality of the news that was ſaid to be brought, that they might not ſeem to betray any diffidence, when affairs bore an ambiguous aſpect, or be ſlow in rejoicing, when they appeared proſperous. The ſenators chiefly, when aſſembled, were at a loſs how to preſerve in all points a ſafe and unexceptionable conduct. They dreaded the conſequences that might attend their iſſuing decrees againſt *Vitellius*; and, on the other hand, were afraid, that, by forbearing to iſſue them, they might rouſe the jealouſy of *Otho*. In this perplexity, without publiſhing any decrees, they contented themſelves with uttering invectives againſt *Vitellius*, but ſuch as, being common and vulgar, were not remarkable; nay, even theſe the moſt wary took care to utter under the din of a general clamour, and when many were ſpeaking at once [a].

The conſternation of the city.

The general alarm heightened by ſeveral prodigies.

The general terror was greatly heightened by ſeveral prodigies ſaid to have happened at this time. From the hands of the ſtatue of *Victory triumphant*, ſtanding upon her chariot in the porch of the capitol, the reins dropped, as if ſhe were grown too weak to hold them any longer. Out of *Juno*'s chapel ſuddenly aroſe an apparition of a ſize more than human. The ſtatue of *Julius Cæſar*, in an iſland in the *Tiber*, turned quite round from weſt to eaſt, upon a day utterly free from tempeſts. In *Hetruria* an ox ſpoke. Divers animals were ſaid to have produced unnatural births. But the moſt affecting omen of all was, a haſty and dreadful inundation of the *Tiber*, whoſe waters, ſwelling to an immenſe height, overthrew the *Sublician* bridge, and, having their courſe obſtructed by the heap of ruins, not only overflowed the adjacent quarters, but covered places, which were reckoned ſecure againſt any ſuch diſaſter. Many were ſwept away in the ſtreets, and many drowned in their ſhops and beds. Amongſt the populace a famine enſued, the corn and other proviſions being in great part carried away by the river. As ſoon as the waters returned, *Otho* performed the ſolemnity of luſtration, and purified the city with ſacrifices. Then weighing carefully with his friends all the methods of conducting the war, he reſolved to ſend a powerful force by ſea to invade *Narbonne Gaul*, ſince the *Apennine* mountains, with thoſe of the *Cottian Alps*, and all the other approaches to *Gaul*, were beſet and ſhut up by the armies of *Vitellius*. With this view he reinforced the navy and the marines, with a detachment from the prætorian bands The direction in chief of the expedition was committed to *Antonius Novellus*, to *Suedius Clemens*, both lately centurions of the firſt rank, and to *Æmilius Pacenſis* a tribune, diſmiſſed by *Galba*, and now by *Otho* re-eſtabliſhed. *Oſcus*, one of the emperor's freed-men, was charged with the care of the ſhips, and employed to inſpect the fidelity and behaviour of the other officers. As for *Otho* himſelf, he reſolved to march againſt *Cæcina* and *Valens*, at the head of the prætorian guards and the other troops, which were then quartered in the neighbourhood of *Rome*. Under him commanded, as his lieutenants, *Suetonius Paulinus*, *Marius Celſus*, and *Annius Gallus*, all men of known valour and experience, and

Otho proposes to take the field.

[a] Idem, c. 80—85.

a and capable of performing great feats, had not *Otho* placed his chief confidence in *Licinius Proculus*, captain of the prætorian guards, and ſuffered himſelf to be governed by him, though quite unexperienced in war [b].

Otho, before he left *Rome*, ordered *Cornelius Dolabella* to retire to *Aquinum* in *Campania*, where he was kept under confinement for no crime of his, but only as obnoxious on account of the ancient luſtre of his name and kindred to *Galba*. Then the emperor ordered many of the magiſtrates, and a great part of ſuch as had been conſuls, to prepare for the field, with no deſign of allowing them any ſhare or charge in the war, but only under colour of accompanying him. Amongſt theſe was included *Lucius*, the brother of *Vitellius*, whom *Otho* did not diſtinguiſh with any

b new marks either of his favour or diſpleaſure. *Vitellius* had likewiſe left at *Rome* his mother, his wife, and his children; and to theſe *Otho*, either through fear or from an affected moderation, ſhewed a tender regard, commending them to the protection of his friends. Great was on this occaſion the conſternation of the city; the chief ſenators were diſabled by age from bearing the toils of war; the nobles were ſunk in ſloth, and through a long peace had quite forgot the military laws; the *Roman* knights were unacquainted with the functions and duties of a camp. The more theſe degrees of men ſtrove to conceal their fear, the more apparently they diſcovered it. Some, to diſguiſe their want of courage, purchaſed gay and glaring armour, with fine and ſtately horſes; others provided materials for riot and feaſting,

c as ſo many implements of war. The giddy and thoughtleſs multitude were puffed up with great hopes. Thoſe who found their fortunes and credit deſperate during peace, rejoiced in the public commotions, promiſing to themſelves in particular moſt ſecurity in the general diſtraction; but they all ſoon felt the heavy evils and preſſures of war, the price of proviſions being doubled, and the populace at once deprived of the uſual bounties of the prince, who with much-ado could find corn and money to ſupply his numerous armies [c].

Otho orders the chief ſenators and nobility to follow him to the war.

When all *Otho*'s forces were ready to take the field, he aſſembled on the fourteenth of *March* the ſenate, and to their care recommended the commonwealth. In the next place he ordered the people to meet, and in a long ſpeech to them boaſted,

d that his intereſt and title were ſupported by the majeſty of the city and the joint conſent of the people and ſenate. Againſt the partizans of *Vitellius* he ſpoke with great gentleneſs and reſtraint, taxing the *German* legions rather with ignorance, than with inſolence and rebellion. Of *Vitellius* himſelf he made no mention; but whether from any moderation of his own, or becauſe the perſon who compoſed his ſpeech, refrained from opprobrious and offenſive words, in due caution for himſelf, is uncertain; for as *Otho*, in all military deliberations, conſulted *Suetonius Paulinus* and *Marius Celſus*, ſo in his civil adminiſtration he was believed to employ the talents of *Galerius Trachalus*. Be that as it will, the emperor's ſpeech was received by the populace with loud ſhouts and many acclamations, each ſtriving to ſurpaſs the other

e in ſtrains of flattery, not from any affection to *Otho*, but from a cuſtom tranſmitted from reign to reign of flattering any emperor, whoſoever he were, with empty applauſes and a hollow diſplay of zeal. *Otho*, upon leaving *Rome*, committed to his brother *Salvius Titianus* the charge of maintaining its tranquillity, and of managing the other affairs of the empire. When he had thus ſettled matters in the city, in the beſt manner he could, he at laſt ſet out, at the head of the prætorian cohorts, of a choſen body of ſuch of the prætorian bands, as ſerved under the ſtandard of veterans, and a vaſt number of marines. He marched himſelf before the enſigns on foot, wearing a breaſt-plate of iron, undreſſed, rough, and utterly unlike his picture drawn by common fame [d].

He takes his leave of the ſenate.

And leaves Rome.

f Fortune ſeconded his firſt attempts; for his fleet, having made a deſcent in the province of the maritime *Alps*, defeated the *Ligurians*, whom *Marius Maturus*, who governed that province in quality of procurator, had armed againſt them, plundered *Albium Intemelium*, now *Vintimiglia*, and laid waſte the whole country. On this occaſion a woman having concealed her ſon, the ſoldiers ſuſpecting, that with him ſhe had in the ſame place concealed her money, put her upon the rack; but could not, with all the torments which rage and cruelty ever deviſed, prevail upon her to diſcover the place where her ſon lay concealed. *Tacitus* tells us, that pointing to her belly, ſhe replied he lay there, and could not, with all the tortures ſucceſſively tried, nor

The ſucceſs of his fleet in Narbonne Gaul.

[b] Idem, c. 87. [c] Idem, c. 88, 90. [d] Tacit. hiſt. l. ii. c. 11.

nor even with the agonies of death, be brought to return them any other anſwer. In a
the mean time, news being ſent in great hurry and alarm to *Fabius Valens*, that *Otho*'s
fleet was upon the coaſt of *Narbonne Gaul*, he ſent thither two cohorts of *Tungrians*,
four troops of horſe, and the whole ſquadron of *Treverians*, under the command of
Julius Claſſicus. To theſe was joined a cohort of *Ligurians* and five hundred *Pan-*
nonians. They no ſooner arrived, than they were attacked by *Otho*'s men, who had
already landed. The engagement laſted till night, and was renewed the next day,
when *Vitellius*'s forces were at length put to flight with great ſlaughter. However,
as the victory to *Otho*'s men proved very bloody, they retired to *Albingaunum*,
a municipal city in *Liguria*, and there continued without making any further attempts
upon *Narbonne Gaul*. At the ſame time, *Decimus Pacarius*, governor of *Corſica*, b
having declared for *Vitellius*, was ſlain by the inhabitants, who brought his head to
Otho [c].

The country between the Po and the Alps ſubmits to Vitellius.

In *Italy*, the whole country, which extends from the *Po* to the *Alps*, was held by
the troops of *Vitellius*; for the ſquadron of horſe, named *Syllana*, had brought over
with them ſeveral cities to his party, as we have related above; and the cohorts,
which *Cæcina* had ſent thither before him, were already arrived. To them therefore
ſeveral cities ſubmitted, not from any affection to *Vitellius*, or that they preferred
his cauſe to the cauſe of *Otho*; but by long peace and eaſe they were quite debaſed,
ready for any bondage, and the eaſy acquiſition of the firſt comer. At *Cremona*
Vitellius's men ſurpriſed and took priſoners a cohort of *Pannonians*; and between c
Placentia and *Ticinum* intercepted a hundred horſe and a thouſand marines. Ani-
mated with this ſucceſs, they paſſed the *Po* over-againſt *Placentia*, and ſurpriſing cer-
tain ſcouts, filled the reſt with ſuch dread, that to *Placentia* they carried tidings, that
Cæcina approached with his whole army. *Veſtrius Spurinna*, who commanded in that
city for *Otho*, and had with him five cohorts of the prætorian guards, a thouſand
veterans, and a few horſe, though he was certain that *Cæcina* was not yet come, deter-
mined to confine his own men within the fortifications; but they, headſtrong, un-
manageable, and unacquainted with matters of war, ſnatching up the enſigns and
ſtandards, ſallied out tumultuouſly, turning againſt their own commander, while he
ſtrove to reſtrain them, the points of their weapons, and giving out with fierce cla- d
mours, that a plot was intended, and *Cæcina* treacherouſly called in; ſo that *Spu-*
rinna was obliged to approve their reſolution, ſince it was not in his power to pre-
vent it. With them therefore he marched out of *Placentia*, and arriving, when
night already approached, within ſight of the *Po*, repreſented to them the neceſſity
of pitching and fortifying their camp againſt any ſudden attack. This toil, which
was utterly new to men inured to the gaieties of the city, cooled their courage at once;
all over the camp dutiful and ſubmiſſive language was heard; they applauded with
one voice the prudent care of their commander, who, for the ſeat of the war, had
choſen a colony ſo ſtrong and opulent; and, ſubmitting to orders, ſuffered them-
ſelves to be led back the ſame night to *Placentia*, where the walls were forthwith e
ſtrengthened, new bulwarks added, towers raiſed, *&c.* [e] In the mean time, *Cæcina*,
having paſſed the *Alps*, entered *Italy*, and, after attempting in vain, by many ſecret
conferences and mighty promiſes, to corrupt and debauch *Otho*'s forces, reſolved

Cæcina beſieges Placentia.

to lay ſiege to *Placentia*; and accordingly incamped before the place. The firſt day
paſſed in mutual reproaches, *Cæcina*'s men marching up to the walls, and upbraid-
ing *Spurinna*'s upon the ramparts, as players, dancers, idle ſpectators of *Pythian* and
Olympic games, men corrupted by the licentious amuſements of the theatre and
circus, who triumphed in the murdering of *Galba*, a naked and diſarmed old man,
but were not very forward to face an armed enemy in the field. Theſe reproaches ſo
inflamed them, that the next day, when *Cæcina* ordered a general aſſault, they be- f

Is forced to raiſe the ſiege.

haved with incredible bravery, made a dreadful ſlaughter of his men, and obliged
them to retreat in the utmoſt confuſion. In this conflict, the amphitheatre of *Pla-*
centia, which ſtood without the walls, and was the moſt ſtately and capacious build-
ing in *Italy*, was burnt down. This defeat brought great diſgrace upon *Vitellius*'s
party; and *Cæcina*, aſhamed of his diſappointment, immediately repaſſed the *Po*,
and bent his march towards *Cremona*, which had ſubmitted to *Vitellius*. Upon his
march, *Turullius Cerealis* revolted to him with a great number of marines, and *Julius*
Briganticus with a few horſe; the latter a *Batavian* by nation, and commander of a
ſquadron

[c] Idem, c. 15---18. [e] Idem, c. 19.

a ſquadron of horſe: the other a centurion of the firſt rank, who having ſerved in that character amongſt the forces in *Germany*, was thence well affected to *Cæcina* [z]. About the ſame time, *Matius Marcer*, who commanded under *Otho* a body of two thouſand gladiators, having imbarqued them upon the *Po*, landed unexpectedly on the oppoſite ſhore, where he ſurpriſed and defeated the auxiliary troops which belonged to the forces of *Vitellius*, cut many of them to pieces, and obliged the reſt to fly for refuge to *Cremona*. *Macer* reſtrained his men from purſuing them, leſt the fugitives, ſtrengthened by freſh ſuccours from the city, might have changed the fortune of the combat. From this reſtraint great diſtruſt aroſe amongſt the ſuſpicious ſoldiers of *Otho*, the moſt cowardly urging criminal imputations againſt their leaders, and put-

Vitellius's *auxiliaries defeated.*

b ting a malevolent conſtruction upon all their proceedings. *Cæcina*, greatly concerned to ſee all his enterprizes abortive, and fearing leſt *Fabius Valens*, who was now approaching, ſhould rob him of the whole glory of the war, hurried with more impatience than circumſpection to retrieve his honour. At a place about twelve miles from *Cremona*, named *Caſtores*, he ſecretly conveyed the flower of his auxiliaries into the woods, which lay juſt above the great road; the horſe he commanded to march farther on, and, after having engaged the enemy, to betake themſelves to a voluntary flight, and continue it, till the auxiliaries lying in the woods had an opportunity of riſing at once out of their ambuſh and falling upon the enemy. But this ſtratagem being betrayed by ſome deſerters to *Otho*'s generals, *Paulinus* and *Celſus*, they

c craftily drew *Cæcina*'s forces into the ſame ſnare; for *Paulinus* taking the command of the foot, and *Celſus* that of the horſe, they placed three cohorts in cloſe ranks in the high-road, and on either ſide of it concealed among the woods the firſt legion, the thirteenth, ſix cohorts of auxiliaries, and a thouſand horſe. The three cohorts in the high-road were immediately attacked by *Cæcina*'s horſe, who, after having ſtood their ground a while, turned their backs and fled. But *Celſus*, who was aware of the artifice, with-held his men from purſuing them; and, in the mean time, the forces, which *Cæcina* had concealed in the woods, roſe out of their ambuſh. Then *Celſus*, pretending fear, retired inſenſibly before them, till they found themſelvas ſurrounded on all ſides; for on both their flanks they were attacked by the cohorts and the legions,

d and the horſe, ſuddenly wheeling about, fell upon them in the rear. *Tacitus* tells us, that *Cæcina*'s whole army had been cut off, if the legions under the command of *Paulinus* had come up with more expedition; but that general moved too ſlowly, and with more caution than was neceſſary, or indeed conſiſtent with the rules of war. Our hiſtorian charges him with two material overſights on this occaſion: the firſt was, that, inſtead of ſounding the charge and ſupporting his cavalry, by falling briſkly upon *Cæcina*, he ſpent his time in filling the ditches and clearing the grounds, that he might extend his front, thinking it too early to begin to conquer, till he had provided againſt being conquered. By this delay leiſure was given to the enemy to ſhelter themſelves amongſt the vineyards; whence they renewed the charge, and

Cœcina's *forces defeated.*

e killed the moſt reſolute and forward of the prætorian horſe. The ſecond was his not taking advantage of the diſorder the enemy were in, both in the field of battle and in the camp, but cauſing a retreat to be ſounded very unſeaſonably. But *Paulinus* was, as our hiſtorian informs us, a man by nature wary and ſlow, better pleaſed with deliberate counſels ſupported by reaſon, than with victory reſulting from chance. The ſoldiery complained loudly of his conduct, and prevailed upon *Otho* to remove him together with *Celſus*, and to place in their room his brother *Titianus* and *Proculus* captain of the prætorian guards. *Titianus* therefore was ſent for, and to him was committed the rule and direction of the war, though *Proculus* bore in all deliberations the greater ſway. The two degraded generals were kept in the camp, rather

Paulinus *and* Celſus *removed.*

f as counſellors than commanders; for *Otho* entertained a mighty opinion of their experience and abilities in war [h].

In the mean time, *Fabius Valens* arrived with the troops under his command at *Ticinum*, where, while he was fortifying his camp, news was brought of the late unſucceſsful battle. Hereupon his troops accuſing him of treachery, as if he had, by feigned delays, detained them from aſſiſting at the engagement, turned away, without waiting for their general's orders, to join *Cæcina*. Upon the conjunction of the forces of *Valens* with thoſe of *Cæcina*, the officers of *Vitellius* were for coming to a deciſive battle. *Otho*, on the other hand, advancing to a village between *Cremona* and

[z] Idem, c. 20—23. Plut. in Oth. [h] Tacit. c. 20—24. Plut. ibid.

and *Verona*, called *Bedriacum*, had recourſe to a conſultation, whether it were adviſeable to protract the war, or riſk the fortune of a battle. Upon this occaſion *Suetonius Paulinus*, the moſt experienced commander of his age, declared, that it was his opinion, that haſte and preſent action were advantagious to the enemy; but to *Otho* procraſtination and delay, ſince the intire army of *Vitellius* was arrived, and in want of many neceſſaries, which obliged them to offer battle, as the ſpeedieſt way of ſupplying their preſent want. On the contrary, *Otho*'s army was abundantly provided: *Italy*, the ſenate, and people of *Rome* were intirely at his devotion, and ready to ſupply him, not only with proviſions, but with treaſure, more prevalent than the ſword in all civil diſſenſions. Moreover, ſeveral provinces had revolted from *Vitellius*; whereas all the countries, which had at firſt declared for *Otho*, continued inviolably attached to him. In his front lay the river *Po*; his cities were ſecure in the ſtrength of men and walls; and that none of them would yield to the attacks of the enemy, was evident from the brave defence of *Placentia*. He added, that were the war protracted till the ſummer, the *Germans*, of all the enemy's forces the moſt formidable, would never endure ſo great a change of country and climate, but inſenſibly moulder away, and utterly vaniſh with all their terrors. He concluded, that as the legions of *Pannonia*, *Dalmatia*, and *Mæſia* were upon their march and would arrive in a few days, the emperor might then reſume the preſent deliberation; and if it were judged adviſeable to engage, he might bring into the field a far greater ſtrength. With the counſel of *Paulinus Marius Celſus* concurred; and *Annius Gallus*, who was abſent, being ill of the hurt which he had received a few days before from his horſe falling with him, declared to thoſe who were ſent to learn his advice, that he entertained the ſame ſentiments, and would have the emperor by all means to wait, at leaſt till the legions from *Pannonia*, *Dalmatia*, and *Mæſia* had joined him. But *Otho*, *Titianus* his brother, and *Proculus* were bent upon engaging. The two latter, hurried by raſhneſs and want of experience, were always averring, that fortune, and the gods, and the deity of *Otho* attended upon his counſels, and would undoubtedly proſper his enterprizes: to ſuch groſs flattery had they betaken themſelves, that no one might dare to thwart their opinion, which in the end prevailed. Many reaſons are alledged by the ancients for this ſtrange determination: ſome writers tell us, that the prætorian guards, diſliking the ſtrict diſcipline they were then under, and longing for the diverſions and gaieties of the city, grew refractory, and demanded to be led againſt the enemy, not doubting, but they ſhould carry all before them. Others write, that, from an averſion to both princes, the armies had deliberated about dropping their enmity, and agreeing among themſelves to ſet up a proper emperor, or to refer the choice to the ſenate; and that hence *Otho*'s generals had declared for delays and procraſtination; *Paulinus* particularly, who conſidered himſelf as the moſt ancient conſular, as one famous in war, and one who, by his exploits in *Britain*, had gained a great name. There were, no doubt, in both armies a few, in whoſe breaſts cordial wiſhes were entertained for public tranquillity, inſtead of civil diſſenſion, and for a prince worthy and innocent, in the room of two, of all men the worſt, and infamous for every kind of iniquity. But *Paulinus*, as *Tacitus* judiciouſly obſerves, was too wiſe a man to imagine, that in an age abandoned to corruption, the common herd, who, from a paſſion for war, had promoted civil diſcords and violated the public peace, would, for the ſake of peace, extinguiſh a fire of their own kindling and relinquiſh the war; or that two armies, ſo different in manners and language, could ever be brought to agree upon a point of ſuch importance. Beſides, the generals and leaders in both armies, being deeply involved in debt, preſſed with indigence, and for the moſt part guilty of enormous crimes, would have taken care to make choice of ſuch an emperor, as was moſt like themſelves, and ſhould be obliged to them for his election [i].

Paulinus *is againſt engageing the enemy.*

Otho *reſolves to venture a battle.*

When an engagement was reſolved upon, it was debated next in the council, whether the emperor ſhould be preſent in the action, or remove elſewhere. *Titianus* and *Proculus* adviſed him to retire to *Brixellum*, now *Berſello*, where, ſecure from the uncertain accidents of battles, he ſhould reſerve himſelf, they ſaid, for the direction of the whole and the great ends of ſovereignty. *Paulinus* and *Celſus*, that they might not ſeem to adviſe expoſing the perſon of the prince to perils, dared not oppoſe his departure. This advice, which *Otho* readily embraced, was attended with two

Otho *retires to* Brixellum.

[i] Tacit, c. 38.

a two bad consequences; for he considerably weakened the army, by taking with him a numerous detachment of the best troops to guard him; and besides, the forces remaining lost all courage, since they suspected the fidelity of their leaders. In the mean time, the band of gladiators, who served under *Otho*, being attacked and defeated by a detachment of *Germans*, *Macer*, who commanded the former, was by the whole army required to slaughter; nay, they had already wounded him with a lance, and were falling upon him with their drawn swords, when, by the sudden interposition of the tribunes and centurions, he was rescued. However, *Otho*, being obliged to remove him, sent *Flavius Sabinus*, brother to *Vespasian*, to take the charge of the forces that had been under his command, to the great joy of
b the soldiers, pleased with the change of leaders, while the leaders abhorred the charge of a soldiery so licentious and unruly. After the departure of *Otho* to *Brixellum*, the name and honour of the generalship remained with his brother *Titianus*, but the whole authority with *Proculus*. As for *Celsus* and *Paulinus*, they were on no occasion consulted, but only bore the empty title of commanders, and thence served as cloaks for the faults and mistakes of others. The tribunes and centurions were under the greatest concern, to see men of superior worth and capacity thus neglected, while the very worst men bore sway. But the common soldiers, who suspected their fidelity, were chearful and elated, though rather disposed to canvass and interpret, than to obey and execute, the orders of their commanders. The two
c armies were encamped on the banks of the *Po*, whence *Otho*'s forces moved their quarters, and retired within four miles of *Bedriacum*, which is by *Tacitus*, as we have hinted above, placed between *Cremona* and *Verona*, but by *Sanson* between *Cremona* and *Mantua*, upon the river *Oglio*, where the present city of *Caneto* stands. Their march was so unskilfully conducted, that in it they were extremely distressed for want of water, though it was then the spring of the year, about the thirteenth of *April*, and there were rivers on all hands. *Proculus* was for continuing the march the next day, with a design to attack the enemy encamped about sixteen miles off, at the confluence of the *Adda* and the *Po*. This resolution was utterly disapproved by *Celsus* and *Paulinus*, who declared against exposing the army, fatigued with marching and
d loaded with baggage, to the enemy, who, being themselves light and unincumbered, and having moved scarce four miles, would never lose the advantage of attacking them, either as they marched with their ranks broken, or afterwards while they were fortifying their camp. This point was still under debate, when a *Numidian*, dispatched by *Otho* upon a swift horse, arrived with letters to the generals, wherein the emperor, having first reproached them in a very bitter strain, with want of spirit and resolution, commanded them peremptorily to engage without loss of time. Such orders as these, sent by princes who are at a distance, prove commonly most fatal. Of this we have innumerable instances; and the reason is very obvious: it is impossible for a man, who is not upon the spot, to make a right choice of the
e ground, the opportunity, and favourable moment for engaging. This is as much as can be expected from the most able commanders, who are upon the spot. Upon the receipt of the emperor's letters, *Celsus* and *Paulinus* dropped all opposition, and the army immediately decamped [k].

THE same day, two tribunes of the prætorian guards came to *Cæcina*, as he was intent upon building a bridge cross the *Po*, and desired a conference. He was already setting himself to receive their overtures, when the scouts, in great haste, apprised him, that the enemy was at hand. The discourse with the tribunes being thus interrupted, it remained uncertain, whether they intended to betray their own party, to contrive a plot against the enemy, or had some design truly worthy and
f honest. *Cæcina*, having dismissed the tribunes, immediately quitted his post upon the river, and hastened to the camp, where he found the signal of battle already given by *Valens*, and the soldiers under arms. While *Valens* was drawing up his legions, his cavalry sallied forth by themselves, but were by a party of *Otho*'s forces, much inferior in number, repulsed, and forced to fly for shelter to their ramparts; whence the *Italic* legion, with their drawn swords, drove them back to the encounter. The legions of *Vitellius* were ranged in order of battle, without the least consternation or alarm; for though the enemy approached, they were prevented from seeing them by a thick coppice. In the army of *Otho* an universal confusion prevailed; the generals

The whole power devolved upon Proculus.

Otho *orders them to engage without delay.*

The battle of Bedriacum.

[k] Idem, c. 39, 40.

generals diſtruſted the ſoldiery, and the ſoldiery were incenſed againſt their generals. The carriages and retainers to the camp were mixt and crowded amongſt the ranks; from a deep ditch on each hand, the way was too ſtreight even for an army marching, where no danger from an enemy was to be apprehended. No order was obſerved, ſome thruſting themſelves into the front, ſome retiring to the rear, as each found himſelf prompted by bravery or by fear. Beſides, a groundleſs report was ſpread among the foremoſt ranks of *Otho*'s army, that the forces of *Vitellius* had revolted from him and would join them. Upon this report, they accoſted the enemy with the ſalutation of friends; but the others returned the compliment with a hoſtile and threatening murmur, which not only diſheartened them, but gave occaſion to the reſt, who were unappriſed of the cauſe of ſuch greeting, to apprehend that they were betrayed. At the ſame time, the enemy attacked them with great vigor; and *Otho*'s men, though fewer in number and fatigued, ſuſtained the charge with great reſolution and intrepidity. As the place was embaraſſed with trees, hedges, and vineyards, they fought with ſmall regularity, bearing down one upon another, body to body, buckler to buckler, with ſwords and axes, after a dreadful manner, each man exerting his might, as if the event of the whole war depended upon his valor. In the open plain, between the *Po* and the highway, two legions chanced to encounter; the one-and-twentieth belonging to *Vitellius*, and named *Rapax*; and the firſt on *Otho*'s ſide, intitled *Adjutrix*. The former was famous for feats of valor; the latter till then had never been led into the field, but was fierce, reſolute, and eager of acquiring renown. They engaged with incredible fury, rejecting the uſe of darts, and cloſing reſolutely with ſwords and axes. After a long and bloody conteſt, the ſoldiers of the firſt having routed the foremoſt ranks of the one-and-twentieth, carried off their eagle; a diſgrace which ſo enraged this legion, that they returned to the charge, ſlew *Orphidius Benignus*, commander of the firſt, and took ſeveral ſtandards. In another quarter, the thirteenth legion, which fought for *Otho*, was defeated by the fifth. *Alphenus Varius*, at the head of his *Batavians*, having utterly routed the body of *Otho*'s gladiators, attacked his army in flank; which

Otho's army routed.

ſtruck the prætorian bands with ſuch dread, that they betook themſelves to a precipitous flight, putting in diſorder ſuch of their own men, as ſtill kept their ranks and faced the enemy. Thus the whole army, no longer able to ſtand their ground, retired in the utmoſt confuſion, bending their courſe towards *Bedriacum*. As the ways were obſtructed by the bodies of the ſlain, (for above forty thouſand fell on both ſides) the enemy made a dreadful ſlaughter of the fugitives, it being of no advantage to take priſoners, who in civil wars were not converted into ſale and gain. *Suetonius* and *Proculus* took different routs, both ſhunning that to the camp, out of an apprehenſion of the ſoldiery, who had already charged their commanders with the loſs of the battle. *Vedius Aquila*, commander of the thirteenth legion, having with more courage than diſcretion entered the camp, while it was yet broad day, was charged by the troops that had remained there and by thoſe who were returned from the battle, as a traitor to his cauſe, and abuſed in a moſt outrageous manner; not that he had really committed any crime; but ſuch is the cuſtom of the crowd, for every man to caſt upon others his own guilt and diſgrace. *Titianus* and *Celſus* durſt not venture into the camp till night, when the guards were already poſted, and the tumult of the ſoldiery repreſſed. The victorious army of *Vitellius* purſued the fugitives within five miles of *Bedriacum*, where they halted, not thinking it ſafe to attempt forcing the enemy's camp the ſame day; and beſides, they entertained hopes of a voluntary ſurrender. *Otho*'s forces ſeemed diſpoſed to make a vigorous defence, boaſting, that they had been overcome by acts of treachery, and by no ſuperior bravery of the enemy. But the officers and *Titianus* himſelf, in a council which they held the day following, agreed to ſend deputies to *Cæcina* and *Valens* to treat of a ſurrender. Their propoſals were accepted, and, upon the return of the deputies, the gates of the camp were thrown open. Then both armies meeting, the conquerors, as well as the conquered, burſt into tears, and, at once pleaſed and grieved, uttered their deteſtations of the ſad lot of civil wars. Aſſembling now without diſtinction in the ſame tents, they dreſſed with great tenderneſs one another's wounds; ſome thoſe of their brothers, ſome thoſe of their friends. There were ſcarce any ſo exempt from affliction, as not to have ſome dead friend to bewail. The bodies of *Orphidius* and other officers of diſtinction were ſought for and buried

Thoſe who fled to the camp ſurrender.

with

a with the uſual ſolemnity. In the end, they all ſubmitted to *Vitellius*, and to him took the oath of allegiance [l].

Otho, in the mean time, waited at *Brixellum* for an account of the battle. The firſt rumours were melancholy, but uncertain, till the fugitives brought a certain account of the utter defeat. The firſt who arrived with the diſmal tidings was a common ſoldier, who being taxed with falſhood and cowardice by ſome perſons about the emperor, to convince them of the truth of his account, and to ſhew that he had not fled for want of courage, fell upon his ſword at *Otho*'s feet; who, admiring his reſolution and fidelity, cried out, *No more ſuch worthy and gallant men ſhall on my ſcore be brought into danger.* This *Suetonius* the hiſtorian tells us
b he learnt of his father *Suetonius Lenis*, who, in the battle of *Bedriacum*, commanded in quality of tribune the thirteenth legion, which fought for *Otho* [m]. The battle was no-ways deciſive; for *Otho* had ſtill with him many brave troops inviolably attached to his cauſe and intereſt; his forces beyond the *Po* ſtill remained intire; there were numerous gariſons in *Bedriacum* and *Placentia*; and the legions from *Mæſia*, *Dalmatia*, and *Pannonia* were advancing; nay, the *Aſiatic*, *Syrian*, and *Egyptian* legions were already near the *Adriatic*. But nevertheleſs, he was no ſooner informed of the defeat of his army, than he manifeſtly betrayed a fixed purpoſe of ſacrificing his life to the public tranquillity. The ſoldiers appriſed of his deſign, did all that lay in their power to ſupport him under his concern. They preſſed him
c to take courage, ſince there ſtill remained freſh forces, declaring, without flattery or deceit, that they were ready for his ſake to expoſe themſelves to the greateſt dangers and ſuffer all extremities. Thoſe who ſtood at a diſtance ſignified their zeal and ardour by ſtretching out their hands; ſuch as were neareſt fell at his knees, kiſſed his hand, and with many tears intreated him to ſtand by them, and to accept of that duty and fidelity which could never expire, but with their laſt breath. But above all, the intrepidity and fidelity of an obſcure and private ſoldier diſplayed itſelf on this occaſion; for finding the emperor ſtood altogether unſhaken and fixt in his purpoſe, he drew his ſword; and addreſſing himſelf to *Otho*; *From this*, Cæſar, ſaid he, *judge of our fidelity*; *for there is not a man amongſt us, but would ſtrike thus*
d *to ſerve you!* Having thus ſpoken, he turned his ſword againſt himſelf, and fell at the emperor's feet. *Plautius Firmus*, captain of his guards, by repeated inſtances, beſought him not to abandon an army ſo faithful and zealous; ſoldiers ſo ſingularly affectionate and loyal. In bearing calamities, ſaid he, more greatneſs of ſpirit is ſhewn, than in flying from them. To ſupport themſelves with hope, even in ſpite of fortune, was ever the part of the magnanimous and brave, as it was that of the timorous and ſpiritleſs, to be drawn headlong by cowardice into utter deſpair. As during theſe expreſſions *Otho* happened to look chearful or penſive, there followed ſhouts of joy or diſmal groans. Nor was this zeal confined to the prætorian guards, who were inviolably attached to the perſon of *Otho*; but thoſe who had been ſent
e before the reſt out of *Mœſia*, and were now arrived, declared, that in the approaching army the the ſame ſteadineſs prevailed, and that the legions had already reached *Aquileia*. Hence it is evident, that the war might have been renewed, and that its iſſue, notwithſtanding the late overthrow, was altogether uncertain. But neither by perſuaſions and intreaties, nor by all the apparent probability of ſucceſs, could *Otho* be prevailed upon to continue the war, or be diverted from the reſolution he had taken; a reſolution which no one expected from a perſon of his ſoft and effeminate temper. Having commanded ſilence, he ſpoke to them after this manner:

Otho *betrays a deſign to lay violent hands on himſelf. The zeal of his ſoldiers on this occaſion.*

His fine ſpeech before he dies.

f This day, my fellow-ſoldiers, which gives me ſuch ſenſible proofs of your affection and loyalty, is far preferable to that on which you ſaluted me emperor. I therefore beſeech you not to deny me the ſatisfaction of laying down my life for the preſervation of ſo many brave men. To expoſe wantonly to freſh perils ſuch virtue and ſo much fortitude, is a price, which I judge too high for the redeeming of my own life. I am well appriſed, that the enemy has neither gained an intire nor a deciſive victory: I have advice, that the *Mæſian* army is not far off; that the legions from *Aſia*, *Syria*, and *Egypt* are near the *Adriatic*; that the forces in *Judæa* have declared for us; the ſenate favours our cauſe; we have in our power the wives and children of our enemies, *&c.* But alas! it is not with *Pyrrhus*, with *Hannibal*, with the *Cimbrians*, we fight; but it is eagle againſt eagle, and *Rome* againſt *Rome*.

Italy

[l] Tacit. c. 41, 45. Plut. ibid. [m] Suet. in Oth. c. 10.

Italy muſt bleed, whether I vanquiſh or am vanquiſhed; and even he who triumphs a
will have occaſion to mourn. Shall I ever bear, that ſuch a number of *Roman* youth,
that ſo many noble armies be cut off, and raviſhed for ever from the commonwealth?
With me let me carry this ſatisfaction, that for my cauſe you were all ready to die;
but be content to ſurvive me. *Vitellius* began the civil war, and thence ſprung the
ſource of our ſtruggling for the empire by arms. To me will be owing the example
of ſtruggling for it no more than once. By this rule let poſterity judge of *Otho*.
Vitellius ſhall again poſſeſs in ſafety his brother, his children, and his wife. Others
have held the ſovereignty longer; in a manner more glorious none ever yet relin-
quiſhed it. Aſſure yourſelves, it is my free choice to die rather than to reign, ſince
I cannot ſo much advance the *Roman* ſtate by wars and bloodſhed, as by ſacri- b
ficing myſelf to the public peace and tranquillity. Nothing but my death can ſeal
a laſting peace, and ſecure *Italy* againſt ſuch another unhappy day. But let us no
longer retard one another: let not me delay your care of your own preſervation,
nor you me in the purſuit of a deſign never to be ſhaken or changed. To multiply
words about the ſubject of dying, is the part of a daſtardly ſpirit. How much I
am undaunted in this my purpoſe, I deſire you to take this ſignal proof, that I
complain of no man; ſince to be blaming the gods or men, upon the approach of
death, implies a mean and indirect deſire of living [n].

After this diſcourſe, he deſired thoſe who attended him to leave him, and ſub-
mit without delay to *Vitellius*. The young men he preſſed with authority, the old c
by intreaties, addreſſing himſelf to all with great courteſy, in a language ſuitable
to their years or dignity. At the ſame time he rebuked, as ill-judged and unrea-
His calm behaviour. ſonable, the tears and lamentations of his friends, with a countenance calm and
compoſed, and a ſpeech flowing and aſſured. To ſuch as were about to depart,
he ordered boats and carriages to be given. To thoſe who were abſent, he ſent
paſſports, forbidding any one to ſtop them in their journey. All ſuch memorials and
letters, as were ſignal for expreſſions of zeal towards him, or for invectives againſt
Vitellius, he committed to the flames. What money and jewels he had, he diſtri-
buted amongſt his friends. His brother's ſon, *Salvus Coccianus*, one juſt in the
bloom of his youth, who was bewailing him with a flood of tears, he endeavoured d
to comfort with tender expreſſions, bidding him be in no apprehenſion of *Vitellius*,
who, he ſaid, could not, for his whole family preſerved in ſafety, refuſe a return
of mercy in this ſingle inſtance. The clemency of the conqueror, continued he,
I have purchaſed by thus haſtening to die, ſince preſſed by no deſperate diſtreſs,
but at a juncture when ſo many brave men were demanding to be led to battle,
I have, for the ſake of the commonwealth, forborne making a laſt effort. To
myſelf I have acquired ſufficient fame; to my poſterity ſufficient luſtre. Into a
houſe newly raiſed, I have tranſlated the ſovereignty, after the ſame had been veſted
in ſo illuſtrious families, namely, the *Julian*, the *Claudian*, and the *Sergian*: but
that *Cæſar* has been your uncle, you muſt neither forget, nor too zealouſly remem- e
ber. After this, he cauſed all thoſe who were about him to retire; and withdraw-
ing into a private room, he wrote conſolatory letters to his ſiſter, and to *Meſſa-
lina*, who had been formerly married to *Nero*, and whom he himſelf had deſigned
to marry, recommending to her his memory and aſhes. While he was thus exer-
ciſing his thoughts about his laſt moments, a ſudden tumult interrupted him; for
notice was brought him of an uproar among the ſoldiers, who threatened with pre-
ſent death all who were about to depart, as traitors and deſerters. Againſt *Verginius*
chiefly they were enraged, and had already beſieged his houſe, which for his ſecu-
rity he had ſhut up. Hereupon *Otho*, appearing again, reprimanded the authors
of the inſurrection, gave audience to ſuch as were departing, and continued thus f
employed till they were all gone in perfect ſafety. He then withdrew again to his
chamber, which he left open till the night was far ſpent, allowing free entrance to
all who were deſirous to ſee him. After this, having quenched his thirſt with a
draught of cold water, he called for two daggers; and having carefully examined
the points of both, he placed the ſharpeſt under his pillow. He next reſolved to
be fully aſſured that his friends were all gone; which he no ſooner underſtood,
than he lay down, paſſing the night in perfect repoſe, and, as is affirmed, not without
His death. ſleep. At break of day he took the dagger, and gave himſelf a mortal ſtab on the
left

[n] Tacit. c 46, 47. Plut. ibid. Dio, l. lxiv. p. 732, 733. Suet, c. 9.

a left ſide of the breaſt. Upon hearing him groan, his freed-men entered and his ſlaves, with *Plotius Firmus*, captain of his guards, and found no more than one wound. His death was no ſooner divulged, than the whole place reſounded with the mournful cries of the ſoldiers, accuſing themſelves, with the deepeſt concern, for not watching him more carefully, and ſtriving to ſave a life, which was laid down to preſerve theirs. His funeral was diſpatched with great expedition, (for ſuch had been his own deſire) to prevent his head being cut off and expoſed to public deriſion. The prætorian cohorts bore his corps, magnificently attired, often kiſſing his wound, and his hand, and even paying him divine honours. At his funeral pile ſome of the ſoldiers ſlew themſelves; and others who were at *Bedriacum*, *Placentia*,
b and in other quarters, underſtanding the manner of his death, were ſo deeply and ſenſibly affected, that they ſlew one another, not caring to outlive a prince, whom they ſo tenderly loved. To him they raiſed a tomb of a mean ſtructure, and thence like to remain, with this epitaph only, *To the Memory of* Marcus Otho; which they thought the beſt ſecurity againſt any inſults from the conqueror[o]. Such was the end of *Otho*, in the thirty-ſeventh year of his age, after having reigned, according to ſome three months, according to others three months and five days. He derived his original from the municipal city of *Tarentinum* in *Hetruria*. His father had ſuſtained the dignity of conſul; his grandfather that of prætor. His mother's line was not of equal luſtre; but far from ſordid. He ſpent his tender years in idleneſs, in ſcan-
c dalous debaucheries his youth, and grew acceptable to *Nero*, purely by imitating his profligate life. To him therefore, as to the chief confident of his impure pleaſures, *Nero* committed the care of his beloved miſtreſs *Poppæa Sabina*, till he could accompliſh the removal of *Octavia* his wife; but ſoon ſuſpecting him for a rival, he ſent him into *Luſitania*; where the adminiſtration of that province furniſhed a pretence for keeping him from *Rome*. In *Luſitania* he governed with gentleneſs and popularity, was the foremoſt to eſpouſe the cauſe of *Galba*, and promoted it with vigor. Thence he conceived hopes of being by him adopted and declared his ſucceſſor; but finding himſelf diſappointed, and ſeeing nothing but deſpair in the quiet and eſtabliſhment of the ſtate, (for he lived in a courſe of riot and expence,
d which even to the fortune of a ſovereign would have proved burdenſome) he revolted from *Galba*, and ſeized the empire in the manner we have related. His death was much applauded, as his life was cenſured; for tho' he had lived like *Nero*, yet he left this character behind him, that no one ever died more gloriouſly[p]: and indeed nothing can be more glorious in a man, than to ſacrifice his life for the good of his country.

Is lamented by the ſoldiery.

His obſequies.

His character

AFTER the death of *Otho*, the ſoldiers began anew to mutiny; nor was there any one to reſtrain them. They applied to *Verginius*, preſſing him, with many intreaties and menaces, to accept the ſovereignty, or at leaſt to go as their embaſſador to *Cæcina* and *Valens*. Already they were breaking into his houſe, when he, by a back
e way, ſtole out and eſcaped them. But *Rubrius Gallus*, a perſon of great note, immediately undertook the embaſſy to *Vitellius*'s commanders, and obtained pardon for all the troops that lay at *Brixellum*; and at the ſame time *Flavius Sabinus* prevailed upon the forces under his command to go over to the conqueror; ſo that war had now every-where ceaſed, and peace was at once re-eſtabliſhed. Many ſenators had accompanied *Otho* from *Rome*, and had been afterwards by him left with a ſmall body of troops at *Mutina*. The ſenators found themſelves expoſed there to great danger; for news being brought thither of the defeat, the ſoldiers ſlighted it as a report void of truth; and ſuſpecting the ſenate to be diſaffected to *Otho*, they watched the words of particulars, and wreſted even their countenances and behaviour to a malignant ſenſe.
f At laſt they proceeded to inſult them with invectives, and ſeemed only to want a pretence of putting them all to the ſword. On the other hand, they were afraid of being deemed diſaffected to *Vitellius*, whoſe brother was among them, if they ſeemed ſlow and cool in their rejoicings for the victory. They reſolved therefore to return as far as *Bononia*, and wait there for other advices more certain and copious. They poſted men upon the ſeveral roads leading to the city, purpoſely to examine ſuch as paſſed. By theſe one of *Otho*'s freed-men being queſtioned, why he had left his lord? anſwered, That he had about him his lord's laſt will and commands; that he had left him indeed alive, but fixed in his purpoſe of dying, and of ſacrificing his life to the

Otho's *troops ſubmit to* Vitellius.

o TACIT. c. 49. SUET. c. 11. PLUT. ibid. p TACIT. c. 50. SUET. PLUT. ibid.

the public tranquillity. Hereupon they immediately declared for *Vitellius*, whoſe brother now preſented himſelf to be flattered, as did all the ſenators to flatter him; when on a ſudden one *Cænus*, a freed-man of *Nero*'s, arriving, affirmed, that by the arrival of the fourthteenth legion, in conjunction with the forces from *Brixellum*, the army, which had lately conquered, was entirely routed, and the fortune of the other party retrieved and changed. What prompted him to ſuch forgery was, that *Otho*'s warrants for poſt-horſes, which were now neglected, might by ſuch tidings be reſtored to force: and truly *Cænus* was by this means with great ſpeed carried to *Rome*; but there, a few days after, put to death by *Vittellius*'s orders. The fiction, however, was believed by the ſoldiers, who began anew to threaten the ſenators for having departed from *Mutina*, and declared for *Vitellius*; inſomuch, that they were obliged to conceal themſelves, not daring, for fear of the incenſed ſoldiery, to appear abroad, till letters from *Fabius Valens*, aſſuring them of *Otho*'s death, removed their fright[q].

Rome was, in the mean time, free from all terror and alarm; the interludes ſacred to *Ceres*, which yearly began on the twelfth, and ended on the nineteenth, of *April*, were celebrating, when news was brought into the theatre, that *Otho* had, by a voluntary death, put an end to his life. Hereupon the ſpectators with loud ſhouts applauded the name of the new emperor, uttering againſt *Otho* the ſame invectives which a little before they had uttered againſt *Vitellius*. The troops in the city immediately ſwore allegiance to *Vitellius*. The people carried the images of *Galba* round the temples, crowned with laurels and adorned with flowers, and piled up heaps of coronets, after the manner of a ſepulchre, cloſe by the lake of *Curtius*, where *Galba* had been ſlain. In the ſenate the many honours given to former princes at intervals, and during a long courſe of reigning, were at once decreed to *Vitellius*. On the *German* armies high commendations were beſtowed, and an embaſſy ſent to return them public thanks, and congratulate them upon their late victory. The letters addreſſed by *Fabius Valens* to the conſuls *Verginius Rufus* and *Poppæus Vopiſcus*, of whom the firſt was abſent, were publicly read, and found to be conceived in terms no-ways arrogant; but more applauded was the modeſty of *Cæcina*, who had not ſent any, it being deemed aſſuming in any but the emperor to write to the ſenate and magiſtrates[r]. In the mean time, *Italy* was afflicted with greater calamities than ſhe had ſuffered during the war. The ſoldiers of *Vitellius*, diſtributed amongſt the cities and municipal towns, committed moſt dreadful devaſtations, without ſparing even the temple. Some, in the diſguiſe of ſoldiers, killed their particular enemies; and the ſoldiers themſelves, as they were well acquainted with the country, marking out the richeſt inhabitants, plundered their houſes and farms, putting all to fire and ſword without mercy, if any reſiſtance was offered. Their generals durſt not reſtrain them, being themſelves equally guilty and awed by their men. Of the two *Cæcina* was leſs addicted to avarice, but courted the favour of the ſoldiery. *Valens* was himſelf infamous for pillage and rapine, and thence blind to the exceſſes of others. Thus, by ſo mighty a force of foot and horſe, by ſuch acts of violence, ſo many depredations and inſults, was *Italy* quite exhauſted, and many of the moſt wealthy inhabitants reduced to beggary[s].

Honours heaped upon Vitellius *by the ſenate.*

Italy *miſerably afflicted.*

Vitellius *receives intelligence of the victory at* Bedriacum.

Vitellius, in the mean time, not yet appriſed of the ſucceſs of his own arms, having left *Hordeonius Flaccus* with a ſufficient force to guard the banks of the *Rhine*, was marching towards *Italy* with the reſidue of the *German* army, reinforced with eight thouſand men drawn from *Britain*, and freſh levies haſtily made amongſt the *Gauls*. After a few days march, he received the agreeable news of the victory at *Bedriacum* and the death of *Otho*. Hereupon, tranſported with joy, he aſſembled his men, and from the tribunal acquainted them with the intelligence he had received, beſtowing mighty praiſes upon the bravery of his victorious troops. The army, not yielding in the baſe arts of flattery to the ſenate, made him at this juncture a general requeſt, that he would raiſe his favourite freed-man *Aſiaticus* to the equeſtrian dignity. The emperor, with ſeeming indignation, rejected their demand; but what in the face of the public he had refuſed, he ſoon after privately conferred at a banquet, honouring *Aſiaticus*, a moſt infamous and rapacious ſlave, with the gold ring, the badge of knighthood. This proceeding was not a little reſented by the ſoldiery. As he was marching through *Gaul*, other meſſengers came with tidings, that to his party had acceded both the *Mauritanias*, *viz.* the *Tingitana* and *Cæſarienſis*; *Lucius Albinus*, who, in quality of procurator, governed there and had declared for *Otho*, being killed,

Both the Mauritanias *declare for him.*

[q] Tacit. c. 53. 54. [r] Idem, c. 55. [s] Idem, c. 56.

VITELLIUS.



VESPASIAN.



TITUS.



DOMITIAN.



killed by the *Moors*, upon a report, that *Albinus*, ſcorning the title of procurator, intended to uſurp the enſigns of majeſty and the royal name of *Juba*. With him were ſlain *Aſinius Pollio*, who commanded a body of horſe, *Feſtus* and *Scipio*, both captains of cohorts, and ſeveral other officers of diſtinction. Into theſe tranſactions *Vitellius* made no inquiry, nor took any notice of the murder of ſo many great men, a haſty hearing being all he afforded to any affair, however important. His army he commanded to purſue their march by land; he himſelf ſailed down the *Saône*, without the luſtre and appointment of an emperor, till *Junius Blæſus*, governor of *Lioneſe Gaul*, a man of great generoſity and proportionable wealth, furniſhed him with a princely train, and accompanied him with great ſtate and magnificence. But this very behaviour provoked *Vitellius* againſt him, tho' he then diſguiſed his averſion under many courteous expreſſions. At *Lions* he was met by the generals of both parties, the conquerors and the conquered. *Valens* and *Cæcina* he commended in public, and placed them on each ſide his chair of ſtate. Soon after he ordered the whole army to march out and meet his ſon, yet an infant, who was brought covered with an imperial coat of armour. His father, taking him thus dreſſed in his arms, beſtowed upon him the ſurname of *Germanicus* and all the marks of ſovereignty. He freely forgave *Salvius Titianus*, *Otho*'s brother, the inſtinct and tenderneſs of nature, which had prompted him to eſpouſe his brother's cauſe, and his own want of abilities pleading for him. Of *Marius Celſus* we are only told, that *Vitellius* reſerved for him the conſulſhip, to which he had been formerly deſigned, and which he was to diſcharge in the month of *July*. He long poſtponed admitting *Suetonius Paulinus* and *Licinius Proculus*, keeping them in ſuſpenſe like criminals. At length he heard them, when they both made a defence rather neceſſary than honourable; nay, altogether unworthy of a man of *Paulinus*'s character; for upon themſelves they freely took the ſhame of treaſon, aſcribing to a fraud concerted between them the long march before the battle, the great fatigue of *Otho*'s ſoldiers, the intermixing the carriages among the troops, when drawn up in battle-array, *&c.* *Vitellius* gave credit to the confeſſion of their treachery, and forgave them the crime of fidelity, with which they were charged. *Galerius Trachalus*, who compoſed *Otho*'s ſpeech, was ſaved by *Galeria*, the wife of *Vitellius*. But all the centurions, who had ſignalized their faith and bravery in the cauſe of *Otho*, were by the new emperor's orders put to the ſword; which eſtranged from him the minds of the ſoldiery, eſpecially of the *Illyrian* legions. However, he ſuffered the laſt wills of ſuch as died fighting for *Otho* to continue in force, and the law in behalf of thoſe who died inteſtate. Before him he ſent an edict to *Rome*, to ſignify, that he deferred receiving the name of *Auguſtus*, and would not at all accept that of *Cæſar*. By another he ordered the aſtrologers to depart *Italy* by the calends of *October*; which was no ſooner publiſhed, than a libel was hung up in the ſame ſtyle, ordering, in the name of the aſtrologers, *Vitellius Germanicus* to quit the world by the ſame day; which ſo incenſed him againſt all thoſe of that profeſſion, that no ſooner was any of them detected, than he cauſed them, without further inquiry, to be forthwith executed. By a third edict he injoined, under a heavy penalty, that thenceforth no *Roman* knight ſhould debaſe himſelf to fight amongſt the gladiators or with the wild beaſts; a practice which had been greatly encouraged by former emperors. Before *Vitellius* left *Lions*, he diſpatched orders to *Rome* for the execution of *Dolabella*, who had been confined by *Otho*, as we have related above, to the city of *Aquinum*, and, upon tidings of the death of that prince, was returned to *Rome*. The crimes alledged againſt him were, that he had broke out of priſon, and, preſenting himſelf as a new leader to the vanquiſhed party, had attempted to corrupt the cohort quartered at *Oſtia*. Theſe crimes were urged againſt him before *Flavius Sabinus*, governor of the city, by *Plautius Varus*, a man of prætorian dignity and one of *Dolabella*'s intimate friends. The charge of treaſon could not be proved; but nevertheleſs *Vitellius*, who dreaded a man of his birth and abilities, and likewiſe hated him on account of his having married *Petronia*, his divorced wife, reſolved by all means to get rid of one, whom he looked upon as a competitor. Having therefore ſent for him from *Rome*, and directed him in the letter he wrote to him, not to take the *Flaminian* road, but to come round by *Interamna*, now *Terni*, he placed aſſaſſins there, with orders privately to diſpatch him; but they, without waiting till he arrived at the place appointed, cut his throat in an inn upon the way, while he was not under the leaſt apprehenſion of danger[t]. This inſtance of cruelty raiſed great murmurs

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He purſues his march to Italy

How he treated the generals of Otho.

Sends ſeveral edicts to Rome

Dolabella *falſly accuſed.*

And maſſacred by Vitellius's *order.*

[t] Idem, c. 63—65.

murs both among the people and nobility, and upon the new reign derived univerſal hatred and abhorrence. a

Vitellius's gluttony.

From *Lions Vitellius* removed to *Vienne*, where he publicly adminiſtered juſtice and thence continued his rout to *Italy*. As he was a man of a moſt voracious appetite, which *Tacitus* ſtyles quite beaſtly and boundleſs, and greatly addicted to banquetting, from *Rome* and *Italy* were brought him dainties of all ſorts and every incentive to gluttony, the roads from both ſeas being continually filled with carriers loaded with viands for the emperor's table. The chief men of the municipal cities, through which he paſſed, being quite beggared by their magnificent feaſts, that being the only means of making their court to the new prince. The ſoldiers, following the example of their leader, rioted in all manner of exceſſes, plundering and laying waſte, without controul, the cities, villages, and farms contiguous to the road. The emperor was overtaken on his rout by *Marcus Cluvius Rufus*, governor of *Spain*, who came to clear himſelf of the crimes with which he was charged by *Hilarius*, the emperor's freed-man, who urged, that, upon advice of the conteſt between *Otho* and *Vitellius*, *Cluvius* had attempted to eſtabliſh an independent principality, and to appropriate to himſelf both the provinces of *Spain*. But, the charge appearing groundleſs, *Vitellius* ordered his freed-man to be puniſhed, and took *Cluvius* into the number of his chief favourites, commanding him to attend him, without depriving him of the government of *Spain*, which he ſtill adminiſtered, though abſent. The like honour was not ſhewn to *Trebellius Maximus*, who had fled out of *Britain*, frightened by the menaces of the ſoldiers there. In his room was ſent *Vettius Bolanus*, then attending at court. *Vitellius* arriving in *Italy*, found the country filled with troops, thoſe of his own army and the army of *Otho*, diſperſed amongſt the villages and municipal towns, and mixed together; which occaſioned continual quarrels and innumerable diſorders: for the vanquiſhed legions continued ſtill in their former diſaffection, and breathed nothing but war. The emperor therefore reſolved to ſeparate them, and deliver *Italy* from ſo heavy a burden. The fourteenth legion was accordingly remanded back to *Britain*, from whence they had been by *Nero* called over. With them were ſent the *Batavian* cohorts, who had fought for *Vitellius*; whereas the legion had eſpouſed the cauſe of *Otho*; and hence a ſource of perpetual quarrels. At *Turin* eſpecially a tragical battle had enſued, while a *Batavian* inſulted an artificer, as having defrauded him, and a ſoldier of the legion protected the artificer, as his hoſt, had not two prætorian cohorts quartered there, by eſpouſing the party of the legionaries, intimidated the *Batavians* as the weaker. The emperor, when informed of their diſagreement, ordered the *Batavians*, as men in whom he could confide, to be incorporated with his own army, and the legion to be led forthwith over the *Alps*, bending their rout ſo as to avoid *Vienne*; which city was thought to be diſaffected to *Vitellius*. But, notwithſtanding this order, they no ſooner deſcended from the *Alps*, than they turned their enſigns to *Vienne*, and were marching thither, till ſuch as were prone to mutiny were by the better-diſpoſed prevailed upon to march back, in compliance with the emperor's orders, and purſue their rout to the coaſt of the ocean, whence they were tranſported in a body to *Britain*. In the next place, the prætorian cohorts were firſt ſeparated, and then diſcharged; but ſweetened with the rewards which were beſtowed upon ſuch as had fully ſerved their term of warfare. The firſt legion of marines was ſent into *Spain*, to be there tamed with tranquillity and repoſe. The ſeventh and eleventh were ſent back to their old quarters in *Dalmatia* and *Pannonia*. The thirteenth was kept in *Italy*, and there employed in erecting two amphitheatres, ſince *Cæcina* and *Valens* were preparing each a public combat of gladiators, the former at *Cremona*, the other at *Bononia*. Thus *Vitellius* parted and diſperſed, without the leaſt noiſe or diſturbance, the diſaffected troops which had ſerved under *Otho*; but had not authority enough to reſtrain the licentiouſneſs of his own army. As the officers, and even the common ſoldiers, uſually adopt the manners of their emperors, about *Vitellius* was ſeen only univerſal diſorder, univerſal drunkenneſs, and all things rather reſembling nocturnal revellings and the debauchees of *Bacchanals*, than a *Roman* army and military diſcipline. In this ſituation a tumult aroſe, which derived its beginning from matter of paſtime, but was not quelled without much bloodſhed. Two ſoldiers, one of the fifth legion the other from amongſt the auxiliary *Gauls*, having, while they ſported together, provoked each other to wreſtle, the legionary was thrown down, and the *Gaul* triumphed over him with great ſcorn. This immediately divided thoſe, who had aſſembled only as beholders, into two parties; inſomuch,

He receives Cluvius Rufus *into favour.*

He ſeparates the diſaffected forces.

Frequent diſturbances amongſt the troops of Vitellius.

b c d e f

a much, that the ſoldiers of the legions, falling with fury upon the auxiliaries, put two cohorts to the ſword. But this tumult was in the end compoſed by another; for duſt and the luſtre of arms being diſcerned at a diſtance, a general cry ran in an inſtant through the whole army, that the fourteenth legion had returned, and was approaching with hoſtile minds; for they were known to be diſaffected to *Vitellius*. Hereupon they all joined to oppoſe the common enemy. But their fear was ſoon allayed; for it proved the rear of their own army. However, as they chanced, in the mean time, to meet a ſlave belonging to *Virginius*, they charged him as one employed to aſſaſſinate *Vitellius*; and, ruſhing into the banqueting-room, inſiſted, that *Virginius* ſhould be put to death. Tho' *Vitellius* entertained not the leaſt doubt
b about the innocence of *Virginius*, yet it was with the utmoſt difficulty that he prevailed upon the enraged ſoldiery, to forbear ſhedding the blood of one, who had borne the ſupreme dignity of conſul, and been once their own general [u].

The next day, *Vitellius* gave audience to the embaſſadors from the ſenate, whom he had ordered to wait for him at *Ticinum*, now *Pavia*; then he entered the camp of the victorious army, where he was received with loud ſhouts and joyful acclamations. After he had commended the zeal and bravery of the conquering legions, and promiſed them their uſual rewards, he ſent back to their own country the eighteen *Batavian* cohorts, which had attended him in his journey, having found by experience, that they were altogether ungovernable and too prone to mutiny. *He diſbands ſeveral troops.*
c He likewiſe diſmiſſed to their ſeveral territories all the auxiliary *Gauls*, who had been levied in the beginning of the war. At the ſame time, that the revenues of the empire, already exhauſted, might be able to ſupply his wild extravagances, he ordered the number of men in the legions and auxiliaries to be retrenched, put a ſtop to further levies, and granted diſcharges to all who required them; which, to thoſe who continued in the ſervice, proved matter of great diſguſt, ſince upon them, now reduced to a few, reſted all the military duties before ſhared amongſt many. From *Ticinum* the emperor bent his rout to *Cremona*, where he beheld the public ſports, exhibited with extraordinary magnificence by *Cæcina*. While he was there, he conceived a deſire of viewing the field at *Bedriacum*, and ſurveying the ſcene of *He ſurveys the field of battle.*
d the recent victory. As the battle had been fought not quite forty days before, the field was ſtill covered with bodies all rent and deformed, with torn and mangled limbs, carcaſes of horſes and men putrified, and the ground dyed with corruption and gore; all the trees felled, the corn trod down, and the whole a ſhocking ſcene of cruelty, ſlaughter, and deſtruction. The emperor, however, perſiſted in his reſolution, and with a great retinue ſet out for *Bedriacum*; the people of *Cremona* ſtrewing the road with flowers and laurel, rearing altars, and ſacrificing victims, even where the ghaſtly remains of their ſlaughtered countrymen were ſtill to be ſeen. *Cæcina* and *Valens* accompanied him, and pointed out the ſeveral quarters of the combat: Here the legions began the onſet; here the horſe in a body ruſhed upon
e the enemy's ſquadrons; from thence the auxiliaries fell upon the rear; in this place the one-and-twentieth legion engaged and routed the firſt; in that the thirteenth was put to flight by the fifth, *&c.* The tribunes and commanders of the ſeveral legions recounted and heightened, by boaſts and invention, their own feats of bravery. The common ſoldiers too, turning aſide from the road to review the field, from ſpace to ſpace, called to mind the ſeveral conflicts paſſed, ſome with ſhouts of joy, but many not without concern, and even tears, in beholding the bodies of the ſlain, mingled in heaps with the carcaſes of horſes and other beaſts of burden. As for *Vitellius*, he turned not once his eyes from a ſpectacle ſo tragical, nor ſhewed he the leaſt horror at the ſight of ſo many thouſand *Roman* citizens ſlain and unburied;
f nay, he even teſtified joy, and offered a pompous ſacrifice to the tutelar gods of the place [w]. *Suetonius* writes, that ſome of his train being offended with the ſtench of the half-putrified bodies, the emperor was ſo imprudent as to tell them, *A dead enemy ſmells well, but a dead citizen better*; evidently betraying, by that impious ſaying, his natural bent to cruelty and bloodſhed. The ſame writer adds, that afterwards calling for a large quantity of wine, he firſt drank plentifully himſelf, and then cauſed the reſt to be diſtributed amongſt his ſoldiers [x]. From *Bedriacum*, *Vitellius* purſued his rout to *Bononia*; and the nearer he advanced to that place, his march proved the more looſe and debauched. Amongſt his military bands were *A ſingular inſtance of the cruelty of* Vitellius.
blended

[u] Idem, c. 65—69. [w] Idem, c. 70, 71. [x] Suet. ibid. c. 9.

blended bands of the comedians and herds of eunuchs, agreeable to the genius of the court in *Nero*'s reign: for of him *Vitellius* always ſpoke with admiration and praiſe. At *Bononia* he aſſiſted at the combat of gladiators exhibited by *Valens*, which was extremely pompous and magnificent, all the decorations of the entertainment having been brought from *Rome*. Before he ſet out from thence, that he might to *Valens* and *Cæcina* procure ſome vacant months for exerciſing the conſulſhip, he abridged the term appointed for others, and *Valérius Marinus*, deſigned conſul by *Galba*, he poſtponed to a farther time, for no offence given, but becauſe *Valerius* was a man apt to acquieſce under any injury. As he was on his march from *Bononia*, he received letters from his friends in *Syria* and *Judæa*, informing him, that the provinces in the eaſt had taken the oath of fidelity to him. As he dreaded *Veſpaſian* and upon the very mention of his name was frequently obſerved to ſtart, he no ſooner received theſe tidings, than both he and his army, having now no rival power to fear, abandoned themſelves to all the exceſſes of cruelty, luſt, and rapine. In all the great towns through which he paſſed, every pleaſure, and every diverſion, proved a bait to ſtop him. He entered the cities in a kind of triumph, and ſtirred not upon the rivers but in his painted galleys, curiouſly adorned with garlands of flowers, and plentifully ſtored with the moſt exquiſite delicacies and incentives to gluttony. He was accompanied by threeſcore thouſand armed men, a greater number of retainers to the camp, and an immenſe multitude of buffoons, mimics, players, ſingers, charioteers, *&c.* for in ſuch diſgraceful familiarities he took great pleaſure. Among theſe there was no order or diſcipline; nay, their rapines and daily diſorders, however inſupportable, proved to the emperor matter of ſport and diverſion. Hence, not ſatisfied with free quarters where-ever they came, they infranchiſed ſlaves, plundered the houſes of their hoſts, inſulted their wives and children, and, where any reſiſtance was offered, beat, wounded, and killed at their pleaſure; for tho' they were conſtantly quarrelling among themſelves, yet, in conteſting with the peaſants, they were always unanimous. Not only the colonies, villages, and municipal cities were conſumed by furniſhing ſuch vaſt ſupplies of proviſion; but, as the grain was then ripe, the lands were ſtript and laid waſte. As the emperor drew near *Rome*, the crowd, great in itſelf, was mightily increaſed by the arrival of the ſenators and *Roman* knights, who came out to meet the emperor; a compliment which ſome paid out of fear, others out of flattery. When the mighty multitude was within ſeven miles of *Rome*, *Vitellius* cauſed a quantity of meat ready dreſſed to be diſtributed among his ſoldiers, to every man his portion, as if he had been fattening a number of gladiators. In the mean time, the populace, who came in droves to the camp and were ſcattered all over it, while the ſoldiers heeded them not, cut and conveyed away their belts without being perceived; which it ſeems, was a joke in great vogue with the multitude and the rabble of the city. But the ſoldiers, who were ſtrangers to ſuch jokes and could not brook them, upon being aſked by way of deriſion, what was become of their belts? ran to arms, and with their drawn ſwords falling upon the diſarmed multitude, ſlaughtered great numbers of them, which occaſioned a general alarm and conſternation in the city. When the tumult in the camp was compoſed, *Vitellius*, mounted upon a ſtately courſer and in his coat of armour, with his ſword by his ſide, began to advance to the gates of the city, ordering the ſenate and people to march before him. But being adviſed by his friends not to enter the city in his warlike dreſs, as if it had been taken by ſtorm, he put on the ſenatorial robe, and made an entry altogether orderly and pacific, ſurrounded with ſtandards and colours, and followed by his numerous troops; the whole a glorious ſight, and an army worthy of a better emperor[y]. In this ſtate he went to the capitol, to offer ſacrifice to *Jupiter*; and there finding his mother *Sextilia*, embraced and honoured her with the title of *Auguſta*. From the capitol, he marched in the ſame pomp to the imperial palace. The next day, he aſſembled the ſenate, and made a public ſpeech, in which he promiſed extraordinary advantages from his adminiſtration, uttered high and pompous things of himſelf, and chiefly inlarged upon his temperance, tho' all *Italy* had ſeen him, during his march, wallowing in voluptouſneſs and continually intoxicated with wine. The thoughtleſs multitude, however, broke out into loud acclamations and wiſhes; and, as he refuſed the title of *Auguſtus*, they preſſed him ſo, that he accepted it at laſt with as

His army let themſelves looſe to ſpoil and ravage.

The populace ſlaughtered by the ſoldiery.

The emperor's entry into Rome.

[y] Tacit. c. 87——89.

a as much vanity as he had before refuſed it. He likewiſe took upon him the office of chief pontiff; but was ſo ignorant of the religious rites, that a few days after, that is, on the eighteenth of *July*, he publiſhed an edict concerning the celebration of certain ſolemnities, tho' that day had been always held unlucky, becauſe on it had happened the tragical overthrows at *Cremera* and *Allia*. His chief ſtudy was to gain the good graces and applauſe of the rabble. With this view he frequented the theatre and circus, exhibited public ſhews, and did all that lay in his power to keep them in good humour. He went often to the ſenate, even when the deliberations were about things of ſmall moment. As *Helvidius Priſcus*, prætor elect, chanced to offer his ſentiments againſt thoſe of the emperor; he ſeemed at firſt to reſent it; b but afterwards returning to himſelf, he anſwered the ſenators who interpoſed, that it was nothing new nor ſurpriſing, that two ſenators ſhould be of different opinions; and that he himſelf had often oppoſed *Thraſea*; a compariſon which was generally ridiculed. In room of the prætorian cohorts, which he had diſcharged, he raiſed ſixteen new ones and four city cohorts, each containing a thouſand choſen men. For captains of the prætorian guards, he appointed *Publius Sabinus*, raiſed from the command of a cohort, and *Julius Priſcus*, then only a centurion. *Priſcus* owed his preferment to the intereſt of *Valens*, and *Sabinus* his to that of *Cæcina*; for by theſe two favourites all the functions of ſovereignty were diſcharged, and no portion of power left to *Vitellius*. They ſtrove to excel each other in credit and ſway, in greatneſs of train, in numerous levees and dependents; and hence were ever at vari- c ance with one another, their ancient and mutual hatred, which, even during the war, had been ill-diſguiſed, being inflamed by the malignity of their ſeveral friends. However, this their animoſity did not render them more remiſs in ſeizing for themſelves fine houſes and gardens, and the wealth of the empire. *Aſiaticus* too, formerly the emperor's pathic and now his freed-man, had a great ſhare in the adminiſtration; for, before two months were elapſed, he is ſaid to have equalled in wealth all former imperial freedmen. As for *Vitellius*, he quite abandoned the functions of an emperor, reſigning himſelf entirely to riot, luxury, and gluttony. In his court no man ſtrove to riſe by virtue or ability. One only road there was to preferment, d namely, by means of conſuming banquets, to gorge the appetite of the emperor, ever craving, and never ſatiated. He eat conſtantly three, and often four and five, meals a day, having brought himſelf to a habit of diſcharging his ſtomach by vomiting when he pleaſed. All his meals were expenſive almoſt beyond belief, but not always at his own charge; for he frequently invited himſelf to his friends houſes to breakfaſt in one place, to dine in another, and to ſup in a third, all on the ſame day. He was every-where entertained in a moſt ſumptuous and expenſive manner: but of all theſe entertainments, the moſt memorable was made for him by *Lucius* his brother; in which, if *Suetonius* [z] and *Eutropius* [a] are to be credited, two thouſand different diſhes of fiſh and ſeven thouſand of fowl were ſerved up; the choiceſt of both ſorts that the ſea and land afforded. His own profuſeneſs fell not much e ſhort of his brother's at the dedication of a charger, which, by reaſon of its vaſtneſs and capacity, he termed *the target of Minerva*. It was nevertheleſs filled with the ſounds of the fiſh called *ſcari*, the brains of pheaſants and peacocks, the tongues of birds called *phœnicopteri*, and the ſmall guts of lampries, brought from the *Carpathian* ſea and the farthermoſt coaſts of *Spain*. As he judged it ſufficient to enjoy preſent pleaſures, without troubling himſelf about future events, he ſquandered away in banquets above ſeven millions of our money in four months time [b]; nay, *Joſephus* tells us, that if he had reigned long, the whole wealth of the empire would not have f been ſufficient to ſupply the expences of his table. Beſides the vaſt ſums he conſumed by his riotous living, he erected at a great charge ſtables for the uſe of charioteers, exhib ted almoſt daily ſhews in the circus, combats in the theatre and amphitheatre, thoſe of gladiators, thoſe of wild beaſts, and in the moſt flowing plenty wantonly ſcattered treaſure. But nothing gave greater diſguſt to the virtuous, tho' it proved matter of joy to the profligate and debauched, than his ſolemnizing with great pomp in the field of *Mars* the obſequies of *Nero*, and obliging the *Auguſtal* prieſts, an order by *Tiberius* conſecrated to the *Julian* family, to aſſiſt at that ceremony [c].

His conduct.

His favourites uſurp all the power.

His gluttony and profuſeneſs.

WHILE

[z] SUET. c. 13. [a] EUTROP. p. 720. [b] TACIT. c. 95. [c] Idem ibid.

WHILE *Vitellius* was thus waſting the wealth of the empire in voluptuouſneſs and a
conſuming banquets, fortune, or rather providence, was raiſing him a competitor
The ſtate of affairs in the eaſt. in a diſtant part of the world. *Veſpaſian* had been ſent by *Nero*, as we have related
elſewhere, with three legions and a conſiderable number of auxiliaries, to make
war upon the *Jews*, which he was carrying on with great ſucceſs, when news was
brought him of the death of that prince and the acceſſion of *Galba* to the empire.
Hereupon he immediately diſpatched his ſon *Titus* to pay homage to the new em-
peror, and to receive his orders concerning the proſecution of the war. But receive-
ing upon his arrival at *Corinth*, as he had been long ſtopped by contrary winds,
certain advice of the murder of *Galba*, and at the ſame time underſtanding that
Vitellius had taken up arms and deſigned to diſpute the empire with *Otho*, he re- b
ſolved to return to *Judæa*, to receive there farther inſtructions from his father.
Having therefore left *Greece*, he ſteered his courſe to the iſland of *Rhode*, to that
of *Cyprus*, and thence to *Syria*. In the iſland of *Cyprus* his curioſity prompted him
to viſit the temple of *Venus* at *Paphos*, which was at that time highly renowned
amongſt the natives as well as foreigners. After he had ſurveyed the ſignal wealth
of the temple, the donations of princes, and other curioſities, he began to conſult
the oracle, firſt concerning the ſecurity of his voyage, and then propoſed, but in
dark terms, queſtions concerning himſelf. The prieſt, by name *Soſtratus*, returned
him in public a ſhort anſwer, but deſired a ſecret interview, wherein he diſcloſed to
him his future grandeur. Hereupon, full of hopes, he proceeded to his father; but c
before his arrival the armies in the eaſt had already ſworn fidelity to *Otho*. In
Judæa, three legions, as we have hinted above, were under the command of *Veſpa-
ſian*; men thoroughly exerciſed in war. *Mucianus* governed *Syria* at the head of
four legions. Between theſe two commanders, as they ruled in two bordering pro-
vinces, great animoſities had reigned; which, however, they dropped upon the death
Veſpaſian *and* Mucianus *enter into an alliance for their mutual defence.* of *Nero*, and agreed to act in concert for their mutual ſecurity and intereſt. This
union was firſt begun by the interpoſition of their common friends, and afterwards
accompliſhed by *Titus*. Into the ſame confederacy were gained the tribunes, the
centurions, and by degrees the common ſoldiers, who, upon hearing that *Otho* and
Vitellius were contending for the empire, began to rage and complain, that while d
others enjoyed rewards for beſtowing the empire, they alone were doomed ſlaves to
every emperor. The ardour of the ſoldiery was well known to the generals; but
they judged proper to wait the iſſue of the war between *Otho* and *Vitellius*. Nay,
even after *Otho*'s death, *Veſpaſian* took the uſual oath to *Vitellius*, and wiſhed him a
proſperous reign in preſence of his army, as a precedent for them to follow. His
troops heard him with diſguſt and ſilence, and were not without great difficulty
prevailed upon to take the ſame oath, thinking themſelves no leſs able to create
and ſupport an emperor, than the *German* legions or the prætorian bands. They
were ſeven legions, with mighty auxiliaries, and the two provinces of *Syria* and *Judæa*
were in their poſſeſſion: to them lay contiguous that of *Egypt*, which was governed e
by *Tiberius Alexander*, by birth an *Egyptian*, at the head of two legions. Several
forces were quartered in *Cappadocia* and *Pontus*, upon the frontiers of *Armenia*, in
Aſia, and the other provinces. The governor of *Egypt*, who was intirely addicted
to *Veſpaſian*, accounted for his own the third legion then in *Mœſia*, ſince it had
been tranſlated thither out of *Egypt*. Hopes too were entertained, that the other
legions in *Illyricum* would eſpouſe the ſame intereſt. *Veſpaſian*, however, continued
ſtill in ſuſpenſe, conſidering with himſelf, how dangerous it was to caſt himſelf, at
the age of ſixty, and his two ſons *Titus* and *Domitian* in the prime of their years,
upon the caprice of fortune and fate of war: in private purſuit, room was always
left for retreat; but to thoſe who ſtrive for the ſovereignty, no middle lot remains; f
they muſt either reign or periſh. At the ſame time, he had before his eyes the great
ſtrength of the *German* army; a thing perfectly known to him, who was a man
of great experience in war. However, he yielded at length to the ſolicitations
of *Mucianus* and the other officers, promiſing to aſſume the title of emperor, when
a proper opportunity offered. Hereupon the two commanders, after having ſpent
ſeveral days in private conferences, parted, *Mucianus* to *Antioch*, and *Veſpaſian* to
Cæſarea, the former the metropolis of *Syria*, the latter of *Judæa*. In the mean
Veſpaſian *proclaimed emperor.* time, at *Alexandria* was begun the example of acknowledging *Veſpaſian* for emperor,
through the haſte and zeal of *Tiberius Alexander*, who brought the legions there to
ſwear allegiance to him on the firſt of *July*, which was the day ever afterwards
kept

a kept and ſolemnized as the firſt of his reign. The army in *Judæa* took to him in perſon the ſame oath on the third of *July*, with ſuch ardour, that they would not wait the arrival of *Titus*, who was then on his journey back from *Syria*, where he had been concerting meaſures with *Mucianus*. Theſe glad tidings no ſooner reached *Syria*, than *Mucianus* adminiſtered to his ſoldiers, who were themſelves well-diſpoſed, the oath to *Veſpaſian*. Before the fifteenth of *July* the whole province of *Syria* had taken the ſame oath. To the party too acceded *Sohemus* king of *Edeſſa*, *Antiochus* king of *Comagene*, and *Agrippa* king of *Ituræa*, who was returned with great expedition from *Rome*, upon private intelligence conveyed to him by his friends concerning the tranſactions in the eaſt. Allegiance was likewiſe ſworn by all the maritime provinces,
b extending to *Aſia* and *Achaia*, and by all the inland regions bordering upon *Pontus* and the two *Armenias*[d].

Veſpaſian, having now taken upon him the imperial authority, eſtabliſhed in the firſt place, at *Berytus* in *Phœnicia*, a council for the direction of all important affairs. Thither repaired *Mucianus*, with a train of general officers and tribunes, and of all ſuch centurions and private men as made a ſignal appearance. From the army too in *Judæa* came a great number of the principal officers, who, while they ſtrove to ſurpaſs each other in pomp and parade, furniſhed the appearance of the court and grandeur of an emperor. The firſt ſtep taken for proſecuting the war was, to inliſt men, and to recal to the ſervice the diſmiſſed veterans. Fortified cities were allotted
c for forging of arms. At *Antioch* money was coined, gold and ſilver. All theſe undertakings were, in their ſeveral quarters, diligently diſpatched by careful and capable inſpectors. To the kings of *Parthia* and *Armenia*, *Vologeſes* and his brother *Tiridates*, embaſſadors were ſent; and at the ſame time proviſion was made, that, when the legions were withdrawn to proſecute the civil war, the countries behind ſhould not be left naked and defenceleſs. It was reſolved in a council of all the chief officers, that *Titus* ſhould carry on the war in *Judæa*, *Veſpaſian* ſeize the ſtreights leading into *Egypt*, and *Mucianus* with part of the forces encounter *Vitellius*. To all the generals and armies letters were ſent, with orders to invite to arms, with the promiſe of rewards, the prætorian ſoldiers who had been diſbanded by *Vitellius*. In
d the mean time, *Mucianus*, at the head of the ſixth legion and thirteen thouſand veterans, began his march, acting rather like a collegue, than a miniſter, of the emperor. He bent his rout through *Cappadocia* and *Phrygia* to *Byzantium*, where he had ordered the fleet to attend him. He loaded the countries, through which he paſſed, with exorbitant taxes; for which, however, the craving neceſſities of war furniſhed an excuſe. Out of his own treaſure too he helped to ſupport the war; thus liberal of a private ſum, which he was ſure to repay himſelf with uſury out of the public. The reſt contributed after his example; but few were found who recovered their ſhare[e].

He eſtabliſhes a council at Berytus.

His preparations for war.

In the mean time, the *Illyrian* army, upon advice that the legions in the eaſt had declared *Veſpaſian* emperor, eſpouſed the ſame party with extraordinary zeal. The
e third legion, then in *Mœſia*, was the foremoſt; the eighth and the ſeventh, intitled *Claudiana*, followed the example of the third, being both devoted to *Veſpaſian*, though they had not been in the laſt fight. They had indeed advanced as far as *Aquileia*, and there hearing melancholy tidings of *Otho*, inſulted thoſe who brought them, rent the ſtandards bearing the name of *Vitellius*, and, ſharing the public money amongſt themſelves, acted with open hoſtility. Hence, conſidering that they might urge to *Veſpaſian* theſe acts of violence as matter of ſervice and merit, whereas they muſt expect to be puniſhed for them by *Vitellius*, they not only declared for the former, but by letters ſolicited the army in *Pannonia* into the confederacy, and were preparing to have recourſe to force, if they refuſed. In *Pannonia* the thirteenth legion and the
f ſeventh, called after the name of *Galba*, acceded without heſitation to the cauſe of *Veſpaſian*, being chiefly inſtigated by *Antonius Primus*. He was a native of *Toulouſe*; and there, while he was a youth, known by the nickname of *Becco*, or rather *Beccoc*, which, in the language of the *Gauls*, ſignified *the bill of a cock*. He had been degraded under *Nero* from the ſenatorial dignity, for forging a will; but reſtored to his rank by *Galba*, who likewiſe preferred him to the command of the ſeventh legion. He was believed to have made frequent applications to *Otho* by letters, offering to ſerve him in the capacity of general; but being by him neglected, he had borne no ſhare in that war. When he found, that *Veſpaſian* was likely to prevail, abandoning *Vi-*

The Illyrian *army declares for* Veſpaſian;

And the Pannonian *legions*

The character of Antonius Primus.

tellius,

[d] Tacit. c. 72—81. Suet. in Veſp. c. 9. Joseph. bell. Jud. l. iv. c. 36. [e] Tacit. c. 82—84. Joseph. ibid. c. 40.

tellius, he betook himſelf to him, and proved a mighty addition to the cauſe; for a he was a man of great perſonal bravery, daring, and enterpriſing, a prompt ſpeaker, powerful in popular tumults, and, tho' rapacious, profuſe, and in peace altogether wicked and corrupt, yet very uſeful in war. The *Mœſian* and *Pannonian* armies drew after them the forces in *Dalmatia*. Into *Britain* two diſpatches were ſent to the fourteenth legion, others into *Spain* to the firſt; for they had both engaged for *Otho* againſt *Vitellius*. At the ſame time, letters were diſperſed over all the territories of the *Gauls* [f].

Vitellius *hears of the revolt.*

Vitellius was firſt informed of the revolt of the third legion in *Mœſia*; which intelligence was conveyed to him by *Aponius Saturninus*, who commanded in that province, but much ſoftened and qualified. The emperor's friends too, ſoothing him with b flattering ſpeeches, took care to put favourable conſtructions upon the ill tidings. *Vitellius* himſelf, in a harangue to the ſoldiers, inveighed againſt the prætorians lately diſcharged, as if they had publiſhed lying reports, and aſſured both the ſoldiery and people, that there was no ground to fear a civil war. The name of *Veſpaſian* he took care to ſuppreſs, and diſperſed ſoldiers all over the city, with directions to ſilence the rumour among the populace; a precaution which greatly increaſed the public alarm.

Sends for ſuccours.

From *Germany*, however, from *Britain*, and from both *Spains*, he ſent for ſuccours, but in a very negligent manner, the better to conceal the neceſſity which preſſed him. In the provinces and commanders of the provinces, no leſs remiſneſs was found: *Hordeonius Flaccus*, who commanded in *Germany*, and *Vettius Bolanus*, go- c vernor of *Britain*, were wavering in their fidelity to *Vitellius*; nor in *Spain* was there any forwardneſs or expedition ſhewn, the commanders of the three legions there, men equal in authority, (for over thoſe provinces preſided then no ruler of conſular

Africa *faithful to him.*

dignity) watching the fortune of the war, and being ready to follow it. In *Africa*, the legion and cohort levied by *Clodius Macer*, and afterwards diſcharged by *Galba*, upon orders from *Vitellius*, returned to the ſervice. The youth too of the province offered themſelves to be inliſted with ſignal alacrity, *Vitellius* having ruled there as proconſul with great uprightneſs, as had *Veſpaſian* in the ſame quality with ignominy and public hatred. *Valerius Feſtus*, governor of the province, promoted at firſt the inclinations of the people with exemplary zeal; but ſoon after beginning to waver, d while he aſſerted in public the cauſe of *Vitellius*, by ſecret intellience he encouraged that of *Veſpaſian*, being reſolved, whatever party prevailed, to maintain the juſtice of the ſtronger [g].

The meaſures concerted and agreed on by *Veſpaſian* and *Mucianus* were, that the *Illyrian* army ſhould advance as far as *Aquileia*, poſſeſs themſelves of the *Pannonian Alps*, and there wait, till their forces from all quarters behind them came up, in order to enter *Italy* the following year in a body. In the mean time, the fleet was to keep conſtantly cruizing both in the *Mediterranean* and *Adriatic* ſeas, in order to prevent the conveying of corn to *Rome* from *Egypt*, and proviſions from *Achaia* or *Sicily*. By this means they did not doubt, but *Italy* would be obliged to ſubmit with- e out bloodſhed. But theſe orders did not reach the *Illyrian* army, till it was too late to put them in execution; for the leaders of *Veſpaſian*'s party in *Illyricum*, having held a council at *Petovio*, now *Pettaw* in *Stiria* upon the *Drave*, to deliberate, whether they ſhould content themſelves with guarding the paſſes of the *Pannonian Alps*, till the forces behind them advanced, or, by a reſolution more daring, march forward and venture a ſtruggle for *Italy*, ſome indeed thought it adviſeable to wait the arrival of ſuccours, magnifying the fame and renown of the *German* legions; but *Anto-*

Antonius Primus *is for invading* Italy *with the* Illyrian *army.*

nius Primus, who was againſt all delay, argued, that to themſelves diſpatch was altogether advantagious, and to *Vitellius* only pernicious; ſince the *German* legions, once indeed formidable, were, by haunting the circus and theatres, and following f the idle diverſions of the city, at preſent utterly ſoftened and debauched, and dreadful to none but their hoſts; whereas if time were allowed them, their ancient vigor would ſtill return, by their application to the cares and purſuits of wars. Not far from them, added he, lies *Germany*, from whence a ſure recruit of forces; beyond the *Channel*, *Britain*; juſt by, *Gaul*, as alſo both *Spains*; from all a ready ſupply of men, horſes, and contributions. *Italy* itſelf is in their poſſeſſion, with the immenſe treaſures of *Rome*. The protracting of the war therefore to another ſummer will prove highly advantagious to them; but in this interval where ſhall we find proviſions?

[f] Tacit. c. 85—87. Suet. c. 18. Dio, l. lxviii. p. 737. [g] Tacit. c. 96—98.

a ſions? where money? Let us therefore delay no longer, but, with a bold puſh, make an irruption into the boundaries of *Italy*. The meaſures which I adviſe, I am reſolved to purſue. You, who are yet free to follow fortune on either ſide, ſtay, and with you detain the legions. To me a few cohorts, lightly equipped, will be ſufficient. You ſhall ſoon hear that I have opened my way into *Italy*, and ſhaken the power of *Vitellius*. You will then be glad to follow in the track of one who has conquered for you. This ſpeech, uttered with eyes darting fire and a fierce and thundering voice, moved even ſuch as were moſt cautious and wary. The common ſoldiers, who, together with the centurions, had conveyed themſelves into the council, ſcorning the reſolution of others as cold and ſpiritleſs, extolled him as the only
b brave man, the only reſolute leader. His reſolution being generally approved of, to render the march into *Italy* ſecure, letters were forthwith diſpatched to *Aponius Saturninus*, who had already joined the party of *Veſpaſian*, with directions to follow in haſte with his army from *Mœſia*. That the provinces, thus bereft of their armies, might not be expoſed to the incurſions of the bordering nations, the chiefs of the *Jazyges*, a *Sarmatian* nation, were taken into the ſervice and retained in pay. Into the party too were drawn *Sido* and *Italicus*, kings of the *Suevians*, men noted for their attachment and fidelity to the *Romans*. On the ſide towards *Rhætia* guards of auxiliaries were poſted, that country being governed by *Portius Septimius* the procurator, a man unſhaken in his fidelity to *Vitellius*. *Sentilius Felix* was ordered to poſſeſs him-
c ſelf of the bank of the *Oenus*, now the *Ins*, flowing between *Rhætia* and *Noricum*. Theſe precautions being taken, *Primus* marched with great expedition to invade *Italy*, at the head of a choſen body of infantry and part of the horſe. He was accompanied by *Arvius Varus*, an officer of great bravery and experience in the art of war, which he had learned under the renowned *Corbulo*, whom he was ſuppoſed, in ſecret conferences with *Nero*, to have accuſed, and thereby occaſioned the ruin of that celebrated commander. By favour, thus infamouſly gained, he was raiſed to the rank of a principal centurion. *Primus* and *Varus*, advancing to *Aquileia*, were admitted into the city, and likewiſe into the neighbouring towns of *Opitergium* and *Altinum*: *Padua* too and *Abeſte*, now *Eſte*, received them with great demonſtrations of
d joy. In the latter place they learned, that three cohorts of *Vitellius*'s army, with the ſquadron of horſe called *Scriboniana*, had erected a bridge at *Forum Allienum*, now *Ferrara*, and were poſted there. At break of day therefore they attacked them, before they were appriſed of their approach, put ſome of them to the ſword, and obliged the reſt either to ſave themſelves by flight, or to change their allegiance. In the mean time, two legions arriving at *Padua* from *Pannonia*, *viz.* the ſeventh, ſurnamed *Galbiana*, and the thirteenth, named *Gemina*, *Primus*, after having allowed them a few days for repoſe, bent his march to *Verona*, with a deſign to ſeize that city, and make it the ſeat of war, as it was ſituated among ſpacious plains, fit for encounters of horſe, in which his prime force lay. In their march they became maſters of
e *Vicetia*, an acquiſition, which, tho' ſmall in itſelf, paſſed for one of great moment; ſince in it *Cæcina* was born, and from the general of the enemy the place of his nativity was ſnatched. The ſeizing of *Verona* was deemed a more important conqueſt; for it was a wealthy and flouriſhing city, and beſides, the key of *Germany* and *Rhætia*: ſo that that now all communication between *Vitellius* and thoſe countries was cut off. In the mean time, letters arrived from *Veſpaſian*, with orders to his generals not to venture beyond *Aquileia*, but to wait there the coming of *Mucianus*. To his authority he added reaſoning, *viz.* that ſince *Egypt*, ſince the magazines for ſupplying *Italy* with proviſions, ſince the revenues of the moſt opulent provinces, were all under his power, the army of *Vitellius*, through want of grain and pay, might be
f forced to come over. *Mucianus* in his letters urged the ſame counſels; but he was prompted by a paſſion for gaining all the glory, and reſerving for himſelf the whole honour of the war. But from quarters of the world ſo diſtant, the counſels arrived when other meaſures were already taken [h].

His propoſal approved.

He ſeizes Aquileia, and ſeveral other cities.

Takes Verona.

THE diſmal tidings of the irruption of the enemy into *Italy* no ſooner reached *Rome*, than *Vitellius*, at length thoroughly alarmed, ordered his two generals, *Cæcina* and *Valens*, to prepare with all expedition for taking the field. New levies were raiſed, and to all, who ſhould voluntarily liſt themſelves, not only diſmiſſion was promiſed after the victory, but the ſame rewards that were paid to veterans after a long courſe of

Vitellius *orders* Cæcina *and* Valens *to take the field.*

[h] TACIT. l. iii. c. 1—5.

of warfare. As *Valens* was juſt then recovered from a ſevere fit of ſickneſs, *Cæcina* alone was ſent forward at the head of the *German* army. But the appearance of thoſe forces, ſo awful upon their late entry, proved far different upon their departure. They had, by imitating the exceſſes of their emperor, by ſurrendering themſelves to the voluptuous entertainments of the city, and following other practices too abominable to be named, quite waſted their martial ardour and enfeebled their bodies. Their march was lazy and ſlow, their ranks thin, great numbers, eſpecially of the *Germans* and *Gauls*, having been ſwept off by diſtempers ariſing from their riotous living. Their horſes were quite lifeleſs, and the men grown too delicate to bear the ſun, the duſt, or the weather; but the more averſe they were to military toils, the greater propenſity they had to diſobedience and mutiny. It was generally believed, that *Cæcina*, who commanded them, out of jealouſy and hatred to *Fabius Valens*, *Vitellius*'s chief favourite, had already reſolved to change ſides, and ſignified his intention to *Flavius Sabinus*, *Veſpaſian*'s brother, whom *Vitellius* had not yet removed from the government of *Rome*. *Cæcina*, after *Vitellius* had embraced and diſmiſſed him with high marks of honour, leaving the city, ſent forward part of the cavalry to poſſeſs themſelves of *Cremona*, ordering the reſt to repair to *Hoſtilia*, a place of ſome ſtrength, and about thirty miles from *Verona*. He himſelf turned away to *Ravenna*, to confer there with *Lucius Baſſus*, who, from the command of a ſquadron of horſe, had been by *Vitellius* preferred at once to that of the two fleets, the one riding at *Ravenna*, the other at *Miſenum*; but was nevertheleſs highly diſſatisfied, becauſe he was not appointed captain of the prætorian guards. It is uncertain, whether he drew *Cæcina* off from *Vitellius*, or *Cæcina* him. Thoſe who compoſed the relation of this war, while the *Flavian* family was poſſeſſed of the ſovereignty, tell us, that they were both guided by a ſincere concern for the public tranquillity, and affection for the commonwealth. But our hiſtorian is of opinion, that as they were men of no faith or principles, they were prompted by jealouſy and ſpite; and that, rather than others ſhould ſurpaſs them in intereſt with *Vitellius*, they choſe to overthrow *Vitellius* himſelf[i]. *Cæcina* having rejoined the legions, employed many devices to alienate the affections of the centurions and common ſoldiers from *Vitellius*, to whom of themſelves they were ſtrongly devoted. *Baſſus* undertook the ſame taſk with the fleet, and accompliſhed it without much difficulty; for, as they had lately ſerved under *Otho*, they were ready to abandon their faith to *Vitellius*. *Cæcina* advanced to *Hoſtilia*, and pitched his camp between that village and the marſhes formed by the river *Tartarus*, being defended behind by the river, and on each ſide by the marſh. As he had with him ſix legions and a great number of auxiliaries, it was in his power to have utterly defeated *Primus*'s two legions, (for his other forces were not yet arrived) and to have forced them, by a ſhameful flight, to abandon *Italy*. But framing delays, he privately carried on a correſpondence with the enemy's generals, till, by intercourſe of meſſengers, he agreed with them upon the articles of his treachery. In the mean time, arrived at *Verona* the ſeventh legion, named *Claudiana*, under the command of *Vipſtanus Meſſala*, a man of a moſt illuſtrious family, and the only one who engaged in the war upon worthy deſigns. The ſeventh legion was ſoon after followed by the third and the eighth; and then it was judged proper to draw an intrenchment round *Verona*. In the mean time, the fleet at *Ravenna*, revolting from *Vitellius*, tore his images, and openly eſpouſed the cauſe of *Veſpaſian*; which *Cæcina* no ſooner underſtood, than aſſembling all the principal centurions and ſome of the common ſoldiers, he repreſented to them the deplorable condition of *Vitellius*'s affairs, exhorted them to gain betimes the favour of the new prince, and then forthwith gave them the oath to *Veſpaſian*. Thoſe who were his accomplices ſetting an example, the reſt, aſtoniſhed at ſo ſudden an event, took it after them. At the ſame inſtant, the images of *Vitellius* were pulled down and defaced, and meſſengers diſpatched to acquaint *Antonius Primus* with the whole. But as ſoon as news of the defection was ſpread through the camp, the ſoldiers flocked to the quarter where the images of *Veſpaſian* were ſet up, and, with the utmoſt indignation, flung them down, and replaced thoſe of *Vitellius*; then chuſing for their leaders *Fabius Fabullus*, commander of the fifth legion, and *Caſſius Longus*, prefect of the camp, they put *Cæcina* in irons, cutting in pieces certain marines, who by chance fell in their way, abandoned their camp, and, breaking down the bridge, marched back to *Hoſtilia*, and thence to *Cremona*, to rejoin there the firſt legion named *Italica*, and the one-and-twentieth, ſurnamed *Rapax*[k].

The bad condition of the German *army*

Cæcina *wavers in his fidelity.*

His treachery.

The fleet at Ravenna *declares for* Veſpaſian.

Cæcina *revolts, and is by his troops put in irons.*

a b c d e f

THESE

[i] Idem, c. 6. [k] Idem, c. 7—14.

a THESE tranſactions were no ſooner known to *Primus*, than he reſolved to attack the enemy, thus divided in their affections, ere the leaders had recovered their authority, the ſoldiers their diſcipline and obedience, or the legions their former ſpirit and boldneſs. He imagined, that *Fabius Valens*, who was inviolably attached to *Vitellius*, and a commander of great experience, had ere now left *Rome*, and would, upon learning the deſertion of *Cæcina*, travel with great expedition. With his whole army therefore he marched from *Verona*, and the next evening incamped at *Bedriacum*. The day following he ſent out his auxiliaries to forage in the territories of *Cremona*, and marched himſelf at the head of eight thouſand horſe to ſupport them. When he had advanced about eight miles from *Bedriacum*, news was brought b him, that the enemy approached. While *Primus* was conſulting what meaſures to take, *Arrius Varus* ruſhed out with a party of the moſt reſolute horſe, and put the enemy's van-guard in confuſion; but many advancing to ſupport their comrades, the fortune of the encounter changed, and *Arrius* was put to flight. This haſty ſtep had been taken without the approbation of *Primus*, who judged, that the iſſue would be ſuch as it proved. He now exhorted thoſe about him to prepare for battle; to the legions he diſpatched orders to arm, and notice to the auxiliaries ſpread over the country, to quit their pillage, and haſten by the ſeveral neareſt ways to the combat. In the mean time, *Arrius*'s routed troops arriving, communicated their dread to the reſt; inſomuch, that the whole body of horſe under the command of *Primus* betook c themſelves to a ſhameful flight. During this conſternation, *Primus*, diſcharging the duty of an experienced commander and a moſt courageous ſoldier, ſtrove to animate ſuch as were diſmayed, to ſtop ſuch as were flying, readily aſſiſting here with his counſel and orders, there with his ſword, where-ever the greateſt efforts were required, where-ever any hope was preſented. With his javelin he pierced a ſtandard-bearer who was flying, and ſeizing the ſtandard, turned it againſt the enemy. Hereupon an hundred horſe, aſhamed to deſert their general, returned to the fight. With theſe, drawn up in cloſe ranks, he ſuſtained the onſet, till the reſt of his men, finding the bridge behind them broken and their flight interrupted, returned to the charge. Hereupon conſternation and diſmay ſeized the enemy; they began to give d ground, and at laſt, *Primus* preſſing them with freſh vigor, betook themſelves to a diſorderly flight. The conquerors purſued them within four miles of *Cremona*, where they met, attacked, and routed two legions, that called *Rapax* and that named *Italica*, who were advancing to the relief of their cavalry. *Primus* forbore purſuing them, mindful of the condition of his men and horſes, quite ſpent with the fatigue of the day. In the cloſe of the evening arrived the reſt of *Primus*'s forces; and as they marched over heaps of ſlain, they concluded from thence, that the war was ended, and demanded to be led directly to *Cremona*, being well appriſed, that by ſtorming the town in the dark, they ſhould have a greater latitude for plundering; whereas if they waited the return of day, ſupplications would be offered, and terms e granted: by which means the wealth of *Cremona* would accrue to the commanders of the legions and principal officers; for the plunder of a town taken by ſtorm belonged to the ſoldiers, but to the leaders when gained by ſurrender. It was with the utmoſt difficulty, that *Primus* (for they utterly ſlighted the other commanders) prevailed upon them to delay the attack for one night. In the mean time, ſome horſemen, who had advanced cloſe to the walls of *Cremona*, having ſeized ſome ſtragglers from thence, learnt of them, that ſix legions of *Vitellius*, and the whole army that had incamped at *Hoſtilia*, having that day marched thirty miles, were juſt approaching in battle-array. Hereupon *Primus* immediately drew up his men according to the nature of the ground, and made the neceſſary preparations to receive the enemy, f who, as they wanted a leader of experience, inſtead of reſting at *Cremona*, attacked, ſpent as they were with a long march and faſting, *Primus*'s forces, and began the engagement at the third hour of the night; that is, about nine in the evening. The combat laſted the whole night, fortune ſometimes favouring one ſide, ſometimes another. As they fought in the dark, and the watch-word of each, by being frequently aſked and repeated, became known to the other, they could not diſcern friend from foe. In this dreadful confuſion, the ſeventh legion, called *Galbiana*, was ſorely beſet. Out of it ſix centurions of principal rank were ſlain, and ſome of the enſigns taken. The eagle, however, was preſerved by *Atilius Varus*, the chief centurion, who, in defending it, ſlew heaps of the enemy, and at laſt fell himſelf. *Primus*'s men were chiefly annoyed by a baliſta of amazing bulk, which, being placed upon the ridge of

Arrius Varus *put to flight by the troops of* Vitellius.

The gallant conduct of Primus.

Vitellius's *cavalry routed.*

The battle of Cremona.

the highway, ſwept away whole ranks, by diſcharging againſt them great, maſſy a
ſtones; but at length two common ſoldiers, paſſing undiſcovered through the midſt
of the enemy, cut the ſprings of the engines, and by that means, at the expence of their
own lives, (for they were immediately cut in pieces) ſaved part of the army from utter
deſtruction. To neither ſide was fortune yet leaning, when, the night being near ſpent,
the moon riſing diſcovered the two armies to each other. More favourable, how-
ever, ſhe proved to that of *Veſpaſian*, as ſhe ſhone upon their backs, and full in the
enemy's faces. *Primus*, now that he could diſtinguiſh his own men and be by them
diſtinguiſhed, applied himſelf to animate them, ſome by ſhame and reproof, others
by applauſe and exhortation, all by hopes and promiſes. There enſued from every
quarter cries and ſhoutings; and juſt then the third legion, according to the cuſtom b
in *Syria*, where they had been long quartered, paid their adoration to the riſing ſun.
This incident gave birth to a report, which flew in an inſtant through the whole army
and reached the enemy, that *Mucianus* was arrived, and between his forces and the
third legion mutual ſalutations had paſſed. This diſheartened the troops of *Vitellius*;
which *Primus* perceiving, made a laſt effort, puſhed them with great vigor, and
utterly broke their ranks; which they attempted indeed to reſtore, but in vain,
Vitellius's army defeated. being embaraſſed by their own carriages and engines. Being therefore no longer
able to keep their ground, they betook themſelves to a precipitous flight, and ſtrove
to gain *Cremona*, *Primus*'s men purſuing them with great ſlaughter. *Vitellius* is ſaid
to have loſt, what in the engagement what in the flight, about thirty thouſand c
men. But the ſight of ſo many dead bodies laying together in heaps, and covering
the fields and ways, did not occaſion ſo much horror, as the death of a father ſlaugh-
tered by his own ſon. The fact is thus related by our hiſtorian, upon the authority
of *Vipſtanus Meſſala*, who, in this engagement, commanded the ſeventh legion, named
Claudiana: *Julius Manſuetus*, a native of *Spain*, liſting in the legion called *Rapax*,
left behind him a ſon, then a boy, who afterwards being under *Galba*, inrolled in
the ſeventh legion called *Galbiana*, happened in this battle to engage his father and
A father killed in the battle by his ſon. killed him; but being known by his parent juſt expiring, as he was rifling him,
and knowing him again, he embraced with a flood of tears his pale corpſe; charged
with a ſad and doleful voice the public with the crime of parricide; and lifting up d
the body, digged a grave, and, under the utmoſt affliction, diſcharged towards his
parent the laſt duty. Thoſe who were neareſt obſerved what had paſſed, and in a
moment the tragical accident was divulged throughout the whole army, with many
lamentations and bitter execrations upon a war thus unnatual and barbarous; yet they
continued to butcher and ſpoil their kinſmen, their relations, nay, their brethren, at
the ſame time relating what a crying iniquity had been committed, and committing
it themſelves[1].

As the conquerors approached *Cremona*, they found the enemy incamped quite
round the walls, and defended by a deep ditch, which had been dug in the war
againſt *Otho*, and ſince ſtrengthened with freſh works. To proceed to the aſſault e
with an army already weary with the continued toil of a day and a night, ſeemed to
the leaders an enterprize full of danger and difficulty; but the ſoldiers, more apt to
brave perils than bear delays, demanded to be forthwith led on to the attack; and
Primus, yielding to this humour, ordered them, in the form of a ring, to inveſt the
They attack the enemy's camp. intrenchments, and begin the aſſault; which they did with a fury hardly to be ex-
preſſed, raiſing their ſhields over their heads, and thence forming a teſtudo, under
the ſhelter of which they advanced to the foot of the ramparts. But *Vitellius*'s men,
by hurling down upon them huge ſtones, looſened the teſtudo, beat to the ground
the men beneath, and made a dreadful havock of them, thus naked, and expoſed to
vollies of ſtones and arrows. The onſet began to ſlacken, when the leaders, finding f
their men exhauſted and unmoved by exhortations, pointed to *Cremona* as the price
of their victory. Thus encouraged, they renewed the aſſault, all obſtinately combined
to ſucceed or die: regardleſs of wounds and blood, they ſtrove to demoliſh the ram-
part, battered the gates, ſtood upon the ſhoulders of one another, and upon the
teſtudo now reſtored, and thence ſeized the weapons in the hands of the enemy, and
the hands too which held them; ſo that the hale and the maimed, ſuch as were half-
dead, and ſuch as were juſt expiring, tumbled headlong together and periſhed. When
Vitellius's men were no longer able to ſuſtain the ſhock, and found that all the
diſcharges

[1] Idem, c. 15—25. Dio, l. lxv. p. 740.

a discharges from the baliſta were rendered ineffectual by the teſtudo below, they at laſt hurled down the engine itſelf, huge and ponderous as it was, which failed not to cruſh thoſe upon whom it fell; but at the ſame time drew with it the battlements, the upper part of the rampart, and the adjoining tower. In this confuſion, *Caius Voluſius*, a ſoldier of the third legion, having mounted the rampart, puſhed down all who reſiſted, and cried aloud, That the camp was taken. The reſt then having broke the gate with their ſwords and axes, burſt in, *Vitellius*'s men being utterly diſmayed, and leaping with great fury from the battlements. The whole ſpace between the camp and *Cremona*, whither the enemy retired, was covered with dead bodies. And here again was preſented a new ſcene of difficulties, the walls of the city very high, ſtrong b towers of ſtone, the gates ſecured with vaſt bars of iron, the gariſon numerous, the inhabitants devoted to the party of *Vitellius*, and at this time a great part of *Italy* aſſembled in the town on occaſion of a fair. *Primus* ordered fire to be immediately ſet to the moſt ſumptuous and beautiful buildings in the neighbourhood of the city, hoping by that means to oblige the people of *Cremona* to abandon the party of *Vitellius*. At the ſame time, he conveyed all his braveſt men into ſuch houſes as ſtood near the walls, from whence, with vollies of darts, arrows, and ſtones they drove away all who made oppoſition, while the legions, forming a teſtudo, advanced to the foot of the walls. *Vitellius*'s men ſuſtained the attack with great intrepidity, till their officers, fearing that, were the city taken by ſtorm, all the fury of the conquerors would vent itſelf upon c them, began to deliberate about ſurrendering. Having therefore agreed to throw themſelves upon the mercy of the conquering army, they razed the name and defaced the images of *Vitellius*; then diſcharging *Cæcina* from his bonds, beſought him to plead in their behalf. Thus were ſo many brave men reduced at length to implore the aid and protection of a traitor. At his requeſt *Primus* granted them their lives, ordering them to ſurrender their arms and march out of the town; which they did accordingly, *Cæcina*, who was then conſul, walking before them, attended by his lictors. and arrayed with the enſigns of the conſular dignity. This the conquerors could not bear; they upbraided him in bitter terms with his pride, with his cruelty, nay, and with his treaſon, and would have proceeded to violence, had not *Primus* checked d them, and furniſhing *Cæcina* with a guard, ſent him away to *Veſpaſian*[m]. For the city of *Cremona*; as it had, even in the war againſt *Otho*, ſupported the cauſe of *Vitellius*, and ever ſhewed a paſſionate zeal for his intereſt, both *Primus* and his army were highly incenſed againſt it; but nevertheleſs the general did not think it adviſeable to deliver it immediately up to be plundered, great part of the wealth of *Italy* being at this time lodged in it on occaſion of the fair. In a ſpeech therefore which he made to his ſoldiers after the ſurrender of the place, he commended their bravery, exhorted them to uſe mercy towards their fellow-ſoldiers, who had ſubmitted; but purpoſely avoided making any mention of the city, or its inhabitants. Having ended his ſpeech, and diſmiſſed the troops, he went to a bath to waſh off the blood with e which he was ſtill ſtained; for he had, during the ſeveral engagements and attacks, commanded as a general, and fought like a common ſoldier. In the bath he happened to drop a word, which was remarked and quickly divulged; for finding the water ſomewhat too cool, he complained of it, adding, It will ſoon prove abundantly hot. This ſaying, though pleaſantly uttered to his ſlaves, was inſtantly ſpread all over the camp, and by the ſoldiery, greedy of plunder, interpreted as the watchword for ſetting fire to *Cremona*. Accordingly forty thouſand ſoldiers ruſhing into it, and a greater number of ſervants and retainers to the camp, more abandoned to acts of cruelty and licentiouſneſs than the ſoldiers themſelves, pillaged, murdered, raviſhed, *&c.* without reſtraint for four days together, and then ſetting fire to the f empty houſes, reduced them to aſhes. Such was the end of *Cremona*, two hundred and eighty-ſix years after its foundation (W). *Primus*, aſhamed of the barbarities committed

And force it.

Cremona attacked.

It ſurrenders.

Is pillaged and burnt.

[m] Tacit. c. 16—31.

(W) *Cremona* was founded, according to *Tacitus* (58), *Polybius* (59), and *Livy* (60), in the conſulſhip of *Tiberius Sempronius* and *Publius Cornelius*, when *Hannibal* was ready to invade *Italy*, as a barrier againſt the *Gauls* on the other ſide of the *Po*, or any other power meditating an irruption from beyond the *Alps*. It grew and flouriſhed by the convenience of rivers, the richneſs of its territory, and affinities with other nations of *Italy*. In no foreign war it had ever been hurt, but, in the civil diſſenſions, ſuffered more than any other city.

(58) *Tacit. c.* 3. (59) *Polyb. l.* iii. *c.* 40. (60) *Liv. epit. l.* xii.

committed by his ſoldiers, iſſued an order, that no one ſhould preſume to hold captive any citizen of *Cremona*. Hereupon ſuch as had any, began to murder them; which inhumanity obliged their relations to redeem them. Soon after, ſuch of the inhabitants as had outlived the general maſſacre, returned to *Cremona*, and rebuilt the city, being therein countenanced by *Veſpaſian*. *Joſephus* tells us, that of *Vitellius*'s men there fell in the battle thirty thouſand and two hundred, and four thouſand five hundred on *Primus*'s ſide[n]; and *Xiphilinus* writes, that, what in the field what in the city of *Cremona*, there periſhed fifty thouſand perſons. The conquerors, not able to bear the ſtench of the putrified carcaſes, having lodged one night on the ruins in which the city was buried, retired the next day three miles from thence. The ſoldiers of *Vitellius*, ſcattered and diſperſed over the country, were aſſembled again, placed under their former banners, and, as the war ſtill ſubſiſted, ſent into *Illyricum*. Meſſengers were immediately diſpatched into *Britain* and both *Spains*, to acquaint the troops there with the victory, as was *Julius Calenus*, a tribune, into *Gaul*, and *Alpinus Montanus*, commander of a cohort, into *Germany*, two officers choſen for oſtentation, as the latter was of *Treves*, the former an *Æduan*, and both partizans of *Vitellius*. At the ſame time, guards were poſted upon the paſſes of the *Alps*, to cut off all communication between *Germany* and *Italy*; for it was reported, that the *Germans* were arming with a deſign to aſſiſt the vanquiſhed party[o]. Let us now return to *Vitellius*.

Vitellius reſigns himſelf up to voluptuouſneſs.

Having diſmiſſed *Cæcina* in the manner we have related, and a few days after ordered *Fabius Valens* to take the field, he buried himſelf in the bowers and alleys of his gardens, ſtriving to ſmother all his cares in voluptuouſneſs and all manner of exceſſes. From *Rome* he retired to the grove at *Aricinum*, where, while he paſſed his time intirely reſigned to ſloth and gluttony, he was alarmed with tidings of the defection of the fleet at *Ravenna*. Soon after came another melancholy account, yet blended with joy, that *Cæcina* had revolted, but was by the army put in irons. Hereupon he returned to the city, and in a full aſſembly extolled the fidelity of the ſoldiery; but ordered *Publius Sabinus*, captain of the prætorian guards, to be caſt into bonds, on account of his intimacy with *Cæcina*, and named in his room *Alphenus Varus*. The ſenate, informed of the deſertion of *Cæcina*, inveighed againſt him in a ſtyle of indignation well ſtudied; for not a man dropped a bitter expreſſion againſt the leaders of the oppoſite party, and all with great circumſpection avoided mentioning *Veſpaſian*. Tho' one day only remained of *Cæcina*'s conſulſhip, he was depoſed, and *Roſcius Regulus* named in his room, who, upon the laſt day of *October*, began his magiſtracy, and with the day ended it. In the mean time, *Valens*, who was upon his march to join the troops at *Hoſtilia* and *Cremona*, being informed, that the fleet at *Ravenna* had revolted to the enemy, inſtead of quickening his march, halted, and wrote to *Vitellius* for ſuccours. The emperor immediately diſpatched after him three cohorts, with the ſquadron of horſe from *Britain*. Theſe *Valens* ſent forward to *Ariminum*; but he himſelf turning aſide bent his courſe to *Umbria*, and from thence to *Hetruria*. Having there learnt the iſſue of the battle at *Cremona*, he conceived a deſign, which, had it been put in execution, would have been attended with very dreadful conſequences, he propoſed to imbarque for *Narbonne Gaul*, and landing upon any part of that coaſt, rouſe thoſe powerful provinces and all the *Roman* forces there, as alſo the ſeveral nations of *Germany*, and thence renew the war. With this deſign he imbarqued in the port of *Piſa*; but was, by contrary winds, forced to land at *Monaco*, where he was kindly received by *Marius Maturus*, procurator of the maritime *Alps*, who, though all the country round eſpouſed the oppoſite party, had never ſwerved from his allegiance. By him *Valens* was informed, that *Valerius Paulinus*, procurator of *Narbonne Gaul*, an officer of known bravery and *Veſpaſian*'s intimate friend, had declared for him, and held with a ſtrong gariſon the city of *Forojulium*, now *Frejus*, which commanded all acceſs from the ſea. Upon this intelligence *Valens* returned directly to his veſſels, with four ſoldiers of the prætorian guards, three friends, and as many centurions, leaving to *Maturus* and the reſt full liberty to ſtay, and ſwear, if they pleaſed, fidelity to *Veſpaſian*. As he roamed about, hovering on the coaſts of *Gaul*, he was, by contrary winds, driven upon the *Stœchades*, iſlands near *Marſeilles*, and there by ſome galleys belonging to *Paulinus* taken priſoner; which was no ſooner known, than firſt the neighbouring, and ſoon after the

Valens retires to Hetruria.

Deſigns to raiſe Gaul.

Is taken priſoner.

[n] Joseph. bell. l. iv. c. 41, [o] Tacit. c. 35, 36.

the more diſtant provinces, eſpouſed, without heſitation, the cauſe of the conqueror.
a In *Spain*, the firſt legion, named *Adjutrix*, which had ſerved under *Otho*, declared for *Veſpaſian*, and drew over with it the tenth and the ſixth. In *Britain* the ſecond legion, which *Veſpaſian* had commanded there in the reign of *Claudius*, acceded to his party, though not without ſome oppoſition from the other legions, in which many centurions and many ſoldiers had been promoted by *Vitellius*. However, they were all brought at length to acknowledge *Veſpaſian* [p].

Gaul, Spain, *and* Britain, *declare for* Veſpaſian.

In the mean time, the diſmal tidings of the overthrow at *Cremona* reaching *Rome*, *Vitellius*, inſtead of deliberating with his friends about the moſt proper meaſures in ſo critical a conjuncture, with a ſtupid diſſimulation, ſmothered the news of the
b calamity, feigning that all his proceedings proſpered, and by ſuch falſe repreſentations leaving his condition quite deſperate. About his perſon was obſerved a wonderful ſilence concerning the war; and through the city all diſcourſes about it were prohibited, which for this very cauſe grew more frequent. However, he privately ſent perſons, in whom he could confide, to view the enemy's camp; but upon their return, when he had ſecretly examined them, he cauſed them all to be murdered, that they might not divulge what they had ſeen. *Julius Agreſtis*, a centurion, having attempted in vain to awaken the emperor out of his lethargy, at laſt prevailed with him, that he himſelf might be ſent to ſurvey the forces of the enemy, and to learn the tranſactions at *Cremona*. *Agreſtis* did not aſſume the behaviour of a ſpy, nor attempted to eſcape the notice of *Primus*; but declaring to him the inſtructions from
c the emperor and his own deſign, he demanded to view the whole in perſon. *Primus* readily ſent certain perſons with him to ſhew him the field of battle, the deſolation and remains of *Cremona*, and the legions taken priſoners. *Agreſtis* having carefully examined the whole, returned to *Rome*; but as *Vitellius* gave no credit to his accounts, nay accuſed him of corruption and infidelity; Since then, ſaid he, ſome remarkable confirmation is neceſſary, and ſince neither my life nor my death can avail you, I will furniſh you with an evidence which you may credit. Having thus ſpoken, he left his preſence, and fell upon his own ſword at the gates of the palace [q]. In the mean time, ſome of *Veſpaſian*'s troops, under the conduct of *Cornelius Fuſcus*, advancing as far as *Ariminum*, beſieged that place, and poſſeſſed themſelves of the
d plains of *Umbria* and the territories of *Picenum*, all along the *Adriatic* ſea. Thus between *Veſpaſian* and *Vitellius* all *Italy* was ſhared, and the ridges of the *Apennine* become the common boundary. As winter approached and the plains were flooded by the overflowing of the *Po*, *Primus* ſent the legions back to *Verona* with the aged and wounded; and paſſing the *Po* at the head of the auxiliary cohorts and cavalry, advanced as far as the temple of *Fortune*, at preſent a city on the *Adriatic* gulph, known by the name of *Fano*. There he halted, upon intelligence, that the prætorian cohorts had already left *Rome*, and that guards were poſted upon the *Apennine* to oppoſe his paſſage. And truly *Vitellius*, rouſed at length, as it were, out of a profound ſleep, had ordered *Julius Priſcus* and *Alphenus Varus*, with fourteen
e prætorian cohorts, a legion of marines, and other forces, to ſeize the paſſes of the *Apennine*. They were all choſen men, and able to have made an offenſive war, had they been under the command of a different general. They encamped at *Mevania*, now *Bevagna*, in the neighbourhood of *Toligno*; but *Vitellius*, without departing in the leaſt from his wonted courſe of debauchery, continued at *Rome*, where he ſettled a ſucceſſion of conſuls for ten years, diſcharged ſome nations from all tribute, conferred upon others freſh immunities, and, in ſhort, without any regard to futurity, rent and exhauſted the empire with ſuch wild bounties, as could neither be granted nor accepted by men of ſenſe, but were highly applauded by the unthinking herd. At length, moved by the repeated ſolicitations of the army, he left *Rome*,
f and repaired to the camp at *Mevania*, attended by a great number of ſenators, which only ſerved to expoſe him to public contempt and deriſion (X). For as he was quite

A remarkable inſtance of the fidelity of Julius Agreſtis.

Vitellius *ſmothers all bad tidings.*

Vitellius *ſends an army to ſecure the paſſes of the* Apennine.

He arrives at the camp.

[p] Tacit. c. 41---45. [q] Idem, c. 54.

(X) *Tacitus* ſays, that while he was diſcourſing to an aſſembly of the ſoldiers ſoon after his arrival in the camp, there flew over his head a flock of ravenous birds, ſo numerous, that, like a black cloud, they darkened the day. He adds, that a bull eſcaped from the altar; and overturning the utenſils for the ſacrifice, was at laſt ſlain at a diſtance from thence, and not in the place where it was cuſtomary to kill the victims. This the ſuperſtitious pagans looked upon as the worſt of omens (61).

(61) *Tacit.* c. 56.

quite unacquainted with the military art, he was continually applying for information how to draw up the army, how to procure intelligence, by what measures he might defeat the designs of the foe, &c. Upon every flying report of the approach of the enemy, he was sure to betray great fear, and never failed to get drunk. In the end, surfeited with the camp and learning the revolt of the fleet at *Misenum*, he returned to *Rome* in the utmost consternation. The fleet was drawn to revolt by *Claudius Faventius*, who was only a centurion, and had been degraded by *Galba* with marks of ignominy. By forging letters from *Vespasian*, and in his name tempting the officers with great rewards, he prevailed upon them to change their allegiance. To reclaim them, *Vitellius* made choice of *Claudius Julianus*, who had lately commanded the fleet, and was highly esteemed by the marines. But he, without hesitation, went over to the party of *Vespasian*; and, putting himself at their head, took the city of *Terracina*. Hereupon *Vitellius* dispatched messengers to the army, with orders to retire from *Mevania*, and drawing nearer *Rome*, to encamp at *Narnia*, now *Narni*. From it he detached six cohorts and five hundred horse, whom he sent under the command of his brother *Lucius*, to make head against the soldiers of the fleet. He himself remained at *Rome*, where he assembled the people by their tribes, and to all, who desired to be listed, administered the oath of fidelity. As he moved compassion by his sad countenance, his doleful expressions, and many tears, and was liberal, nay extravagant, in his promises, vast multitudes gave in their names; and to this dastardly crowd, only daring in words, he gave the awful name of legions. To himself he assumed, at this juncture, the title of *Cæsar*, which he had hitherto rejected, as if the *Cæsars* alone were destined to hold the sovereign power[r].

The fleet at Misenum *revolts.*

a

b

c

Vitellius *takes the title of* Cæsar.

The army no sooner left *Mevania*, than the *Samnites*, the *Pelignians*, and the *Marsians* embraced the cause of *Vespasian*. At the same time, *Primus*, informed of the enemy's motions, hastened to pass the *Apennine*, where, while his troops were sorely annoyed with the cold, and struggling with difficulty out of the deep snow, he considered what dangers he must have undergone, had not *Vitellius*'s army abandoned their post. *Primus*, having past the *Apennine*, encamped at *Carsulæ*, between *Mevania* and *Narnia*, and there waited the arrival of the legions from *Cremona*, which were in full march to join him. As the forces of *Vitellius* were only ten miles distant, the troops which *Primus* had with him were for attacking them before the legions arrived, whom they considered rather as sharers in the prey, than partakers in the peril. But *Primus* found means to calm their fury, and in the mean time the legions arrived, and soon after their arrival possessed themselves of *Interamna*, now *Terni*; which so terrified *Vitellius*'s army, that they began to fly over to the enemy in whole companies and troops, being encouraged thereunto by their tribunes and centurions. However, some of the common soldiers persisted inflexible in their adherence to *Vitellius*; and a report was industriously spread all over the camp, that *Valens* had escaped into *Germany*, and was there assembling a mighty army. To confute this rumour, and prevent their cherishing any farther hopes, *Valens* was put to death at *Urbinum*, where he was detained in prison, and his head sent to the camp, and displayed to the view of *Vitellius*'s troops. At this sight, they sunk into utter despair; and seeing themselves on all sides bereft of hope, passed over in a body to the party of *Vespasian*. Upon this general defection, *Primus* and *Varus* neglected not, by repeated messages, to make offers to *Vitellius* of safety to his person, of revenues, of any private retirement in *Campania*, or elsewhere, if he would resign the sovereignty and submit to *Vespasian*. *Mucianus* likewise sent him letters with the like offers; to which he would have yielded, had he not been dissuaded by his friends from ever leading a private life, after he had been emperor. To him now remained only the city of *Rome*, which *Flavius Sabinus* might have easily raised against him; but he, either out of a natural abhorrence to the spilling of blood, or because he envied the grandeur of his brother's fortune, neglected to act with any warmth or alacrity. It is true, he often conferred with *Vitellius* about the means of restoring public peace, but could not be prevailed upon to use violence. In one of these conferences, he agreed to resign the empire upon certain conditions, which *Sabinus* assured him should be ratified by his brother *Vespasian*; which was no sooner known, than his followers exerted their utmost efforts to divert him from his resolution; representing to him, how ignominious, how insecure the terms of peace were, since

Primus *passes the* Apennine.

Valens *put to death.*

The whole army passes over to Vespasian.

Vitellius *designs to abdicate.*

d

e

f

[r] Idem, c. 55----58.

a ſince the performing them entirely depended upon the wanton humour of the conqueror. But, notwithſtanding all their endeavours to rouſe him to ſome attempt daring and brave, having learnt on the eighteenth of *December* the defection of his army at *Narnia*, he went forth from the palace in deep mourning, attended by his domeſtics, with his little ſon, a helpleſs infant; and paſſing in this forlorn condition through the ſtreets of the city, arrived at the place where the people uſed to aſſemble; and there to the multitude, which had flocked from all quarters, declared his reſolution in few words, ſuch as ſuited his preſent condition, that he voluntarily withdrew for the ſake of the public peace and the good of the commonwealth; and that he only deſired they would remember him, and to his brother, to his wife, and
b to his innocent and tender children, ſhew compaſſion and mercy. At the ſame time, extending his arms, with his little ſon in them, he recommended him now to one, now to another, then to all. At laſt, burſting into tears, he ungirt his ſword from his ſide, and preſented it to the conſul *Cæcilius Simplex*, who ſtood juſt by him, as thus reſigning the power of life and death over the citizens. As the conſul refuſed to receive it, and the aſſembly with loud clamours oppoſed his reſignation, he departed, declaring, that he intended to diveſt himſelf of the badges of the imperial dignity in the temple of *Concord*, and thence to ſeek a private retirement in his brother's houſe. But the people, ſenſibly affected with this doleful ſcene, declared with one voice againſt his withdrawing to a private dwelling, called him back to the palace, and even ſhut up every other way. Hereupon, not knowing what to
c do, nor how to proceed; he returned to the palace[f]. But as the rumour had already flown all over the city, that *Vitellius* had abdicated the empire; all the principal ſenators, great numbers of knights, with the city guards and thoſe of the night-watch, crowded to the houſe of *Flavius Sabinus*, Thither news was brought them, that *Vitellius*, encouraged by the people and his *German* guards, was returned to the palace. As *Sabinus* had advanced too far to retreat, all who were about him adviſed him to take arms, and force *Vitellius* to ſtand to the treaty he had made. *Sabinus*, though of himſelf heſitating and backward (Y), yielded to their advice; but ſome of the boldeſt of *Vitellius*'s men, meeting him as he advanced to the palace, attacked
d with great reſolution, and put him to flight. *Sabinus* under this diſtreſs had no other reſource but to ſhut himſelf up in the capitol; which he did accordingly, with a ſmall number of ſoldiers, ſome ſenators, and a few *Roman* knights. The ſoldiers of *Vitellius* immediately inveſted the capitol, but with ſtations ſo looſe and ill-guarded, that *Sabinus*, during the dead of the night, found means to acquaint *Primus* with his danger, and to cauſe his own children *Sabinus* and *Clemens*, and his brother's ſon *Domitian*, to be brought to him. The next morning, as ſoon as day began to dawn, before hoſtilities were committed on either ſide, *Sabinus* ſent *Cornelius Martialis*, a centurion of the firſt rank, to put *Vitellius* in mind of the treaty, and expoſtulate with him about his thus violating ſuch ſolemn ſtipulations. *Vitellius* threw the whole fault upon the ſoldiers, whoſe ardour, he ſaid, it was not in his power to reſtrain.
e He even warned *Martialis* to retire by a private way, that he might not be aſſaſſinated by the ſoldiers, as the mediator of a peace which they abhorred. He was ſcarce

But is not permitted.

Flavius Sabinus *takes arms, but is defeated.*

He retires to the capitol.

[f] Tacit. c. 60—69. Suet. c. 15. Dio, l. lxv. p. 740.

(Y) The nobility of *Rome* did all that lay in their power to rouſe *Flavius Sabinus*, and encourage him to ſhare with the other generals of the party the glory of placing his brother upon the throne. As he was governor of *Rome*, the cohorts there immediately depended upon him, and conſequently would not fail to join; moſt of the ſenators offered to aſſiſt him with their ſlaves. The cohorts remaining with *Vitellius* were few, and thoſe quite diſheartened with diſmal tidings from all quarters. The populace were wavering; and from them, if he once preſented himſelf as their head, he would find the ſame flattery and zeal, which they had ſhewn for *Vitellius*, inſtantly turned upon *Veſpaſian*. With theſe and the like reaſonings, the grandees of *Rome* ſtrove to rouſe *Sabinus*, but could not by any means prevail upon him to take arms; and hence ſome entertained private ſuſpicions againſt him, as if through malignity and emulation he ſtudied to thwart the deſigns formed in behalf of his brother. For *Flavius Sabinus* was both elder than *Veſpaſian*, and greatly ſurpaſſed him in wealth and reputation. He was even believed to have upheld his brother's credit otherwiſe ſinking, and for the money lent him to have received in pledge his houſe and poſſeſſions. Hence, though between them an appearance of unanimity ſubſiſted, private grudges were apprehended to remain. But our hiſtorian is of opinion, that *Sabinus*, naturally merciful and gentle, abhorred all ſlaughter and ſpilling of blood; and therefore frequently conferred with *Vitellius* about the means of reſtoring public peace, and laying down arms by mutual agreement and treaty (62).

(62) *Idem*, c. 64.

The capitol beſieged.

ſcarce returned to the capitol, when *Vitellius*'s ſoldiers approached, and began the attack with great fury. The beſieged, with ſhowers of ſtones and tiles, ſtrove to overwhelm the aggreſſors; but the latter, advancing boldly to the very gates of the citadel, ſet fire to them, and muſt have entered, had not *Sabinus* pulled down the ſtatues on all hands, and, with theſe glorious monuments of antiquity, raiſed in the very entrance a new wall. Then they ſtrove to force a paſſage from the oppoſite avenues of the capitol, climbing over the contiguous buildings, which, during a long peace, had been ſuffered to be raiſed to the height of the foundations of the capitol. Here the aſſault was cloſe and fierce; and the adjoining roofs being ſet on fire, whether by the aſſailants or the beſieged is uncertain, the flame ſpread from thence to the porticos of the capitol; and being there nouriſhed by the timber, which was very old, ſpread every way with terrible impetuoſity; nor did the conflagration ceaſe, till that glorious and ſtately edifice was burnt to the ground and laid in aſhes; the moſt deplorable misfortune, ſays *Tacitus*, that had happened ſince the founding of the city, and to the *Roman* people the moſt reproachful, ſince by them, and not by a foreign enemy, the ſacred ſeat of the great *Jupiter*, reared by their anceſtors with ſolemn benedictions and auſpices, as the pledge and centre of future empire, was thus impiouſly profaned and reduced to aſhes [t].

And burnt to the ground.

Sabinus *taken priſoner.*

While the capitol was yet burning, *Vitellius*'s bands, burſting in, put all who oppoſed them to the ſword: of theſe the moſt ſignal were *Cornelius Martialis*, *Æmilius Pacenſis*, *Caſperius Niger*, and *Didius Scæva*. *Flavius Sabinus* and *Quinctius Atticus* the conſul were taken and loaded with irons. The reſt, by divers ſtratagems, eſcaped, having learnt the word by which the ſoldiers of *Vitellius* were diſtinguiſhed by one another. Young *Domitian* was ſaved by the contrivance of one of his freedmen, under the diſguiſe of a linen robe, as if he had belonged to the tribe of the prieſts who offered ſacrifices in the capitol (Z). *Sabinus* and *Atticus* were carried to *Vitellius*, who did all that lay in his power to appeaſe the fury of the populace and ſoldiery, crying aloud for their execution. They were chiefly incenſed againſt *Sabinus*; and therefore, inſtead of hearkening to the emperor's intreaties, they run him through in his preſence; then cutting off his head, dragged his trunk through the ſtreets to the *Scalæ Gemoniæ*, where the bodies of malefactors were uſually expoſed. He had, for the ſpace of five-and-thirty years, carried arms for the commonwealth, had governed *Mœſia* ſeven years, and *Rome* twelve, bearing both in peace and war a ſignal reputation. The only failing, which even his enemies could object to him, was his talkativeneſs. As to the innocence of his life and juſtice of his actions, he was altogether blameleſs. All agree, that before *Veſpaſian* became emperor, *Sabinus* was looked upon as the chief ornament of the *Flavian* family, and the ſupport of *Veſpaſian* himſelf, who was his younger brother: When the people demanded the doom of the conſul *Atticus*, *Vitellius* perſiſted in oppoſing them, being entirely reconciled to him, in regard of his openly confeſſing, that he had ſet fire to the capitol; and by thus aſſuming the odium of the crime, though the whole was by ſome thought a fiction, acquitted as innocent the party of *Vitellius*. About the ſame time, *Lucius Vitellius*, the emperor's brother, defeated in *Campania* the marines, who had declared for *Veſpaſian*, and retook *Terracina*. Six ſmall galleys eſcaped, and in one of them *Apollinaris* commander of the fleet. All the other veſſels were ſeized by the ſhore, or, ſurcharged by the flying crowd, ſunk to the bottom. *Julianus*, who had been ſent by *Vitellius* to reclaim the fleet, and had gone over to *Veſpaſian*, was taken priſoner, and by *Lucius*'s orders firſt inhumanly ſcourged and then executed. Had *Vitellius*'s men, now elated with ſucceſs, proceeded directly to *Rome*, a dreadful ſtruggle muſt have enſued; nor could it have been decided without the deſtruction of the city. But while *Lucius* was deliberating, whether he ſhould return forthwith to *Rome*, or purſue the reduction of *Campania*,

And murdered

Lucius Vitellius *takes Terracina.*

[t] Tacit. c. 70—72.

(Z) *Domitian* paſſing among the ſacrificers undiſcovered to the houſe of *Cornelius Primus*, a dependent of his fathers, near the place called *Velabrum*, lay there concealed, till *Rome* was taken by *Primus*. He afterwards, in the reign of his father, demoliſhed the houſe where he had lain concealed, and raiſed upon the place a ſmall chapel dedicated to *Jupiter the protector*, with an altar, and the account of his adventure engraved upon marble. When he arrived at the ſovereignty, he erected a vaſt temple ſacred to *Jupiter the guardian*, with himſelf held in the arms of the god (63).

(63) *Idem*, c. 74.

a *Campania*, the troops of *Primus*, informed of the danger of *Sabinus*, haſtened to his relief. *Petilius Cerealis*, one nearly allied to *Veſpaſian* and a commander of no mean character, upon the firſt news that the capitol was beſieged, was ſent forward with a thouſand horſe, and ordered to croſs the *Sabine* territories, and enter *Rome* through the *Salarian* way. *Primus* himſelf advanced along the great *Flaminian* road, and when the night was far ſpent, arrived at a place called the *Red Rocks*. There he received diſmal tidings, that *Sabinus* was murdered, the capitol reduced to aſhes, the city under dreadful conſternation, the populace and ſlaves all under arms for *Vitellius*, &c. (A). *Petilius Cerealis*, meeting not far from the city a party of the enemy, attacked them briſkly, but was by them received with equal reſolution, and, b after a long and bloody conteſt, put to flight and purſued as far as *Fidenæ*. This ſucceſs heightened the zeal and partiality of the people for *Vitellius*; they betook themſelves to arms, moſt of them ſnatching up whatever fell firſt in their way, and, thus armed, demanded to be led out againſt the enemy. *Vitellius* commended their zeal, but at the ſame time ſent embaſſadors both to *Cerealis* and *Primus* to renew the former treaty. The ſoldiers of *Cerealis* inſulted the deputies, and even wounded the prætor *Arulenus Ruſticus*, a man of great merit and diſtinction, and ſlew his principal lictor, for daring to open a paſſage through the crowd. Thoſe who went to *Primus* were better received. They were attended by the *Veſtal* virgins, who brought letters from *Vitellius* to *Primus*, wherein the emperor deſired, that the battle, c which was to be the laſt, might be ſuſpended for one day, ſince during that interval all things might be eaſily accommodated. *Primus* diſmiſſed the virgins with all demonſtrations of honour; but to *Vitellius* returned anſwer, that, by the murder of *Sabinus* and the burning of the capitol, all means of ending the war by treaty were cut off (B). The embaſſadors were ſcarce gone, when the whole army moved, advancing in three bodies to the walls of *Rome*, where the forces of *Vitellius* expected them, divided likewiſe into three bodies. The weak and unwarlike populace was routed at the firſt onſet; but *Vitellius*'s other troops, ſallying out againſt the enemy as they approached the walls of the city, attacked them with a fury hardly to be expreſſed. *Primus*'s men ſtood their ground with equal reſolution and intrepidity; d ſo that the moſt cruel and bloody battle enſued that the *Romans* had ever ſuſtained. The conflict laſted ſeveral hours with various ſucceſs; but in the end proved favourable to *Primus*'s men, as ſuperior in the abilities of their leaders. The *Vitellians* were with great ſlaughter driven into the city, where they aſſembled again; and, though vanquiſhed and routed, renewed the battle with freſh vigor, and continued it to the cloſe of the day. The people gathered about the combatants as ſpectators; and as if they had been only attending the repreſentation of a fight exhibited for public amuſement, they ſometimes favoured one party, ſometimes another, with theatrical ſhouts and clappings: nay, as often as either ſide turned their backs, or particulars fled into houſes, or concealed themſelves in ſhops, they inſiſted upon their being e dragged out and ſlain. The people, as *Tacitus* obſerves, were ſo little affected with this tragical ſpectacle, that at the ſame time were ſeen in one place cruel conflicts and bleeding wounds; in another luxurious banqueting and voluptuous revellings; every-

Primus *marches to* Rome.

Vitellius *ſends embaſſadors to treat of an accommodation.*

Primus's *anſwer.*

Vitellius's *men driven into the city;*

(A) *Primus*'s forces might have reached *Rome* before the capitol was beſieged; but, inſtead of purſuing their march to the city after they had left *Narnia*, they diverted themſelves at *Ocriculum*, now *Otricoli*, in celebrating the annual feaſt of *Saturn*, which laſted many days. There were not wanting ſome, who on this occaſion entertained ſuſpicions of *Primus*, and charged him, as if, through treachery, he thus lingered in conſequence of the letters ſecretly ſent him from *Vitellius*, with offers of the conſulſhip and of his daughter then marriageable, and with her a mighty fortune, as the rewards of revolting from *Veſpaſian*. Others alledged, that all this charge was no more than a fiction, and that it was a reſolution concerted amongſt all the leaders, rather to terrify the city with a terrible diſplay of war, than to carry the war thither, ſince the chief ſtrength of the prætorian bands had already deſerted *Vitellius*, who was likewiſe precluded from receiving any reinforcements; ſo that it was preſumed he would quietly yield up the empire. But the true cauſe of ſo prepoſterous delay was, according to our hiſtorian, their waiting the coming of *Mucianus*, who was advancing full march with the forces of the eaſt, and by frequent letters retarded the motion of the conquering army, being ſtung with envy at the ſucceſs of *Primus*, and thinking that he ſhould be deprived of all ſhare in the glory of the war, were he not preſent at the entry into *Rome*. But the news, that the capitol was beſieged, rouſed *Primus*, and put the whole army in motion (74).

(B) *Muſonius Rufus*, by rank a *Roman* knight, by profeſſion a *Stoic*, joining himſelf to the embaſſadors, endeavoured, by philoſophical diſcourſes about the advantages of peace and the dangers attending war, to quell the fury of men in arms; but was derided by ſome, outrageouſly inſulted by others, and at laſt, partly by menaces, partly by the perſuaſions of the more moderate, prevailed upon to forbear his unſeaſonable leſſons of wiſdom (75).

(74) *Idem*, c. 78.

(75) *Idem*, c. 81.

every-where ſtreams of blood and heaps of carcaſes; and hard by wanton debauches and lewd harlots: in ſhort, all the abominations of a moſt diſſolute and riotous peace, and all the barbarities of a moſt dreadful and cruel captivity. *Primus*'s men, having in the end prevailed and made themſelves maſters of the city, marched in the next place to ſtorm the camp of the prætorian guards, whither the moſt determined amongſt the enemy had retired. As they conſidered the camp as their laſt hope and reſource, they exerted their utmoſt efforts in defending it; and, though in number inferior, often repulſed the aggreſſors; and at length, when the gates, in ſpite of all oppoſition, were burſt open, uniting together, they made a laſt effort; but being overpowered by numbers, they all fell, facing the enemy and wounded only before [u]. a

Which is taken with the camp.

Vitellius, ſeeing the city taken, cauſed himſelf to be conveyed in a chair through the back part of the palace to his wife's houſe upon mount *Aventine*, with a deſign to lie there concealed during the day, and fly by night to his brother, then at *Terracina*. But as to one who is under dread and fears all things, the preſent affairs ſeem moſt dangerous, he ſoon changed his mind and returned to the palace. *Suetonius* writes, that he altered his reſolution upon a groundleſs and uncertain report, that a treaty and a peace was concluded. Be that as it will, he found the palace now quite deſolate and abandoned; all his ſlaves and domeſtics having ſlipped away, or carefully avoiding to meet him. Terrified with the diſmal ſolitude and ſilence, he tried to enter ſeveral apartments; but finding them all ſhut, and being at laſt weary with ſuch miſerable and ſolitary wandering to and fro, he thruſt himſelf into the porter's lodge, and concealed himſelf behind the bed. In the mean time, a party of *Primus*'s men entering the place, ſearched all places and corners, till at laſt they diſcovered the emperor and dragged him out. As they knew him not, they inquired who he was, and whether he could acquaint them what was become of *Vitellius*. He deceived them at firſt; but being ſoon known by *Julius Placidus*, tribune of a prætorian band, he pretended to have matters of the utmoſt importance to impart to *Veſpaſian*, and with great earneſtneſs begged to be kept, though it were in priſon, till his arrival. But the tribune and ſoldiers, deaf to all intreaties, tied forthwith his hands behind him, threw a halter about his neck, rent all his apparel, and dragged him half-naked into the forum through the great ſtreet called the *Sacred Way*, forcing him, with their ſwords pointed at his throat, to hold up his head, and preſent his face to the indignities offered him by the rabble, who now reviled him in a moſt outrageous manner. They forced him to behold his own ſtatues thrown down, and to view the place where *Galba* had been murdered. While he was thus haled along, a *German* ſoldier meeting him, drew his ſword and diſcharged a violent blow, whether at *Vitellius* to revenge ſome former injury, or at the tribune, or to releaſe the emperor from inſults and deriſion, is uncertain. The tribune's ear he actually cut off, and was himſelf inſtantly ſlain. *Vitellius* they puſhed forward, the populace the whole time upbraiding him with his gluttony, his *target of Minerva*, his lewdneſs, and even the imperfections of his body; for he was enormouſly tall, corpulent, and ſomewhat lame, having been hurt by a chariot, while he was attending *Caligula* at the races in the circus. He bore all the inſults and indignities offered him without uttering a ſingle word, except to the tribune, to whom, while he treated him in a manner altogether unbecoming, he anſwered, that nevertheleſs he had been his emperor. They dragged him at laſt to the *Gemoniæ*, the common charnel of malefactors, where the body of *Flavius Sabinus* had lain expoſed, and there with many wounds put an end to his unhappy life. His head was cut off, and carried on a pole through the chief ſtreets of the city. His body was dragged with a hook, and with all poſſible ignominy thrown into the *Tiber*, but afterwards buried by his widow *Galeria Fundana*. Thus died *Aulus Vitellius*, the ninth emperor of *Rome*, according to ſome in the fifty-fourth, according to others in the fifty-eight, year of his age, after having reigned a year, wanting ten or twelve days, from the time he was proclaimed emperor at *Cologn*, and eight months and a few days after the death of *Otho*. He was raiſed to the firſt dignities in the ſtate by no parts or merit of his own, but in regard of the luſtre of his family, which was one of the moſt conſpicuous in *Rome*. By his extravagant bounties and largeſſes, he gained the affections both of the ſoldiery and people. Of the former, b c d e f

Vitellius *abandons the palace, but returns to it.*

He is diſcovered,

Inſulted by the populace,

And executed.

[u] Idem. c. 73—84. Dio, l. lxv. p. 742. Suet. c. 15. Joseph. bell. Jud. l. iv. c. 42.

former, many adhered to him with unſhaken fidelity to the laſt, tho', in the opinion of our hiſtorian, he had not one good quality to recommend him to ſuch as wiſhed well to the republic, having been ſtained, even from his tender years, with all manner of crimes and moſt infamous and abominable iniquities[w]. The day being already far ſpent, the ſenate could not be aſſembled, the ſenators and magiſtrates having either privately withdrawn from the city, or concealed themſelves in the houſes of their dependants. *Domitian*, apprehending now no further danger, preſented himſelf to the leaders of the party, and was by the ſoldiers thronging about him ſaluted *Cæſar*, and by them conducted in a kind of triumph to his father's houſe.

Domitian *ſaluted* Cæſar.

In the mean time, *Lucius Vitellius* was with his cohorts advancing from *Terracina* to the relief of his brother. The cavalry was therefore ſent forward to *Aricia*, and the legions ordered to advance to *Bovillæ*. But *Lucius* was no ſooner informed of the unhappy doom of the emperor, than he ſurrendered himſelf and his bands to the pleaſure of the conquerors. The ſoldiers were diſarmed and led through the city, guarded on each ſide by files of armed men, without betraying a ſuppliant look, or dropping a mean expreſſion, though outrageouſly inſulted by the mocking and petulant vulgar. They were all committed to priſon, but ſoon after releaſed. As for *Vitellius*, he was put to death; a puniſhment which he well deſerved, being no leſs addicted to all kinds of vices than his brother. But, for all his vices, he wanted neither courage nor activity, and ſupported the cauſe with great reſolution and vigilance[x]. By the death of the emperor and his brother, war was rather ſeen to ceaſe, than peace to commence; for the conquerors, continuing in arms, hunted all over the city after the conquered, filling with carnage and mangled bodies the ſtreets, the places of public reſort, the temples, and even the private houſes, which they burſt open and pillaged, pretending, that there ſome *Vitellians* were concealed. The indigent part of the populace failed not to join the ſoldiers in the general violence and ſpoil; ſo that on all hands nothing was heard but diſmal complaints and outcries, and nothing ſeen but the dreadful calamities of a city ſtormed and ſacked. *Domitian*, who already enjoyed the name and reſidence of *Cæſar*, inſtead of ſtriving to check the inſolence of the ſoldiery, attended his infamous pleaſures, and only by his diſſolute life ſhewed himſelf the ſon of an emperor. *Primus*, in whoſe hands the whole power was lodged, made uſe of it only to plunder more freely, being wholly taken up in conveying from the palace treaſure, moveables, and domeſtic ſlaves, as if he were ſtill ſeizing the ſpoil of *Cremona*. When the fury of the ſoldiers began to abate, the ſenate met, and confirmed the ſovereignty of *Veſpaſian*, decreeing to him with great alacrity all the titles and prerogatives ever inveſted in former princes. They declared him conſul, giving him his ſon *Titus* for collegue in that dignity: *Domitian* they honoured with the prætorſhip and conſular authority: they preſented *Primus* with the conſular ornaments, and *Cornelius Fuſcus* and *Arrius Varus* with thoſe of the prætorſhip. All theſe decrees were paſſed at the motion of *Valerius Aſiaticus*, conſul elect[y].

Lucius Vitellius *ſurrenders himſelf and his troops, and is put to death.*

The miſerable condition of the city.

The ſovereignty of Veſpaſian *acknowledged by the ſenate.*

During theſe commotions in *Italy*, the *Batavians* revolted, under the conduct of the celebrated *Claudius Civilis*; but of the cauſes and events of this war, which continued long, we ſhall ſpeak in the following reign. The people of *Dacia* too roſe up in arms; a people never well-affected to the *Romans*, and then by no forces reſtrained, ſince the army was withdrawn out of *Mœſia*. They ſtormed the winter quarters of the auxiliary cohorts, paſſed the *Danube*, and were proceeding to demoliſh the entrenchments of the legions, when *Mucianus* happened to march through *Mœſia* with the forces of the eaſt. As that commander was already appriſed of the victory at *Cremona*, he detached the ſixth legion to oppoſe the barbarians, and appointed *Fonteius Agrippa* governor of *Mœſia*, with part of the troops which had ſurrendered at *Cremona*, and which it was thought adviſeable to engage in a foreign war, that they might not diſturb domeſtic peace. *Agrippa* obliged the enemy to repaſs the *Danube*; and, to prevent any farther attempts of the like nature, built a great number of forts on the banks of the *Danube*, and ſtrengthened them with numerous gariſons. In *Pontus* likewiſe great diſturbances were raiſed by one *Anicetus*, formerly freed-man to king *Polemon*, under him in great power, and commander of the royal navy. As he was highly provoked againſt the *Romans* for changing the kingdom into a province, which happened in the reign of *Nero*, and by that means depriving him of

The Dacians *in arms are quelled by* Mucianus.

Diſturbances in Pontus.

[w] Tacit. c. 85, 86. Suet. c. 4, 5, 15, 18. Dio, p. 743. [x] Tacit. l. iv. c. 2. [y] Idem ibid.

of all his authority, he laid hold of the preſent opportunity, and, levying forces under a colour of aſſiſting *Vitellius*, ſeized the city of *Trebizond*, burnt the fleet which guarded the coaſts, and, entering into an alliance with the neighbouring barbarians, ſcoured the ſea with ſcorn and inſult, and committed dreadful ravages on the coaſts of *Aſia*. Againſt him *Veſpaſian* ſent a choice body of legionaries, under the command of *Virdius Geminus*, an officer diſtinguiſhed in war; who, attacking the enemy while they were roving about in queſt of booty, drove them into their veſſels; then, with ſome galleys built with great expedition, chaced *Anicetus* into the mouth of the river *Chobus*, where he relied upon the protection of *Sedochus* king of the *Lazians*, a people of *Colchis*. That prince ſeemed at firſt determined to defend his ally; but, as ſoon as a reward for his treachery was propoſed and a war threatened, he betrayed *Anicetus* b and all his followers to the conqueror. Thus ended that ſervile war; and *Veſpaſian* received an account of the ſucceſs which had attended his arms, a few days before the joyful tidings were brought him of the great victory gained by his forces at *Cremona* z.

Anicetus *taken.*

CHAP. XIX.

From the death of Vitellius, *to the death of* Domitian, *the laſt of the twelve* Cæſars, *in whom ended the* Flavian *family.*

The deſcent, birth, and actions of Veſpaſian, *before he attained the ſovereignty.*

THE *Flavian* family, now raiſed to the higheſt pitch of grandeur, was no-ways conſpicuous, either for its luſtre or antiquity. *Titus Flavius*, the emperor's grandfather, was a citizen of *Reate*, now *Rieti*, in the country of the *Sabines*; and in the civil wars between *Cæſar* and *Pompey*, ſerved under the latter in quality of centurion, but returned home after the battle of *Pharſalia*; and, having obtained his pardon, betook himſelf to the mean employment of collecting taxes, under the farmers of the public revenue. His ſon, *Titus Flavius Sabinus*, followed the ſame profeſſion, and acquitted himſelf in it with ſuch integrity, that by ſeveral cities of *Aſia*, where he was collector of the tax called *quadrageſima*, ſtatues were erected to him with this inſcription, *To the honeſt publican*. Afterwards he withdrew into the country of the *Helvetii*, where he acquired a conſiderable fortune by lending money upon d intereſt. He married *Veſpaſia Polla*, whoſe father had been military tribune and prefect of the camp; and had by her two children, *Sabinus*, of whom we have ſpoken above, and *Veſpaſian*, who was born on the ſeventeenth of *November* of the ninth year of the common chriſtian æra; that is, five years before the death of *Auguſtus*; ſo that he was raiſed to the empire in the ſixtieth year of his age. He was, amongſt many other new men choſen from the municipal towns, from the colonies, and even from the provinces, admitted into the ſenate by the emperor *Caligula*. He indeed at firſt declined that dignity, but was at laſt, in a manner, conſtrained by his mother to accept it. He afterwards ſerved in quality of military tribune in *Thrace*, was quæſtor of the provinces of *Cyrene* and *Crete*, ædile, and prætor. He attended the e emperor *Claudius* into *Britain*, where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf, though only tribune of a legion, in a very eminent manner, as we have related in the reign of that prince. He was conſul during the two laſt months of the eleventh year of *Claudius*'s reign, and by *Nero* appointed governor of *Africa* in quality of proconſul. He married *Flavia Domitilla*, a native of *Africa*, at firſt ſlave to *Statilius Capella*, but afterwards manumiſed and made free of the city. By her he had two ſons, *Titus* and *Domitian*, who reigned after him, and one daughter, named *Domitilla*, who died, as did alſo her mother, before his acceſſion to the empire. *Veſpaſian* was, as *Tacitus* obſerves, of

z Tacit. l. iii. c. 46, 47.

of all the emperors the only one by power changed for the better. While he was in
a private ſtation, he uſed to court the favour of the princes by the meaneſt flattery.
During his prætorſhip he begged leave to exhibit extraordinary ſports in honour of
Caligula, on account of the pretended victory in *Germany*. He was one of the few
ſycophants who were of opinion, that thoſe who were ſaid to have conſpired againſt
that prince ſhould be publicly executed, and that their bodies ſhould be left unburied.
In the preſence of the whole ſenate he returned *Caligula* thanks for having done him
the honour of inviting him to his table. He was chiefly indebted to *Narciſſus*, the
freedman of *Claudius*, for the conſulſhip, and the two ſacerdotal dignities which he
enjoyed; what dignities theſe were, we are no-where told. After the death of *Nar-*
b *ciſſus*, his great patron, he withdrew and led a private life, dreading the violent ſpirit
of *Agrippina*, who bore an irreconcileable hatred to that miniſter and all his friends.
It was therefore probably after her death, that he was by *Nero* appointed proconſul
of *Africa*, in which government he acquitted himſelf, according to *Suetonius* [a], with
honour and integrity; according to *Tacitus* [b], with ignominy and public hatred. The
former writer acknowledges, that, during a ſedition at *Adrumetum*, he was outragi-
ouſly inſulted by the populace; and, on the other hand, it is well known, that no
province eſpouſed the cauſe of *Vitellius*, and oppoſed the preferment of *Veſpaſian*,
with more ardour than that of *Africa*; a manifeſt proof that his government had not
been popular. Soon after his return from *Africa*, his affairs being in a bad condition
c and his credit at ſtake, he was obliged to mortgage his houſe and poſſeſſions to his
brother *Sabinus*, and in the mean time to ſupport himſelf and his family with the
mean gain he earned by ſelling and changing horſes, nay, and by other means ſtill
more unworthy; for he was convicted of having extorted from a young knight the
ſum of two hundred thouſand ſeſterces, for employing his intereſt in procuring him
a place in the ſenate, againſt the inclination and expreſs will of his father. He attended
Nero into *Achaia*, where he incurred that prince's diſpleaſure, and was forbid the
court, for his inattention while the emperor was ſinging; a crime, which had nigh
coſt him his life at *Rome*, as we have related elſewhere. Hereupon he withdrew into
the country, and there led a life altogether private and retired, expecting every mo-
d ment his laſt doom, when he was, contrary to his expectation, named by *Nero* to
command in the war againſt the *Jews*, as a perſon of great military abilities, and
one who, on account of his mean extraction, gave him no umbrage. He was there-
fore ſent into *Judæa* with three legions, eight ſquadrons of horſe, and ten auxiliary
cohorts, his ſon *Titus* ſerving under him in quality of his lieutenant. In the courſe of *His character as a general.*
that war, which proved ſo fatal to the *Jewiſh* nation, *Veſpaſian* acquired ſignal repu-
tation. In every duty incumbent upon a leader, or even a ſoldier, he was indefati-
gable: it was he who always led the march; he who always choſe the ground for
incamping. Upon conſultations and diſpatches he ſpent nights and days, and was
ever ready upon any exigency to encounter the enemy hand to hand. His diet was
ſuch as chance preſented. In his garb and dreſs he varied little from a common ſol-
e dier. In ſhort, had he been exempt from avarice, he would have equalled the moſt
famous commanders of ancient times. With that vice he is charged by moſt writers;
among the reſt by *Tacitus*, who owed to him his firſt promotion in the ſtate; but
nevertheleſs declares, as becomes an impartial hiſtorian, againſt admitting perſonal
hatred or affection in the characters of men. After the death of *Nero* and *Galba*,
while *Otho* and *Vitellius* were contending for the ſovereignty, he began to cheriſh
hopes of obtaining it himſelf, relying on ſeveral prodigies, prophecies, and propitious
reſponſes of oracles (C). Of the many predictions, that of *Joſephus* the hiſtorian is
the

[a] Suet. in Veſp. c. 4. [b] Tacit. l. ii. c. 37.

(C) The ancients take notice of many prodigies preſaging his future grandeur. In his grounds, ſays *Tacitus* (10), while he was in the bloom of his age, a cypreſs-tree, ſignally tall, fell ſuddenly; but the day following roſe again, and reſumed freſh growth and verdure; which was, according to the concurring teſtimonies of the ſoothſayers, an omen of extraordinary grandeur in the ſtate; yet at firſt the whole preſage ſeemed to have been literally fulfilled by his being honoured with the triumphal ornaments, which he acquired by his conduct in *Britain*; by his bearing the dignity of conſul, and by his renown in vanquiſhing the *Jews*. But when he had paſſed through theſe honours, he began to believe, that the empire was the thing preſaged. He was confirmed in this belief by the anſwer returned him by *Baſilides*, prieſt of the god *Carmel*, ſo called from mount *Carmel*, on which ſtood the altar of that deity; a deity, as *Tacitus* obſerves, not diſtinguiſhed by any ſtatue or temple, but only by an altar. As *Veſpaſian*

(10) *Tacit. l.* ii. *c.* 78.

the moſt famous, who ſaluted *Veſpaſian* with the title of emperor even in *Nero*'s reign, a
and aſſured him, he ſhould be ſoon inveſted with the ſovereign power. His prediction
is mentioned not only by himſelf [c], but likewiſe by *Suetonius* [d], who tells us, that
Joſephus, being by *Veſpaſian*'s orders put in irons, boldly affirmed, that in a ſhort
time he ſhould by him be ſet at liberty; but that he ſhould be emperor firſt. How-
ever, that the empire was by the dark laws of fate, by predictions, and prophecies,
foretold and ordained to *Veſpaſian* and his ſons, was, ſays *Tacitus*, what we believed,
after we had ſeen them emperors [e]. *Veſpaſian*, being encouraged by *Mucianus*, go-
vernor of *Syria*, by *Tiberius Alexander*, governor of *Egypt*, and by all his officers, not
to neglect the preſent opportunity, while two competitors, of all men the moſt un-
worthy, were contending for the empire, he at length yielded, as we have already b
related, and was proclaimed emperor at *Alexandria* on the firſt of *July* of the ſixty-
It acknowledged emperor in the eaſtern provinces. ninth year of the chriſtian æra; on the third of the ſame month in *Judæa*, where he
then was; on the fifteenth in *Syria*; and a few days after in all the provinces of the
eaſt. He was not in himſelf any-ways changed by ſo ſudden and ſo mighty a turn of
fortune: no loftineſs appeared in his aſpect, no arrogance, nor any new behaviour,
under his new character. He immediately rewarded his friends, raiſing ſome to mi-
litary commands, others to be governors of provinces, ſeveral to the rank of ſena-
tors, moſt of them men of ſignal merit and renown, and who afterwards acquired the
higheſt honours in the ſtate. As he thought it below him to court the ſoldiers by
largeſſes, he promiſed them no greater donative in the heat of the civil war, than c
had been given them by others during full peace. In the council which he eſtabliſhed
at *Berytus* for the direction of all momentous affairs, it was reſolved, that *Titus* ſhould
purſue the war againſt the *Jews*, and *Mucianus* march with part of the forces againſt
Vitellius. But *Titus* undertook nothing till the next year; and *Antonius Primus*,
with the *Illyrian* army, defeated the troops of *Vitellius* before the arrival of *Muci-
anus*, made himſelf maſter of *Rome* and all *Italy*, and cauſed the unhappy emperor to
be publicly executed as a common criminal: all which tranſactions we have already
related at length. In the mean time, *Veſpaſian*, having paſſed ſome time at *Antioch*,
the capital of *Syria*, proceeded from thence to *Egypt*, where he received the joyful
tidings of the victory gained by *Primus* at *Cremona*. Hereupon he haſtened to *Alex-
andria*, with a deſign to diſtreſs *Rome* by famine, ſince from *Egypt* chiefly the city d
was ſupplied with corn. He was at the ſame time preparing to invade *Africa* by ſea
and land, in order to bring upon the enemy, by intercepting their proviſions, the
Receives news of the fate of Vitellius. calamity of hunger, with that of diſſention. But, in the mean time, many perſons of
all ranks and degrees arrived from *Italy*, to acquaint him with the fate and fall of
Vitellius; which were no ſooner known, than multitudes flocked from all quarters,
notwithſtanding it was then winter, to court the favour of the new emperor; inſo-
much, that *Alexandria*, the greateſt city of the empire after *Rome*, proved too ſmall
for the vaſt numbers of embaſſadors, deputies, noblemen, officers, *&c.* who flocked
thither. Among the reſt, embaſſadors arrived from *Vologeſes* king of *Parthia*, who
offered to aſſiſt him with forty thouſand *Parthian* horſe. *Veſpaſian* returned him c
thanks, and, deſiring he would ſend embaſſadors to the ſenate, acquainted him, that
the commonwealth was re-eſtabliſhed in peace [f]. The news of the death of *Vitellius*
made *Veſpaſian* alter his meaſures; for inſtead of diſtreſſing the city, which had
already proclaimed him emperor, with famine, he diſpatched thither a great number
of veſſels laden with corn; which arrived very ſeaſonably, there not being at that
time remaining in all the public ſtores above ten days proviſions of grain [g]. As the
winter-ſeaſon was far advanced, *Veſpaſian* continued ſome months at *Alexandria*,
waiting a ſafe paſſage from the gentle weather returning with the ſummer.

In

[c] Joseph. bell. Jud. l. v. c. 12. [d] Suet. c. 5. [e] Tacit. l. i. c. 86. & l. ii, c. 78. [f] Idem, l. iv. c. 51. Joseph. ibid. l. iv. c. 42. [g] Dio. Val. p. 702. Tacit. ibid.

Veſpaſian offered ſacrifice there, and was entertaining great hopes and views, *Baſilides* the prieſt, having diligently ſurveyed the intrails, addreſſed him thus: Whatever deſign it is which you meditate, O *Veſpaſian*, whether to build a houſe, or extend your domains, or to inlarge your train of ſlaves, to you is granted a mighty and large ſettlement, infinite bounds, and multitudes of men. Theſe myſterious words were immediately ſpread abroad by fame, and by all explained as preſaging the empire to *Veſpaſian*. Many reſponſes of oracles and prodigies of the like nature, are related by *Suetonius* (11) and *Dion Caſſius* (12); but we ſhall not treſpaſs upon the patience of our readers with a detail of them.

(11) *Suet. in Veſp. c.* 5.

(12) *Dio, l.* lxvi. *p.* 744.

Mucianus *arrives at* Rome.

His character.

a In the mean time, *Mucianus* arrived at *Rome*, according to *Josephus*[h], the day after the death of *Vitellius*, and in a moment drew to himself, as he had been invested by *Vespasian* with an uncontrouled power, the whole sway. *Licinius Mucianus* was, according to the character which *Tacitus* has drawn of him, a man remarkable for a strange combination of good and bad qualities; luxury and vigilance, haughtiness and complaisance; when unemployed, excessively voluptuous; of infinite abilities and activity, when business required them. Hence his equal share of praise and reproach; as a public minister admired, as a private voluptuary condemned. He was a great master in the several arts of engaging, an able orator, well versed in civil affairs, prompt in foreseeing events, dextrous at concerting schemes, mighty in b credit with those who were above him, under him, or in equal authority with him; in short, such a man as could easier create an emperor than be one. *Vespasian*, as he was chiefly indebted to him for the empire, upon his departure for *Italy*, invested him with an unlimited power, and is even said to have trusted him with his signet, as if he had been his partner in the sovereignty. Hence, upon his arrival at *Rome*, he was by all looked upon and revered, rather as the emperor's collegue, than as a subordinate minister. Quite sunk was the power of *Antonius Primus* and *Arrius Varus*, whom *Vespasian* had already appointed captain of the prætorian guards. As *Mucianus* could not well dissemble his animosity towards them, the city immediately turned her back upon her late favourites, and devoted herself to the new minion. To him c alone court was paid, to him all addresses were made: neither was he wanting to his own grandeur; for he never appeared in public but incompassed with guards, and attended with an equipage becoming a sovereign. He forbore indeed the name, but performed all the functions of sovereignty, Soon after his arrival, he caused *Asiaticus*, the late emperor's freed-man, to atone for his late wicked sway, by suffering the death of a slave. His doom was by every one expected and even wished for; but the death of *Calpurnius Galerianus* occasioned a mighty and general dread in the city. He was the son of *Caius Piso*, who, in the reign of *Nero*, had aspired at the sovereignty; but had himself no share in that conspiracy, nor had ever offered to disturb the state. However, as he was of an illustrous family, of a graceful per- d son, and greatly beloved by the people, he was, by order of *Mucianus*, committed to the custody of a band of soldiers, sent forty miles from *Rome*, and there put to death by having his veins opened[i].

He bears universal sway.

He causes Calpurnius Galerianus *to be murdered.*

The Batavians *revolt from the* Romans, *under the conduct of* Claudius Civilis.

While *Mucianus* was thus ruling with absolute sway in *Rome*, the *Batavians* were carrying on the war against the *Romans* with stupenduous success in *Lower Germany*. Of that war we shall here, as in its proper place, (for it was happily concluded this year, the first of *Vespasian*'s reign) briefly recount the causes and events. The *Batavians*, originally the same people with the *Cattans*, who dwelt beyond the *Rhine*, being driven thence by a domestic insurrection, settled at the extreme borders of *Gaul*, in an island formed by the mouths of the *Rhine* and the *Ocean*. According to this description, the *Batavians* possessed *South Holland*, part of the country of *Utrecht*, e and the island of *Betaw*, in the dukedom of *Guelderland*. They were not subjects, but allies, of *Romans*, being obliged to assist them only with troops commanded by men of the first rank amongst them. They had at this time eight cohorts, men thoroughly exercised in the wars of *Germany* and *Britain*. These *Vitellius* had gained over to his party, and a great share they had in the victory at *Bedriacum*; but proveing afterwards refractory and ungovernable, the emperor thought it adviseable to remand them back to their own country. *Julius Paulus* and *Claudius Civilis*, both men of royal descent, greatly surpassed the rest in credit and quality. The former f was slain by *Fonteius Capito*, who falsly charged him with rebellion. The latter was put in irons and sent to *Nero*; but by *Galba* declared innocent, and set at liberty. Under *Vitellius* he was again in danger of his life, being charged with treason: and hence his hatred to the *Romans*, which prompted him to arm his countrymen against them. However, as he was a man of great address, lest the *Romans* should look upon him as a public enemy, if he once appeared to have revolted from them, in the beginning of the war between *Vitellius* and *Vespasian*, he pretended an attachment to the latter, and was, by letters from *Antonius Primus*, ordered to stop and drive back the forces summoned to succour *Vitellius*. *Civilis* therefore, determined to revolt, but, concealing for the present his main drift, contented himself with diverting the

Batavian

[h] Joseph. bell. l. iv. c. 42.

[i] Tacit. l. iv. c. 11. Joseph. l. v. c. 42.

Batavian youth from lifting themſelves, purſuant to the orders of *Vitellius*. Soon after, pretending only to celebrate a banquet, he aſſembled the chiefs of the nation and the moſt daring amongſt the populace, in a ſacred grove, where, when they had carouſed till far in the night, and were warmed and bold, he acquainted them with his real deſign, diſplayed the praiſes and renown of their nation, enumerated the inſults they had ſuffered, the oppreſſion they groaned under, and all the miſeries attending upon a ſtate of ſervitude. As he was heard with great applauſe, he bound them all with many barbarous ceremonies in a combination. He then diſpatched meſſengers to the *Caninefates*, who inhabited part of the iſland, to engage them in the ſame cauſe and aſſociation. The *Caninefates* fell readily into his meaſures; and chuſing for their leader one *Brinno*, famous for brutal bravery, took the field; and being joined by the *Friſians*, a people beyond the *Rhine*, forced the winter incampment of two cohorts, burnt down all the ſtrong holds in the iſland, and maſſacred all the *Roman* victuallers and traders, whom they found confidently rambling about, as in time of peace. Hereupon *Civilis*, pulling off the maſk and openly joining the *Caninefates* and *Friſians*, marched to attack the *Romans*, who, under the conduct of *Aquilius*, had retired to the upper part of the iſland. The conflict was ſcarce begun, when a band of *Tungrians*, who ſerved under the *Romans*, went over to the enemy. At the ſame time, the *Roman* fleet, conſiſting of twenty-four veſſels, the rowers being for the moſt part natives of *Batavia*, rowed away directly to the enemy's ſhore. By this means the *Roman* forces were eaſily defeated, put to flight, and inhumanly butchered, both by the enemy and their own companions. Upon the news of this victory, the Germans immediately diſpatched embaſſadors to *Civilis*, with offers of ſuccours. On the other hand, *Hordeonius Flaccus*, who commanded the army in *Upper Germany*, ordered *Memmius Lupercus* to march out forthwith againſt the enemy with two legions, all the cavalry of the *Ubians* and *Treverians*, and a ſquadron of *Batavian* horſe, men long ſince debauched in their fidelity to the *Romans*, but feigning great zeal for their cauſe, purpoſely to betray them in the very heat of the fight. Accordingly the two armies having joined battle, the *Batavian* cavalry, deſerting the legions while they were fighting with great bravery, fled over to *Civilis*; then inſtantly, like enemies, turned upon the *Romans*. Yet the legionaries, though preſſed on all ſides, ſtill kept their ranks and ſtood their ground, till the auxiliary *Ubians* and *Treverians* betook themſelves to a ſcandalous flight, diſperſing all over the fields. Againſt them the *Batavians* bent their fury and purſuit; which gave the legions an opportunity of retiring with ſafety to the *old camp*, which, as we have obſerved in the reign of *Tiberius*, is placed by moſt geographers near the preſent city of *Stanten* in the duchy of *Cleves*. About the ſame time, the eight *Batavian* cohorts, which, in obedience to the orders of *Vitellius*, were upon their march to *Rome*, being informed of the revolt of their countrymen and the advantages by them already gained, returned, and took their rout towards *Lower Germany*, there to join *Civilis*. *Herennius Gallus*, who then governed *Bonna*, now *Bonn*, attempted to oppoſe the paſſage of the *Batavians* at the head of three thouſand legionaries and ſome cohorts haſtily raiſed; but was by them defeated with great ſlaughter. The conquerors, avoiding *Cologn*, purſued their march, without committing any hoſtilities, and joined *Civilis*, who ſeeing himſelf now at the head of a regular army, but ſtill dreading the formidable power of the *Romans*, obliged all who were with him to ſwear allegianc to *Veſpaſian*, and diſpatched embaſſadors to the two legions in the old camp, requiring them to take the ſame oath. The anſwer they returned was, That they would not follow the counſels of a known traitor, nor thoſe of a public enemy: and that a *Batavian* fugitive muſt not interfere in the affairs of the *Roman* ſtate, but prepare to meet the doom due to his enormous crimes. *Civilis*, highly provoked at this anſwer, rouſed to arms the whole *Batavian* nation, and, being joined by the *Bructerans* and *Tenctrans*, attacked the camp with a numberleſs multitude and a fury hardly to be expreſſed. But the *Romans*, though ſcarce five thouſand men, made ſo vigorous a defence, that *Civilis*, deſpairing of ſucceſs by the method of force and ſtorming, changed his meaſures, and blocked them up on all ſides, not doubting, but they would be ſoon conſtrained by famine to capitulate. In the mean time, *Hordeonius Flaccus*, underſtanding that the camp was beſieged, immediately diſpatched *Dillius Vocula*, commander of the eighteenth legion, and *Herennius Gallus*, with powerful ſuccours to the relief of the two legions. But while theſe two commanders were ſtill incamped at *Gelduba* upon the *Rhine*, now *Gelnub*, a ſmall village near *Ordingen*, in the territory of

Civilis *is joined by the* Caninefates *and* Friſians.

Puts the Romans *to flight.*

Eight Batavian *cohorts go over to* Civilis.

Civilis *beſieges the old camp.*

a of *Cologn*, news was brought him of the defeat of *Vitellius* at *Cremona*; whereupon the officers immediately declared for *Veſpaſian*, forced the ſoldiers to ſwear allegiance to him, and ſent *Alpinus Montanus* to acquaint *Civilis* with the victory, and deſire him to lay down his arms and diſband his troops, if with them he meant to aſſiſt *Veſpaſian*, ſince they all had already acknowledged him emperor. But *Civilis* had ſomething elſe in view, and therefore openly declared, that he would never ſheath his ſword, till he had redeemed both his own country and *Gaul* from the tyrannical yoke of the *Romans*; and that inſtant diſpatched againſt *Vocula* the veteran cohorts and the flower of his *German* forces, under the command of *Julius Maximus* and *Claudius Victor*, huſband to his ſiſter. Theſe coming upon the *Romans* quite unpre- *Defeats* Vo-
b pared, put them to flight and made a dreadful havock of them. But, in the mean time, ſome *Gaſcon* bands, lately raiſed by *Galba*, arriving at *Gelduba*, fell upon the enemy in the rear, whilſt earneſtly purſuing the defeat, filled them with diſmay, and inſpired the *Romans* with freſh courage; ſo that they returned to the charge, and, with the aſſiſtance of their allies, put the enemy in their turn to flight, and gave them a total overthrow. All the braveſt men of the *Batavian* infantry were cut off; but their horſe eſcaped with the *Roman* ſtandards and priſoners taken in the beginning of the encounter. *Vocula*, encouraged with this ſucceſs, marched againſt the enemy beſieging the old camp, and, after a moſt bloody conflict, forced them to abandon the enterprize. In the heat of the engagement, *Civilis*, being thrown by the fall
c of his horſe, was throughout both armies believed to have been dangerouſly wounded, or ſlain: and to this report chiefly was owing the victory gained by the *Romans*. *Vocula*, inſtead of purſuing the enemy, when broken and in diſorder, applied himſelf to fortify the old camp; and, having ſtrengthened it with ſome new works, returned to *Gelduba*, and thence proceeded to *Novenſium*, now *Nuys*, where *Hordeonius Flaccus* lay incamped with part of the army. But *Vocula* was ſcarce gone, when *Civilis* again laid ſiege to the old camp, and advancing with a ſtrong detachment to *Gelduba*, made himſelf maſter of that place; but was put to flight by the *Roman* cavalry near *Noveſium*. But, in the mean time, the ſoldiers began to mutiny, *The* Roman
d and claim preſent payment of their donative; for they had learnt, that the money was already ſent thither by *Vitellius*. *Hordeonius* immediately complied with their demand; but diſtributed the money in the name of *Veſpaſian*. The ſoldiers no ſooner received it, than they abandoned themſelves without controul to debauchery and good chear, to noctural revellings and cabals; and, when intoxicated with wine, renewed their ancient fury and rage againſt *Hordeonius*, who was by them ſuſpected of favouring *Civilis*, becauſe, from a mind well-diſpoſed towards *Veſpaſian*, he had not oppoſed his firſt attempts. As none of the general officers dared to check or reprimand them, in the height of their rage they violently burſt into the bed-chamber of their general, dragged him out, and then butchered him. *Vocula* would have un- *Murder* Hor-
e dergone the ſame fate, had he not made his eſcape in the diſguiſe of a ſlave. They then reſtored the images of *Vitellius*, tore thoſe of *Veſpaſian*, and committed, during that night, innumerable diſorders. But their rage being appeaſed upon the return of day, dread and conſciouſneſs took place; the firſt, the fourteenth, and the eighteenth legions were eaſily reclaimed by *Vocula*, and led by him, after they had again taken the oath to *Veſpaſian*, againſt *Civilis*, who had laid ſiege to *Magontiacum*, now *Mentz*. Before their arrival the beſiegers were withdrawn; but the *Romans* coming up with them, as they marched careleſly and appriſed of no danger, fell upon them ſword in hand, and made a dreadful havock of the diſperſed and diſorderly multitude [k].

Vocula the Roman *commander, and is defeated by the* Vaſcones.

ſoldiers mutiny.

deonius Flaccus *their general.*

In the mean time, the death of *Vitellius*, the murder of *Hordeonius*, and the burning
f of the capitol, being divulged through *Germany* and *Gaul*, both theſe nations ruſhed into open hoſtilities againſt the *Roman* people. A motly multitude of *Cattans*, *Uſipians*, *Mattiacians*, and other *German* nations, joined *Civilis*. The *Gauls* too, laying *The* Gauls *re-*
hold of the preſent opportunity, while the *Romans* were weakened and broken by ſuch *volt.*
ſucceſſive civil wars, combined to attempt the recovery of their ancient liberty, being ſtrongly moved by the burning of the capitol to believe, that the diſſolution of the empire was at hand. The city, they ſaid, had of old been taken by the *Gauls*; but the manſion of *Jupiter* having eſcaped, the empire had thence continued to ſubſiſt. The *Druids* too animated them with vain oracles, that to nations beyond the *Alps* the empire

[k] Tacit. l. iv. c. 12——36.

empire of the world was portended. The chief ſway among the *Gauls* was borne at this time by *Claſſicus*, *Julius Tutor*, and *Julius Sabinus*; the two former *Treverians*, and the latter a native of *Langres*. Theſe three, having in private conferences ſounded the minds of the reſt, and engaged in their deſigns ſuch as they judged proper, came at length to a reſolution of throwing off all diſguiſes, and openly declaring againſt *Rome*. The only heſitation which occurred was, how to diſpoſe of the *Roman* forces then in *Gaul*. Some were for maſſacring them all, others for putting to the ſword only their commanders, ſince the common herd, bereft of their leaders, would be eaſily inticed into the confederacy. The latter opinion prevailed; and this was the ſubſtance of their firſt conſultation. The conſpirators then diſpatched incendiaries into all the regions of *Gaul*, to rouſe them to war; but, in the mean time, feigned great obſequiouſneſs and reſpect to *Vocula*, who was well appriſed of their deſigns; but thought proper, as he wanted force to thwart them, to diſſemble in his turn, and to purſue the ſame artifices which were purſued againſt him. With this view he repaired to *Cologn*; but *Claſſicus* and *Tutor*, who were both commanders of the *Treverian* horſe, incamping by themſelves and ſeparating the firſt time from the legions, he returned back, and with the legions alone proceeded to *Noveſium*, a numerous body of *Gauls* having pitched in the open fields about two miles from that place. To the camp of the *Gauls*, as hoſtilities were not yet begun on either ſide, daily reſorted great numbers of *Roman* ſoldiers; and there, as they found themſelves ſurrounded with terrors on all ſides, they agreed to purchaſe their own ſafety, by committing an iniquity till then unknown among the *Romans*, which was to ſwear allegiance to the *Gauls*, and premiſe either to murder or deliver up in chains their officers. *Vocula* was not unappriſed of what paſſed in the camp of the *Gauls*; but, judging it beneath him to fly, aſſembled the ſoldiery, and having in vain attempted to divert them from ſo monſtrous an iniquity, he retired with a deſign to put a preſent period to his life; but being reſtrained by his freed-men and ſlaves, he was ſoon after murdered by *Æmilius Longinus*, a deſerter from the firſt legion, ſent by *Claſſicus* for that purpoſe. His lieutenants, *Herennius* and *Numiſius*, were only put in irons. After this, *Claſſicus*, aſſuming the badges of a *Roman* magiſtrate, entered the camp, and adminiſtered the new oath to the legions there, every one ſwearing allegiance to the ſovereignty and empire of the *Gauls*. Between *Tutor* and *Claſſicus* was ſhared the charge of managing the war. The former laid ſiege to *Cologn*, and forced the inhabitants to take the ſame oath, as he did all the ſoldiers who lay farther up the *Rhine*. *Claſſicus* ſtrove to gain over by fair promiſes the two legions that were ſhut up in the ancient camp, and were obliged, for want of proviſions, after having conſumed in food their horſes and other beaſts of burden, to ſupport themſelves by plucking ſhrubs and plants, and picking the herbs which ſprouted amongſt the ſtones of the walls. But at length, upon ſo much glory and patience, they brought a foul ſtain, by ſending deputies to *Civilis* to beg their lives. Neither were their ſupplications received, till they had ſworn homage and fidelity to the *Gauls*. Then he granted them their lives; but reſerved the plunder of the camp to himſelf, appointing guards to ſecure the money, ſlaves, and baggage, and others to convoy the ſoldiers thus departing diveſted of all. When they had marched about five miles, the *Germans* ruſhed upon them out of an ambuſh, and cut the greater part of them in pieces. The remainder fled back to the camp; which the *Germans*, by throwing in firebrands, ſet on fire, ſo that ſuch of the unhappy *Romans*, as had ſurvived the late ſlaughter, were now all to a man conſumed by the flames. *Civilis*, elated with the ſucceſs of his arms, ſoon reduced all the neighbouring cities, ſome of them being willing to follow his fortune, and others awed by his power [1].

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The Roman *legions murder* Vocula, *and ſwear allegiance to the* Gauls.

Cologn *and other cities take the ſame oath.*

In the mean time, *Julius Sabinus*, having pulled down and broken the public tables containing the confederacy with *Rome*, cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed *Cæſar*; and, leading a huge hoſt of his countrymen the *Lingones*, ſuddenly invaded the adjacent ſtate of the *Sequanians*, who continued faithful to the *Romans*; but being by them put to flight, in order to raiſe a report that he had periſhed, he ſet on fire the country-dwelling whither he had fled, and by that means ſaved his life yet for nine years. We ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of him in the ſequel of this hiſtory. By this victory of the *Sequanians* the fury of the war was ſtayed in *Gaul*. The ſeveral ſtates began by degrees to recover coolneſs and judgment, the reſt following the example of the people

f

JuliusSabinus *defeated.*

[1] Tacit. c. 67, Joseph. l. vii. c. 11.

a people of *Rheims*, who publiſhed all over the provinces of *Gaul* an invitation for aſſembling their ſeveral deputies, to conſult which conduced moſt to the good of the whole, war or peace. The aſſembly was held at *Rheims*, where *Tullius Valentinus*, one of the embaſſadors of the *Treverians*, with great vehemence promoted the war; but was oppoſed by *Julius Auſpex*, one of the chiefs in the ſtate of *Rheims*, who diſplayed at length the power of the *Romans* and the bleſſings of peace. They all extolled the courage and reſolution of *Valentinus*, but followed the counſel of *Auſpex*, moſt of them being deterred from purſuing a general confederacy, by the mutual jealouſy and competition of the ſeveral provinces. It was aſked, Where muſt be the head of the war? whither muſt they recur for ſupreme authority? and, ſhould all their purb ſuits proſper, what place would they chuſe for the ſeat of empire? Some boaſted their alliances, ſome their wealth and forces, others their antiquity; and from all theſe each claimed ſuperior prerogative and rule. At length, after long and warm debates, they agreed to acquieſce in their preſent condition. To the *Treverians* letters were immediately diſpatched in the name of the ſtates of *Gaul*, adviſing them to lay down their arms, while their pardon was yet to be procured, and their friends were ready to intercede for them, if they ſhewed remorſe. But *Valentinus*, a better ſpeaker than commander, oppoſed this counſel, and ſhut the ears of the nation againſt it. What chiefly diſpoſed the *Gauls* to peace was, the news they received, that an army was advancing full march againſt them, conſiſting of four legions from *Italy*, two from *Spain*, and one from *Britain*, under the conduct of two ſignal commanders, c *Annius Gallus* and *Petilius Cerealis*, whom *Mucianus* had diſpatched from *Rome* to put a ſtop to the further conqueſts of *Civilis* and *Claſſicus*. *Sextilius Felix* arrived before them, having at the head of ſome auxiliary cohorts forced a paſſage through *Rhætia*. To him joined themſelves the twenty-firſt legion, and the ſquadron of horſe ſurnamed the *Singular*, commanded by *Julius Briganticus*, nephew to *Civilis*; but hated by his uncle, and hating him. With theſe forces *Felix* attacked and routed the *Treverians* commanded by *Tutor* near *Bingium*, now *Bingen*, and in a few days obliged the *Tribocians*, the *Vaugiones*, the *Cercatians*, and the *Nemetians*, to deſert their countrymen, and return to the *Romans*. After he had thus made himſelf maſter of d the countries bordering on the *Rhine*, from *Mentz* to the preſent city of *Baſle*, the legions, who had revolted to the *Gauls*, renewed of their own accord the oath of allegiance to *Veſpaſian*; and leaving *Treves*, where they were then quartered, retired to *Mets*, a city confederate with the *Romans*. In the mean time, *Petilius Cerealis* arriving at *Magontiacum*, and being informed there, that *Valentinus* was poſted at *Rigodulum*, now *Rigol*, with a numerous band of *Treverians*, he drew into one body whatever ſoldiers he found at *Magontiacum*, with the forces he had brought over the *Alps*; and, having reached *Rigodulum* in three marches, attacked the enemy's intrenchments, tho' incloſed by the mountains and the river *Moſelle*, and ſtrengthened with deep trenches and barricades of huge ſtone. The *Treverians* fought for ſome time with great reſolution; but were in the end forced to abandon their camp, and ſave themſelves by e flight over the mountains. The *Romans* purſued them, and in the purſuit took many perſons of great diſtinction, and amongſt them *Valentinus* their general. The next day *Cerealis* entered *Treves*; which city the ſoldiers were paſſionate for razing, as the birth-place of *Claſſicus* and *Tutor*; but *Cerealis*, dreading to inure his ſoldiers to licentiouſneſs and cruelty, checked their rage; for ſince the civil wars had ceaſed, the ſoldiery were more tractable in ſuch as were foreign. Their attention was likewiſe diverted by another object, the arrival of the legions which had ſworn allegiance to the empire of the *Gauls*. They appeared ſad and dejected, keeping their eyes immoveably fixed upon the ground, and imploring their pardon by ſilence and weepf ing, till *Cerealis* comforted them, aſcribing their deſertion to the inevitable operations of fate, and aſſuring them, that neither he nor the emperor would remember their paſt offences. At the ſame time he cauſed an order to be publiſhed throughout the camp, that no one ſhould, upon any diſpute, reproach his fellow ſoldier with mutiny or deſertion [m].

The Gauls *reſolve upon peace.*

The Treverians *routed by* Sextilius Felix;

And by Cerealis, *who takes* Valentinus *their general.*

The return of the legions which had ſworn allegiance to the empire of the Gauls.

In the mean time, *Civilis*, *Tutor*, and *Claſſicus*, having from different quarters aſſembled all their forces, attacked unexpectedly the intrenchments of the legions now at the very gates of *Treves*, forced them, put the cavalry to flight, and ſeized the bridge of communication over the *Moſelle* in the midſt of the city. News of this

The Roman *intrenchments ſurpriſed and taken.*

[m] Tacit. c. 71—77.

this general rout and havock being brought to *Cerealis*, while yet in his chamber, a nay in his bed, (for he paſſed not the night in the camp) he ſtarted up, and, undaunted by all this confuſion and diſtreſs, ſtrove with his own hand to ſtop the fugitives; animated them, tho' void of armour, with his own example; and heading ſuch as were remarkably brave, recovered the bridge, and ſecured it by a guard of armed men. Then haſtening to the camp, and there rallying the diſperſed legions, he not only drove out the enemy, but the ſame day forced their intrenchments, and recovered the city of *Cologn*, where he found the wife and ſiſter of *Civilis* with the ſon of *Claſſicus* [o]. *Civilis*, having after this unhappy fight recruited his forces with incredible expedition, poſted himſelf in the old camp, where he was attacked by *Cerealis*, reinforced by the acceſſion of three legions. But as the fields round b about were naturally marſhy, and *Civilis* had by a great dam diverted the courſe of the *Rhine*, which thence flooded all the neighbouring grounds, the *Romans* were eaſily repulſed, and their cavalry put to flight by ſome *German* ſquadrons ſallying out againſt them. By the iſſue of this encounter, both the leaders were prompted, tho' from different motives, to put the whole to the iſſue of a general battle; *Civilis* eager to purſue his good fortune, *Cerealis* to cancel his diſhonour. Accordingly the next day both armies appeared early in the field, and engaged with equal fury and reſolution. After the conflict had laſted many hours, the *Germans* were in the end put to flight, and the war had been finiſhed that day, had not the conquerors been prevented, by night approaching and a ſudden ſtorm, from purſuing the flying c foe. After this overthrow, *Civilis* withdrew to the iſland of the *Batavians*: *Claſſicus*, *Tutor*, and a hundred and thirteen ſenators of *Treves* croſſed the *Rhine* to raiſe new forces; wherein they were attended with ſuch ſucceſs, that ſoon after they returned with a vaſt multitude, and at the ſame time made a fourfold aſſault upon the *Roman* forces poſted at *Avenacum*, *Vada*, *Grinnes*, and *Batavodurum*, now *Arnhem*, *Wageningen*, *Rhenen*, and *Duerſtede*. They were every-where repulſed with great ſlaughter, and forced to caſt themſelves precipitately into the river. Notwithſtanding this diſappointment and defeat, *Civilis*, a few days after, entered in the dead of the night the camp of *Cerealis*, upon the bank of the *Rhine*, made a dreadful havock of the *Roman* ſoldiers, while, appriſed of no danger, they were repoſing in their tents, and d carried off a great number of captives. The general, half awake and almoſt naked, eſcaped through a miſtake of the enemy; for they had carried off the admiral's ſhip, diſtinguiſhed by its flag, from a belief that *Cerealis* was in it. But he had paſſed that night elſewhere, as many believed, in the embraces of *Claudia Sacrata*, a native of *Calogn*. The centinels borrowed an excuſe for their negligence from the diſhonour of their general, alledging, that they were injoined to keep ſilence for fear of interrupting his repoſe; ſo that, as ſpeaking was reſtrained, they had dropped aſleep. But, notwithſtanding this advantage, *Civilis* was in the end obliged even to abandon his own iſland, and retire beyond the *Rhine*. *Cerealis* committed dreadful ravages all over the iſland of the *Batavians*; but, through policy uſual to e generals, left all the lands and dwellings of *Civilis* untouched, tempting at the ſame time the *Batavians* with an offer of peace, and *Civilis* with a promiſe of pardon, which he reſolved to accept, finding his countrymen tired of the war, and inclined to prevent the deſolation and ruin of the whole nation, by devoting him to puniſhment. Having therefore deſired a conference, the bridge upon the river *Wahal* was broken down in the middle; and the two generals ſtepping forwards on each ſide, ſtood upon the oppoſite extremities. The iſſue of this conference was, as we learn from *Joſephus*, the reſt of *Tacitus*'s hiſtory being loſt, an entire ſubmiſſion on one ſide, and an unreſerved pardon on the other, The *Batavians* remained in the ſame condition they were in before the war broke out, that is, exempt from all manner f of tributes, and only obliged to ſupply the *Romans* with troops when required; a condition this, bordering upon liberty [p].

The gallant conduct of Cerealis.

Civilis *receives a total overthrow.*

He ſurpriſes the Romans *in their camp;*

But is obliged in the end to abandon his own iſland, and ſubmit to the Romans.

During theſe tranſactions in *Germany*, *Veſpaſian* and *Titus* commenced conſuls, the former the ſecond time, and both abſent. The ſenate was therefore aſſembled on the firſt of *January* by *Julius Frontinus*, city-prætor, when they decreed, that public thanks ſhould be returned to the general officers, to the armies, and to the confederate kings, for having eſpouſed with ſo much zeal the cauſe of *Veſpaſian*. From *Tertius Julianus* they took away the prætorſhip, for having forſaken his legion, when

[o] Tacit. c. 78. [p] Joseph. bell. Jul. l. ii. c. 11.

a when it was about to declare for *Veſpaſian*, and transferred that dignity to *Plotius Griphus*. Upon *Hormus*, *Veſpaſian*'s freed-man, they conferred the equeſtrian dignity. Soon after, *Frontinus* reſigned, for what motive we are no-where told, his office, which was aſſumed by *Domitian*, whoſe name was prefixed to all letters and edicts, but the whole ſway remained in *Mucianus*. The young prince, however, boldly exerted many acts of power, at the inſtigation of his intimates, or his own wanton will [q]. Nay, *Suetonius* tells us, that in one day he diſpoſed of above twenty offices in the city and provinces; and adds, that he was on that account gently rebuked by the emperor, who, in a letter to his ſon, returned him thanks for not having diſplaced him too, and ſent one to ſucceed him. But *Antonius Primus* and
b *Arrius Varus* gave *Mucianus* far greater umbrage: they were both renowned for their late famous exploits in war, in great credit with the ſoldiery, and beloved by the populace. *Antonius* was beſides reported to have ſolicited *Scribonianus Craſſus*, the brother of *Piſo* whom *Galba* had adopted, to aſſume the ſovereignty, *Mucianus* therefore, ſeeing he could not openly cruſh *Primus*, pretending a great friendſhip and value for him, heaped publicly mighty praiſes upon him in the ſenate, made him great promiſes in private, put him in hopes of the government of *Hither Spain*, void by the departure of *Cluvius Rufus*, &c. Having thus intirely gained him, he diſmiſſed the ſeventh legion, which was inviolably attached to him, to their winter quarters, at a great diſtance from *Rome*; and at the ſame time ſent the third
c legion back into *Syria*, and the reſt of the forces into *Germany*, to ſerve there under *Cerealis*. Having by this means quite broken the power of *Primus*, and diſburdened the city of thoſe who were apt to raiſe tumults and diſorder, *Rome* returned to her former tranquillity, the laws reſumed their force, and the magiſtrates their wonted functions [r].

Domitian, appearing now for the firſt time in the ſenate, ſpoke, in few words and with great modeſty, of the abſence of his father and that of his brother, and alſo concerning his own youth and inſufficiency. Then he propoſed, that all the honours which had been beſtowed on *Galba*, but afterwards abrogated by *Otho*, ſhould be reſtored. *Curtius Montanus* moved, that ſome public honour ſhould be likewiſe
d paid to the memory of *Piſo*. The fathers ordained both; but of what regarded *Piſo* nothing was executed. In the next place were drawn by lot commiſſioners, who were to cauſe reſtitution to be made of whatever had been uſurped by violence during the war, and to reſtrain the public expences. To *Tertius Julianus*, as ſoon as it was known that he had fled to *Veſpaſian*, the office of prætor was reſtored; but *Griphus* ſtill retained the enſigns of that dignity. Before the aſſembly broke up, one of the ſenators, by name *Junius Mauricus*, made ſuit to *Domitian*, that he would impart to the ſenate the regiſters of the late emperors, that they might thence diſcover who had been ſolicited to be admitted accuſers, and againſt whom. But the young prince judiciouſly replied, that in an affair of this ſort the ſentiments
e of the emperor muſt be firſt learnt. However, *P. Egnatius Celer*, the accuſer of the celebrated *Sorranus Borea*, was condemned; but *Mucianus* haranguing in behalf of the informers, and exhorting the fathers to obliterate the impreſſions of all reſentment, and forget the grievances ariſing from the neceſſity of the late times, all further proſecutions were dropt [s]. This year *Mucianus* ordered the ſon of *Vitellius* to be put to death, pretending, that civil diſcord would never ceaſe, unleſs the ſeeds of war were utterly extinguiſhed. He treated *Antonius Primus* with ſuch haughtineſs, that he forced him to retire from *Rome* and recur to *Veſpaſian*, by whom he was received without any great marks of friendſhip or diſfavour, the emperor's mind being under a conflict, on one ſide ſwayed by the great ſervices of that commander,
f by whoſe conduct the war was accompliſhed, on the other by letters from *Mucianus*. The other courtiers at the ſame time combined to diſgrace him, charging him with arrogance, over-bearing and heightening the charge with the enormities of his former life. Neither failed he to raiſe to himſelf new enemies by his haughty carriage; for with exceſſive oſtentation he uſed to recount his own exploits and deſerts, treating the other commanders with the utmoſt contempt, eſpecially *Cæcina*, whom he uſed to revile as a captive, and a man of no ſpirit, who had tamely ſubmitted. Hence by degrees he ſunk in his character; but from the emperor retained to the laſt ſome appearance of favour. Of him we find no further mention made by

Domitian *goes the firſt time to the ſenate.*

Mucianus *ſpeaks in behalf of the accuſers.*

Antonius Primus *repairs to* Veſpaſian.

[q] Tacit. l. iv. c. 39. [r] Idem, c. 11. [s] Idem, c. 40—44.

by the ancient writers. *Mucianus* likewiſe diſplaced *Arrius Varus*, commander of a the prætorian guards; and to make him ſome amends for the loſs of this employment, beſtowed upon him another, that of ſupplying the city with grain, which had been formerly diſcharged by perſons of the firſt quality. To ſoften *Domitian*, who had a great kindneſs for *Varus*, he beſtowed the command of the guards upon *Arretinus Clemens*, who was nearly allied to the houſe of *Veſpaſian*, and very dear to *Domitian*. The father of *Arretinus* had diſcharged the ſame truſt with great credit under *Caligula*, whence his name was well-pleaſing to the ſoldiery. The guards had been hitherto commanded by a *Roman* knight; but *Arretinus* was, as *Tacitus* informs us, by rank a ſenator [t].

Veſpaſian *works ſome miracles.*

Veſpaſian, in the mean time, continued at *Alexandria*, where he is ſaid to have b worked ſome miracles. A blind man, commonly known at *Alexandria*, proſtrating himſelf at his feet, implored a cure for his want of ſight, telllng the emperor, that he had been warned by the god *Serapis* to recur to him, and beſeech him, that with his ſpittle he would condeſcend to waſh his cheeks and the balls of his eyes. Another, lame in his hand, by the direction of the ſame god, prayed him to tread upon it. *Veſpaſian* at firſt derided them; but, as they continued to importune him, he began to waver, fearing on one ſide the imputation of vanity, and on the other drawn into hopes, through the intreaties of the ſuppliants and the arguments of flatterers. At length, conſidering himſelf as an inſtrument choſen by the gods to accompliſh the cure, he undertook the taſk with a chearful countenance, before a c vaſt multitude intent upon the iſſue. Inſtantly the lame hand recovered full ſtrength, and upon the eyes of the blind light broke in. *Tacitus* aſſures us, that even in his time both theſe events continued to be recounted and averred by thoſe who had been eye-witneſſes of them, and could reap no advantage from their flattery. *Veſpaſian* was hence ſeized with an eager deſire of viſiting the reſidence of the deity, in order to conſult him about the ſtate and fortune of the empire. He therefore commanded all to retire from the temple, and then entered himſelf. While he was there, he ſuddenly perceived one of the grandees of *Egypt*, named *Baſilides*, ſtanding by him, tho' he knew him to be then at a great diſtance from *Alexandria* and confined by ſickneſs. However, he examined the prieſts, whether *Baſilides* d had that day entered the temple; aſked ſuch as he met, whether he had been ſeen in the city; then by horſemen, purpoſely diſpatched, he fully learnt, that *Baſilides* was at that inſtant eighty miles from thence [u]. St. *Auſtin*, without queſtioning the truth of theſe facts, atteſted by ſeveral writers of great authority, obſerves, that *Veſpaſian*, according to *Tacitus*'s account, ordered the phyſicians to examine firſt, whether ſuch lameneſs and blindneſs were curable by human aid; who reported, that in the one the power of ſight was not wholly extinct, but would return, were the obſtacles removed; and in the other the joints were only diſtorted, and might be reſtored with regular preſſure. Hence St. *Auſtin* concludes, that ſuch cures were not above the power of men, and much leſs above that of the evil ſpirits, endowed e with a ſuperior knowledge, and on this occaſion exerting it, to eclipſe, if poſſible, the miracles wrought by the apoſtles and their diſciples [w]. As for the viſion in the temple, it might well have been the effect of a warm and ſtrong imagination.

Arrives in Italy.

Veſpaſian, imbarquing at laſt in the port of *Alexandria*, ſailed for *Italy*; and, having viſited in his paſſage the iſland of *Rhodes* and ſeveral cities of *Aſia Minor*, landed, according to *Joſephus*, on the ſouth ſide of the promontory of *Iapygia* or *Otranto*. At *Brunduſium* he was met by *Mucianus* and a great number of ſenators and *Roman* knights; and at *Beneventum* by his ſon *Domitian*. On his rout to *Rome*, he was received every-where with loud ſhouts of joy, with applauſes, and acclamations; for every one entertained a mighty opinion of his virtues, and looked upon f him as one ſent by the gods to reſtore the empire to its former luſtre and tranquillity. As he drew near the city, the far greater part of the inhabitants flocked out to welcome him, and conduct him in a kind of triumph to the capitol, the ſtreets through which he paſſed being ſtrewed with flowers, and the whole city, like a temple, filled with precious odours and perfumes. Altars were every-where raiſed and victims ſlain, with ſupplications to the gods, that *Veſpaſian* might rule the empire many years, and his ſon *Titus* after him; that the ſovereignty might for ever remain in his family, and *Rome* flouriſh under them [x].

How received at Rome.

Great

[t] Idem, c. 68. [u] Tacit. l. iv. c. 81. Dio, l. lxvi. p. 748. Suet. in Veſp. c. 7. [w] S. Aug. civit. Dei, l. x. c. 16. [x] Joseph. ibid. l. vii. c. 20.

a GREAT things were expected of *Veſpaſian* by all ranks of men, and no one was diſappointed in his expectation: for he made it his whole buſineſs to re-eſtabliſh the commonwealth, and reſtore the empire to its former grandeur; to conform to the laws, and ſee that all others conformed to them; to conſult the good of the whole and of particulars; to prevent oppreſſion, and to puniſh it; to promote virtue, and reward it; to enforce the obſervance of the laws by his example, as well as by his judgments; and to merit the affections and fidelity of the people by his faithful care of them. His firſt care was, to revive the ancient diſcipline in the army; for the ſoldiery had abandoned themſelves to all manner of licentiouſneſs, and committed innumerable diſorders, not only in the colonies and municipal towns, b but in *Rome* itſelf. He therefore diſcharged great numbers of them, eſpecially of ſuch as had ſerved under *Vitellius*, and had been long inured to rapine and licentiouſneſs; in the others he puniſhed the leaſt tranſgreſſions with the utmoſt ſeverity, not ſparing even thoſe to whoſe valour he owed the empire, nor omitting any opportunity of reforming the ancient diſcipline; of which *Suetonius* gives us the following inſtance: A young nobleman, to whom he had given a conſiderable command, waiting upon him to return him thanks, and ſmelling fragrantly of rich oils and perfumes, the emperor, with a voice expreſſing his indignation, told him, that *he had rather he had ſmelt of garlick*, and took away the commiſſion, which he had given him a few days before. He was no leſs ſevere with the marines, who c were appointed to carry letters and diſpatches from *Puteoli* and *Oſtia* to *Rome*; for upon their petitioning him to have ſome allowance beſides their uſual pay for ſhoes, inſtead of complying with their requeſt, he ordered, that for the future they ſhould diſcharge their duty bare-foot, and cauſed this ordinance to be immediately put in execution [y]. He ſcarce ever failed to aſſiſt at the debates and deliberations of the ſenate, without aſſuming to himſelf any authority above the other ſenators, whom he frequently exhorted to ſpeak their ſentiments with freedom, telling them, that he had called them not blindly to approve what was his will and pleaſure, but to receive their counſel, to truſt and to follow it. Having taken upon him, ſoon after his arrival at *Rome*, the office of cenſor, he degraded ſuch of the ſenators and knights d as he found unworthy of their dignities; and ſupplied their places with ſuch perſons, either from the colonies or provinces, as were recommended to him by men of known integrity. By this means he increaſed the number of ſenators to a thouſand, which by infinite maſſacres had been exhauſted and reduced to two hundred [z]. He likewiſe ſtrictly examined into all the courts of judicature, and there reformed innumerable abuſes and grievances, appointed new judges, and cauſed the laws to be reduced and digeſted into a far leſs compaſs. He frequently adminiſtered juſtice himſelf in the forum, with great impartiality and univerſal applauſe. As *Rome* had loſt much of its ſplendour by the late conflagration, and many houſes lay ſtill in ruins, he ordered the proprietors of the ground to rebuild them in a limited time, e allowing any one to take poſſeſſion of the ground, if the edifices were not raiſed within that term to a certain height. The capitol he had ordered to be rebuilt before he left *Alexandria*, and appointed *Lucius Veſtinus*, a *Roman* knight, to direct and overſee the work. By him were aſſembled the ſoothſayers, who declared, that the remains of the former temple ſhould be removed into the marſhes; that upon the ſame foundations the new one ſhould be raiſed; and that to the temple nothing new, except height, ſhould be added. With this variation alone, the new temple was raiſed in a ſhort time; and this alone was judged wanting to the magnificence of the former. As the late fire had deſtroyed many public records, he reſtored three thouſand tables of braſs, which had been burnt, having with indefatigable pains f found out their true copies. In theſe were recorded all the decrees of the ſenate, all the ordinances of the people, all treaties, alliances, and privileges granted to any perſon or city, and all remarkable occurrences from the foundation of the city. In theſe and the like works, he expended vaſt ſums. He was ſo far from ſeeking the deſtruction of any man, that he could not behold, without many ſighs and tears, even the greateſt criminals led to execution. To all he was courteous and affable, allowing perſons of every rank to accoſt him with freedom, the gates of his palace being kept conſtantly open. He was ſo far from concealing the meanneſs of his former condition, that he frequently diſcourſed of it himſelf, and uſed to deride thoſe

Revives the ancient diſcipline.

His conduct towards the ſenate.

Imbelliſhes the city.

His clemency, good nature, and other commendable qualities.

[y] SUET. c. 8. [z] Idem, c. 9. DIO, l. vi. p. 666.

thoſe who, to flatter him, undertook to derive his pedigree from the founders of a *Reate* and the companions of *Hercules*. He deſpiſed titles, and with much ado was prevailed upon to accept that of *the father of his country*; a title to which no one had ever a better claim. The king of *Parthia* having wrote to him thus; *Arſaces, king of kings, to Flavius Veſpaſianus*; he, without finding fault with the title, or reſenting it as an affront, directed his anſwer thus; *Flavius Veſpaſianus to Arſaces, king of kings*; ſhewing thereby in what contempt he had ſuch titles. He was ſo far from taking delight in public honours, that when he triumphed with his ſon *Titus* over the *Jews*, being quite tired with the length of that ceremony, he was heard to ſay, that he deſervedly ſuffered for having at his age deſired a triumph, as if ſuch an honour had ever been due to his anceſtors, or hoped for by himſelf. He b bore with incredible patience the many lampoons, that were diſperſed all over the town, reflecting upon his avarice; and the invectives of the philoſophers, whom he had baniſhed the city. One of theſe, by profeſſion a *Cynic*, by name *Demetrius*, meeting him one day out of town, reviled him in a moſt outragious manner; but the good emperor, inſtead of chaſtiſing him for his inſolent behaviour, contented himſelf with telling him, that he was a *Cynic* indeed! He gave no ear to whiſperers, nor ever put any one to death, whoſe crimes were not notorious and plainly proved. His friends having one day admoniſhed him to beware of *Metius Pompoſianus*, who was born, they ſaid, under a conſtellation that promiſed him the empire, he immediately named him conſul, adding pleaſantly, *When he is inveſted with* c *the ſovereignty, he will, I hope, remember this good turn and requite it.* Tho' ſeveral conſpiracies were formed againſt him, yet he could never be prevailed upon to puniſh the conſpirators with death, ſaying, that they deſerved rather pity than puniſhment, ſince they knew not what a weight and burden the empire was. He took the daughter of *Vitellius*, his inveterate enemy, under his protection, married her into a noble family, and allowed her a rich dower. He never ſought to revenge the affronts which he had ſuffered in the reign of *Nero*, but generouſly forgave all who had

He forgets injuries.

injured or reviled him. Being in that prince's reign forbid the court, and not knowing what to do, he had recourſe to *Phœbus*, the emperor's freed-man, aſking him, whither he ſhould go. *Phœbus* returned him no other anſwer, but that he d might go hang himſelf, and thruſt him out of his room. The freed-man coming to beg his pardon after he was made emperor, *Veſpaſian* was provoked no farther than to bid him be gone in the ſame terms. Tho' *Mucianus* aſſumed far greater authority than was ſuitable to the rank of a private man, and behaved with great haughtineſs towards the emperor himſelf, bragging, that in his own hands he had had the empire, but freely beſtowed it upon *Veſpaſian*; yet the emperor never rebuked him but in private; and having once complained of him to a common friend, he ended his complaints with theſe remarkable words; *Yet I myſelf am but a man, and conſequently not free from blame* [a].

Is generally charged with avarice.

The only fault with which he is charged by the ancients is, his immoderate love e of money, which he was not aſhamed to procure by means altogether unworthy of an emperor. He not only revived the old impoſitions and taxes, which had been ſuppreſſed by *Galba*; but loaded the provinces with new tributes, bought commodities, that he might ſell them to advantage, and deſcended to ſome very low and unuſual impoſts, laying one even upon urine, which gave occaſion to his ſon *Titus* to remonſtrate to him the meanneſs of ſuch an impoſition; but he preſenting to his ſon the firſt money that thence accrued to him, aſked him, whether the ſmell offended him? Neither did he ſcruple the ſelling of any office, nor pardoning any criminal, however enormous his crimes were, provided he could with a ſum of money redeem himſelf from the deſerved puniſhment. He is ſaid to have preferred f to the moſt profitable employments ſuch of his officers as were noted for their avarice and rapaciouſneſs, and to have made uſe of them as ſponges, *by wetting them when they were dry, and ſqueezing them when they were wet* [b]. He often ſtrove to diſguiſe his ſhameful avarice by ſome humourous joke. Thus certain embaſſadors having acquainted him, that by the council of their nation a conſiderable ſum of

Several inſtances of it.

money was decreed for erecting him a ſtatue in the form of a coloſſus, *Here is the baſis*, ſaid he, ſtretching out his hand; *lay the money down here, and the ſtatue is reared.* One of his chief favourites having one day begged of him the ſuperintend-

ence

[a] Suet. c. 8, 9, 11, 12, 14. [b] Suet. c. 16.

a ence of his houſhold for one, whom he pretended to be his brother, the emperor put him off for the preſent; and ſending afterwards for the perſon whom he had recommended, he received of him the ſum which was to have been paid to the other for his intereſt, and beſtowed on him the employment. When the favourite returned to ſolicit in behalf of his pretended brother, *You muſt find out another brother*, anſwered the emperor; *for the perſon, whom you recommended, proves in the end to be my brother, and not yours.* One day while he was travelling in a litter, the muleteer ſtopped, under pretence of having his mules ſhoed, but in reality to give an opportunity to one of accoſting the emperor and craving ſome favour. Of this *Veſpaſian* was appriſed, and therefore having pleaſantly aſked the muleteer what he had received for
b ſhoeing his mules, he obliged him to pay to him half the ſum [c]. Some writers think, that he was covetous by nature, and tell us, that he was upbraided with avarice by an old herdſman, who earneſtly intreating the emperor, upon his acceſſion to the empire, to grant him his liberty without ranſom, and being denied it, cried out ſo as to be heard by the whole multitude, *The wolf may change his hair, but not his qualities.* But other authors excuſe him on account of the urgent neceſſities of the ſtate, and the emptineſs of the exchequer when he firſt came to the government; for he then publickly declared in the ſenate, that the republic could not poſſibly ſubſiſt without a ſupply of a hundred and forty millions of ſeſterces. This is by the generality of writers thought the moſt probable opinion, becauſe he always employed his
c revenue to great and noble purpoſes, and laid it out with uncommon generoſity. His public works and edifices were very expenſive; his preſents and penſions numerous; his feaſts and entertainments frequent and magnificent, *&c.* He ſupported a great number of poor ſenators; allowed five hundred ſeſterces a year to every decayed conſular; reſtored to their former luſtre a great many towns, that had been ruined by fire or earthquakes; repaired the public roads and aqueducts, *&c.* He was likewiſe a great encourager of learning, and the firſt who ſettled ſalaries upon the profeſſors of rhetoric both *Greek* and *Latin*, to be paid yearly out of the exchequer. He invited to *Rome*, with great allowances, not only the moſt celebrated poets, but ſuch artificers and workmen as were famous in any part of the world. Of the latter, one, well ſkilled
d in mechanics, having offered to convey certain columns of vaſt weight into the capitol at a very ſmall charge, the emperor rewarded him for his invention; but would not employ him, ſaying, We muſt not debar the common people from earning their livelihood [d]. Such was in general the conduct of *Veſpaſian*. We ſhall now proceed to the moſt remarkable actions of his reign, digeſted according to the order of time.

Is by many cleared from that blame.

Inſtances of his generoſity.

THO' *Veſpaſian* had, during his firſt conſulſhip, reſtored *Rome* to her former tranquillity, yet he did not reſign the faſces on the firſt of *January*; but, chuſing for his collegue *M. Cocceius Nerva* afterwards emperor, continued to diſcharge that office till the calends of *March*, when he was ſucceeded by his ſon *Domitian*, as was *Nerva* by *Q. Pedius Caſtus*. This year *Titus*, having, by the taking of *Jeruſalem*, quite reduced the *Jewiſh* nation, returned to *Rome*, where he was received with all poſſible
e demonſtrations of joy, and ſoon after honoured with a triumph, which was decreed by the ſenate both to him and his father; for *Veſpaſian* had begun that war with great ſucceſs. They both triumphed about the latter end of *April*, diſplaying on that occaſion all the wealth of the *Jewiſh* nation. To *Titus* was likewiſe decreed a triumphal arch, deſcribing his noble exploits; which continues to this day almoſt intire, as a laſting monument of his victories over the *Jews*. The triumph was no ſooner over, than *Veſpaſian* commanded the temple of *Janus* to be ſhut, a profound peace now reigning in every part of the empire. Soon after the temple of *Peace* was begun, but not finiſhed, or at leaſt not conſecrated, till four years after; that is, till the year
f 75 of the chriſtian æra, when the rich ſpoils of the temple of *Jeruſalem* were depoſited there. *Titus*, before his arrival at *Rome*, had been by his father honoured with the title of emperor, and taken for his colliegue in the tribunitial power; ſo that being, in a manner, his partner in the empire, he diſcharged all the functions of ſovereignty. He even took upon him the command of the prætorian guards, by which means that office became, as *Aurelius Victor* obſerves, the moſt honourable employment in the whole empire. It appears from ſeveral ancient inſcriptions, that *Veſpaſian* this year built ſome aqueducts, repaired the ſtreets of *Rome*, and at a vaſt charge made highways in *Spain* [e].

Triumphs over the Jews *with his ſon* Titus.

To whom he imparts the tribunitial power.

THE

[c] Idem ibid. [d] Idem, c. 17, 18. [e] VORBURG. hiſt. Rom. Germ. p. 350. ONUPH. in faſt. p. 207.

THE following year, *Ceſennius Pætus*, whom *Veſpaſian* had appointed governor of *Syria* in the room of *Mucianus*, having wrote to the emperor, that *Antiochus* king of *Comagene* and his ſon *Epiphanes* had held private conferences with *Vologeſes* king of the *Parthians*, and were diſpoſed to revolt from the *Romans*, the emperor, without examining the charge, which *Joſephus* ſuſpects to have been quite groundleſs, allowed *Pætus* to take what meaſures he thought moſt proper. Hereupon *Pætus*, who bore ſome private grudge to *Antiochus*, entered his dominions in a hoſtile manner; and, being joined by *Ariſtobulus* king of *Chalcis* and *Sohemus* king of *Emeſus*, ſeized *Samoſata*, the metropolis of *Comagene*, defeated *Epiphanes* and *Callinicus*, the two ſons of *Antiochus*, and obliged the king himſelf to take ſhelter in *Cilicia*, where he poſſeſſed ſome domains. The young princes found a ſafe aſylum at the court of *Vologeſes*, who entertained them in a manner ſuitable to their rank; but *Antiochus* was by *Pætus*'s orders ſeized in *Cilicia* and loaded with chains; which *Veſpaſian* no ſooner knew, than he commanded him to be ſet at liberty. His kingdom, however, was reduced to a *Roman* province, known by the name of *Auguſteuphrateſiana*, or *Euphrateſiana*, becauſe it extended along the *Euphrates*. *Antiochus* was allowed to retire to *Lacedæmon*, whence he removed ſoon after to *Rome*, where both he and his two ſons, whom *Veſpaſian* took under his protection, at the recommendation of the *Parthian* king, were ſupported ſuitable to their rank at the publick charge[f]. The ſame year, the *Alani*, a people dwelling between the river *Tanais* and the *Palus Mæotis*, made a ſudden irruption into the territories of the *Medes* and *Armenians*. *Tiridates* king of *Armenia* narrowly eſcaped being taken, while he attempted to oppoſe them; and *Pacorus* king of the *Medes* was obliged to abandon his kingdom to the mercy of the barbarians, who carried off an immenſe booty and a great number of captives; among the reſt the wife of *Pacorus*. *Volegeſes* king of the *Parthians*, alarmed at this ſudden irruption, wrote to *Veſpaſian*, begging ſuccours againſt ſo formidable an enemy, and deſiring one of the emperor's ſons to command them. *Domitian* earneſtly ſolicited his father for that command; but the emperor did not think it adviſeable to ſuccour the *Parthians*, who rivaled the *Romans* themſelves in power; and the barbarians retired of their own accord, without offering to invade the *Parthian* dominions. However, the refuſal of the emperor occaſioned ſome miſunderſtanding between the two powers; and on this occaſion it was, without all doubt, that *Vologeſes* wrote to *Veſpaſian*, ſtyling himſelf *king of kings*, as we have hinted above; without deigning to give *Veſpaſian* even the title of emperor[g].

Comagene *reduced to a* Roman *province.*

The Alani *invade* Media *and* Armenia.

THE following year, *Domitian* being conſul, the ſecond time, with *Valerius Meſſalinus*, *Veſpaſian* reduced *Greece*, which *Nero* had declared free, and likewiſe *Lycia*, *Rhodes*, *Byzantium*, *Samos*, *Thrace*, and *Cilicia*, to *Roman* provinces, alledging, that they were no longer capable of liberty, ſince they only made uſe of it to undo themſelves by their inteſtine diſſentions. *Pauſanias* ſeems to acknowledge the truth of this charge[h]. *Rhodes*, *Samos*, and the other iſlands were made one province, called, *The province of the iſlands*, or, *of the* Cyclades, of which the city of *Rhodes* was the metropolis. *Euſebius* ſpeaks of a ſedition, which, according to him, was raiſed at *Alexandria*, in the beginning of this year, by ſome *Jews*, who had fled from *Jeruſalem*. *Veſpaſian* treated the authors of it with great mildneſs; but ordered *Lupus*, governor of *Egypt*, to demoliſh the temple, which the *Jews* had built in the territory of *Heliopolis*[i]. This ſame year, *Veſpaſian* condemned to baniſhment the celebrated *Helvidius Priſcus*. He was a native of *Terracina*, and the ſon of a centurion; but, by his bright and ſignal parts, ſoon diſtinguiſhed himſelf in *Rome*. When he was yet very young, he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of philoſophy, not, as many did in thoſe days, to diſguiſe indolence under a pompous name, but in order to engage in the public adminiſtration with a mind thoroughly fortified againſt all diſaſters. Ere he had riſen higher than the quæſtorſhip, he was choſen by the famous *Thraſea Pætus* for a huſband to his daughter. From the character of his wife's father he copied nothing ſo ſtudiouſly, as his undaunted liberty in ſpeaking his ſentiments, never to be ſhaken by fear, and ever unmoveable in what he judged conducing to the publick welfare. When *Thraſea* was condemned, he was driven into exile, but recalled by *Galba*, and honoured by *Veſpaſian* in the firſt year of his reign with the prætorſhip. As he was a zealous ſtickler for liberty, he ſpoke with great freedom in the ſenate againſt the arbitrary proceedings of *Galba*, *Otho*, and *Vitellius*; neither did he ſpare *Veſpaſian*, but inveighed againſt

Veſpaſian *reduces* Greece, Lycia, *&c. to* Roman *provinces.*

Helvidius Priſcus *baniſhed.*

[f] JOSEPH. l. vii. c. 9. & l. vi. c. 29. [g] SUET. c. 8. Chron. Alexand. p. 587. [h] JOSEPH. l. vii. c. 29. DIO, l. lxvi. p. 757. [i] PAUS. in Acha. p. 222. [i] EUSEB. in chron.

against him with as much bitterneſs as his father-in-law had ever done againſt *Nero*. The emperor, however, patiently bore with him, till he began openly to ſolemnize the birth-day of *Brutus* and that of *Caſſius*, and to encourage the people to follow their example, and attempt the recovery of their ancient liberty; then *Veſpaſian* cauſed him to be ſeized, but ſoon after diſmiſſed him untouched, contrary to the opinion of all his friends. *Helvidius*, forgetful of the kindneſs the emperor had ſhewn him, purſued his former courſe; and was thereupon again accuſed and condemned to baniſhment. As he could not refrain, even in the place of his exile, from inveighing with great bitterneſs againſt the emperor, he was at length by the ſenate ſentenced to death. *Veſpaſian* ſtrove to ſave him, and ſent to countermand the executioners; but his orders came too late, *Mucianus* having detained the meſſengers, under various pretences, till the ſentence was put in execution[i]. *Helvidius*, notwithſtanding this his unaccountable behaviour, is greatly cried up by *Tacitus*[k], *Pliny* the younger[l], and *Juvenal*[m]. As many other philoſophers, following the example of *Helvidius*, ſtrove to ſtir up the populace to ſedition, they were all driven out of *Rome*[n]. *His ſtrange behaviour.*

THE following year, *Veſpaſian* was conſul the fifth time, and *Titus* the third. Nothing memorable happened during their adminiſtration, except the cenſus, which was performed by them in quality of cenſors, the emperor having aſſumed his ſon for his collegue in that dignity. This is the laſt cenſus we find mentioned in hiſtory[o]. They both retained the faſces till the calends of *April* of the following year, when *Veſpaſian* reſigned them to *Domitian*, and *Titus* to *Mucianus*. This year the emperor conſecrated the temple of *Peace*, and raiſed a coloſſus of braſs one hundred and ten feet high, which had been deſigned for *Nero*; but inſtead of his head, that of *Titus* was placed upon it, or, as others will have it, the figure of the ſun[p]. The two following years, *Veſpaſian* being conſul the ſeventh and eighth time, and *Titus* the fifth and ſixth, nothing happened at *Rome*, or in any part of the empire, which authors have thought worth tranſmitting to poſterity. We read indeed in the chronicle of *Alexandria*, that in the eighth conſulſhip of *Veſpaſian*, a woman, by name *Alcippe*, was delivered at *Rome* of an elephant; and in the chronicle of *Euſebius*, that a plague raged in the city with ſuch violence for ſome time, as to ſweep away above twenty thouſand perſons a day. But neither of that extraordinary birth, nor of ſo dreadful a plague, any notice is taken by the ancients, not even by *Pliny* the elder, who flouriſhed under *Veſpaſian* and was in great favour with him. *The laſt cenſus.*

THE next year, *L. Ceionius Commodus* and *D. Novius Priſcus* being conſuls, the celebrated *Cneius Julius Agricola* was ſent into *Britain* to govern that province, in the room of *Julius Frontinus*. As we ſhall have frequent occaſion to ſpeak of this renowned commander, we ſhall here briefly recount his courſe of life and purſuits, before he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his mighty exploits in this iſland. He was born in the colony of *Forojulium*, now *Frejus*, in *Narbonne Gaul*; and both his grandfathers were procurators to the emperors; a dignity peculiar to the equeſtrian order. His father, *Julius Græcinus*, was a ſenator, famous for his eloquence and philoſophy, but put to death by *Caligula*, for refuſing to accuſe *Marcus Silanus*. His mother, *Julia Agricola*, a woman noted for her modeſty, brought him up in his tender years under her eye and with great care. In his early youth he ſtudied philoſophy and law in the city of *Marſeilles*, with more avidity, as he himſelf uſed to declare, than became a *Roman* and a ſenator, till the diſcretion of his mother checked his ardour. Reaſon and age afterwards qualified his heat; ſo that he contented himſelf with a limited meaſure of philoſophy. He learnt the firſt rudiments of war in *Britain*, under *Suetonius Paulinus*, one of the greateſt commanders of his age, by whom he was diſtinguiſhed with particular marks of friendſhip and eſteem. He was not one of thoſe young men who turn warfare into riot, but ſtudied to acquaint himſelf with the province, to be known to the army, to learn of ſuch as had experience, to follow ſuch as were worthy and brave, to ſeek for no exploits out of oſtentation, to refuſe none through fear. He would not aſſume the title and office of tribune, till he thought himſelf well qualified for that command: neither did he make uſe of it, as many did in thoſe days, to indulge his pleaſures with more liberty, to Julius Agricola *ſent into* Britain. *His birth, education,* &c.

[i] Dio in excerpt. Val, p. 705. col. 66. p. 750. SUET. c. 15. JUVENAL. ſatir. 5. PLIN. l. vii. ep. 19. [k] TACIT. l. iv. c. 4. [l] PLIN. l. iv. ep. 21. [m] JUVENAL. ſat. 5. [n] SUET. c. 8. DIO, l. lxvi. p. 751. [o] CENSORINUS de die natali. PLIN. l. vii. c. 43. ONUPH. in faſt. p. 208. [p] SUET. c. 19. PLIN. l. xxxiv. c. 7. DIO, ibid.

or to abſent himſelf from duty; but to encourage others, by his example, to bear with patience the toils attending the profeſſion of arms. As *Paulinus* was engaged in a mighty war with the *Britons*, of which we have ſpoken in the reign of *Nero*, *Agricola* had an opportunity of improving himſelf in the knowledge of military affairs under ſo great a maſter. Departing from *Britain* to *Rome*, to enter there upon the public offices, he was firſt ſent into *Aſia* as quæſtor, where he had *Salvius Titianus* for proconſul. But neither the province, in itſelf very rich, nor *Titianus*, though bent upon all acts of rapine, and ready, upon the ſmalleſt encouragement, to have purchaſed a mutual connivance in iniquity, corrupted his probity. He was afterwards created tribune of the people, but paſſed the year of his tribuneſhip in repoſe and inactivity, being well appriſed, that under *Nero* ſloth and heavineſs ſerved for wiſdom. With the like indolence he held the prætorſhip, exhibiting, however, as was incumbent upon the prætors, public ſports, according to the meaſure of his wealth, and in a manner no-ways ſavouring of prodigality, but ſtill deſerving popular applauſe. Being afterwards appointed by *Galba* to ſurvey the gifts and oblations belonging to the temples, by a diligent ſearch he procured full reſtitution of all, ſave what had been ſacrilegiouſly taken away by *Nero*. The year following, his mother was killed by the ſoldiers of *Otho*, upon her eſtate at *Intemelium*, now *Vintimiglia*; and the eſtate itſelf plundered, with great part of her treaſure, which had proved the cauſe of the murder. As *Agricola* haſtened from *Rome*, to pay her the laſt duty and ſolemnize her funeral, he had tidings upon the road, that *Veſpaſian* had aſſumed the title of emperor, and inſtantly eſpouſed his party. Upon his return from *Intemelium*, he was employed by *Mucianus* to levy forces; and ſoon after, as he diſcharged that truſt with great uprightneſs and fidelity, preferred to the command of the twentieth legion, then in *Britain*, their own commander being found void of authority to controul them and keep them to their duty. *Vettius Bolanus* was at that time governor of *Britain*; but as he ruled with great gentleneſs, *Agricola* had no opportunity of diſtinguiſhing himſelf by any military exploits. *Bolanus* was ſucceeded by *Petilius Cerealis*, who at his firſt entrance attacked the *Brigantes*, reckoned the moſt powerful people of the whole iſland; and, after many encounters, ſome of which proved very bloody, held moſt part of their country as his conqueſt, or continued to ravage it by war. Under him *Agricola* had room to diſplay his valour and abilities. For trial of his ſkill and courage, *Cerealis* often committed to his conduct part of the army; and ſometimes, according to the meaſure of his ſucceſs, ſet him at the head of forces ſtill larger, ſharing with him both the dangers and the glory. But *Agricola* was ſo far from vaunting his own exploits, that, on the contrary, he aſcribed to his general, as to the author of all, his ſucceſs and good fortune [q].

His preferments.

a

b

c

d

Upon his return from *Britain*, where he had commanded a legion, he was by *Veſpaſian* raiſed to the rank of a patrician, and afterwards appointed governor of *Aquitain*; which truſt he diſcharged with great uprightneſs and general ſatisfaction. He was after three years recalled, and honoured with the conſulſhip; which office he diſcharged during the two laſt months of the preceding year. While he was conſul, it was generally ſaid, that for his province *Britain* would be aſſigned him, from no words that had dropped from him about it, but becauſe he was deemed equal to that office: and common fame, as *Tacitus* well obſerves, does not always err, but often directs the public choice. Before he ended his conſulſhip, he contracted his daughter to *Tacitus* the hiſtorian, who was yet very young, and gave her to him in marriage as ſoon as he had reſigned the faſces. He was then forthwith promoted to the government of *Britain*, and at the ſame time honoured with the pontifical dignity [r]. He ſucceeded *Julius Frontinus*, who had not only maintained the conqueſts made by *Petilius Cerealis*, his predeceſſor, but had himſelf fought with great ſucceſs, having intirely reduced the warlike nation of the *Silures*, though, beſides the bravery of the enemy, he had been likewiſe obliged to ſtruggle with the difficulties of places and ſituation. *Agricola* arrived in *Britain* about the middle of ſummer, when the *Roman* ſoldiers, ſuppoſing the ſervice of the ſeaſon to be concluded, were bent upon inaction and repoſe, as were the enemy upon an opportunity to haraſs the *Romans*. The *Ordovices*, that is, the inhabitants of *North-Wales*, had, not long before his arrival, cut in pieces a band of horſe ſtationed upon their confines, and

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[q] Tacit. vit. Agr. c. 4---9.

[r] Idem ibid. c. 9.

a and by ſo notable an eſſay rouſed to arms the whole province. The ſummer was already near over; the *Roman* troops were ſevered, and lay diſperſed over the province; and the ſoldiers had aſſured themſelves of reſt for the remaining part of the year. But, notwithſtanding theſe diſcouragements, and the remonſtrances of ſome, who judged it better only to guard the places that were threatened, *Agricola* reſolved to march againſt the enemy without delay. Having therefore drawn together the flower of the legions and a ſmall body of auxiliaries, he led them againſt the *Ordovices.* But, as the enemy kept themſelves upon the ridges of the mountains, and dared not deſcend into equal ground, *Agricola*, in order to inſpire his men with equal courage, by ſharing with them equal danger, marched in perſon at the head of his

b army, and led them to the encounter upon the aſcent. The ſoldiers, animated by the example of their general, attacked the enemy with great reſolution, put them to flight, and made ſuch a dreadful havock of them, that almoſt the whole nation was cut off. Animated with this ſucceſs, in order to maintain the fame he acquired by this action, and to ſtrike the enemy at once with general terror, he reſolved to reduce the iſland of *Angleſey*, which had been formerly conquered by *Paulinus*, but loſt again by the general revolt of *Britain.* As this counſel was ſuddenly concerted, and conſequently ſhips were wanting, he detached a choſen body of auxiliaries, ſuch as knew the fords, and, according to the uſage of their country, were dextrous at ſwimming, and able to manage in the water themſelves, their horſes, and arms. Theſe, unincumbered with baggage, made a deſcent and onſet ſo ſud-

c den, that the enemy were quite ſtruck with conſternation, as they apprehended nothing but a fleet and tranſports, and believed no enterpriſe difficult and unſurmountable to men, who began the war with ſuch reſolution. Thus they ſued for peace, and immediately ſurrendered the iſland to *Agricola*, whom they already conſidered as a renowned commander, ſince at his firſt entrance into the province, a time which other governors were wont to ſpend in ſhew and parade, he had atchieved ſuch feats, and under ſo much toil and danger, with amazing ſucceſs. *Agricola* was ſo far from being elated with this conqueſt, that he would not ſo much as beſtow upon it the title of victory, nor by letters acquaint the emperor with the good fortune that had attended his arms, in the recovery of an iſland which had been formerly

d ſubject to *Rome*. But, by thus ſuppreſſing the fame of his actions, he acquired a far greater reputation, than if he had ſtudied to divulge them, every one conſidering how vaſt muſt his views be, ſince he thus ſmothered in ſilence ſuch great exploits already performed. As he was well acquainted with the temper of the people in his province, and had alſo learnt from the conduct of others, how little arms avail to ſettle a province, if victory is followed by grievances and oppreſſions, he reſolved to cut off all the cauſes of war. Beginning therefore with himſelf and thoſe about him, he regulated his own houſhold; a taſk which to many proves no leſs difficult than that of governing a province. By none of his domeſtics was tranſacted any thing concerning the public. In preferring the ſoldiers to a higher rank, he was ſwayed by no perſonal intereſt or partiality, nor by the recommendations of

e centurions, but by his own opinion and knowledge. He would know all that paſſed; but would not puniſh all that was amiſs. He readily pardoned ſmall faults; but ſuch as were great, he puniſhed with proportionable ſeverity. In conferring offices and employments, he rather choſe men who would not tranſgreſs, than ſuch as he muſt afterwards condemn for tranſgreſſing. Tho' the tribute had been augmented, yet he ſoftened it by a juſt and equal diſtribution of all public burdens, and utterly aboliſhed whatever exactions had been deviſed for the gain of particulars, and were therefore borne with more regret than the tribute itſelf. For the publicans uſed, under colour of ſecuring the tribute, to ſeize all the corn of the inhabitants, lock up their barns, and oblige them to purchaſe their own grain at a high price, and afterwards ſell it back again to them at a low rate: beſides, the unhappy people were enjoined to take long journies, and carry grain croſs the ſeveral countries to places extremely diſtant; inſomuch, that ſeveral communities, inſtead of ſupplying the winter-quarters, which lay adjoining, were obliged to furniſh ſuch as were remote, unleſs they redeemed themſelves from that trouble with conſiderable ſums. All theſe grievances were utterly ſuppreſſed by *Agricola* in his firſt year; by which means the *Britons* began to be reconciled to the *Roman* government, and to live in a ſtate of peace; a ſtate which, through the neglect and connivance of former governors, had been till then no leſs dreaded than

His exploits in Britain *during his firſt campaign.*

Recovers the iſland of Angleſey.

Redreſſes the grievances complained of by the Britons.

Reconciles them to the Roman *government.*

that of war [i]. The other exploits of *Agricola* in this iſland, we ſhall relate in their proper places. a

The following year, *Veſpaſian* being conſul the ninth time, and *Titus* the ſeventh, *Julius Sabinus*, who, as we have related above, had ſtirred up the *Gauls*, and cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed *Cæſar*, was at length diſcovered, ſeized, and put to death. After his defeat, he had fled to his country-dwelling, and ſet it on fire, in order to raiſe a report, that he had periſhed: and truly he was there believed to have ſuffered a voluntury death; but, in the mean time, lay concealed with his treaſures (for he was immenſely rich) in a cave which he had cauſed to be dug in a ſolitary place, and which was known only to two of his freed-men, upon whoſe fidelity he could depend. He might have eaſily withdrawn into *Germany*; but could not prevail upon himſelf to abandon his wife, whom he tenderly loved. She is called by *Dion Caſſius*, *Peponilla*; by *Tacitus*, *Eppenia*; and by *Plutarch*, *Empona*; which name, according to that writer, in the ancient language of the *Gauls*, ſignified *a heroine*. *Sabinus*, that no one might doubt of his death, did not for ſome time even undeceive his wife, who ſolemnized his exequies with great pomp, bewailed him with many tears, and at leaſt, no longer able to bear the loſs of a huſband whom ſhe ſo tenderly loved, reſolved not to outlive him, and began to abſtain from all food. Hereupon *Sabinus*, by means of *Martialis*, one of his freed-men, informed her, that he was ſtill alive, and acquainted her with the place where he lay concealed, warning her at the ſame time to ſuppreſs her joy, leſt the ſecret might be thence betrayed. *Empona*, tho' in the utmoſt tranſports of joy, continued to bewail him as dead; but, in the mean time, paſſed great part of the night with him, and ſometimes whole weeks, pretending buſineſs in the country. She had even two children by him, who were born and brought up in the cave, *Empona* concealing the whole with exemplary fidelity and wonderful addreſs; nay, ſhe found means even to convey him to *Rome*, upon what motive we know not, and from thence back to his cave, ſo well diſguiſed, that he was by no one known. But, after he had paſſed nine years in this condition, he was at length diſcovered by ſome perſons, who narrowly watched his wife, upon her frequently abſenting herſelf from her own houſe, and followed her to the cave, without being diſcovered. *Sabinus* was immediately ſeized and ſent to *Rome*, loaded with chains, together with his wife, who throwing herſelf at the emperor's feet, and preſenting to him her two tender children, ſtrove with her tears and entreaties to move him to compaſſion. *Veſpaſian* could not forbear weeping at ſo moving an object; but nevertheleſs condemned both her and her huſband, and cauſed them to be ſoon after executed. The two children were ſaved, and with great care brought up at the public expence. One of them died ſome time after in *Egypt*; and *Plutarch* tells us, that he ſaw the other, named *Sabinus*, at *Delphos*, while he was writing his book *of love*, in which he has inſerted this adventure [k]. That writer tells us, that nothing more tragical, nothing more diſpleaſing to the public, happened during the whole reign of *Veſpaſian*, than the death of *Sabinus* and his wife; nay, to this his unſeaſonable ſeverity, he aſcribes all the misfortunes which afterwards befel him and his family. What diverted the emperor from exerting his uſual clemency and good-nature, when he might have done it with general applauſe and univerſal ſatisfaction, we are no-where told.

The adventures of Julius Sabinus.

He is diſcovered.

And put to death, with his wife.

Not long after the execution of *Sabinus*, *Alienus Cæcina*, of whom we often ſpoke in the reign of *Vitellius*, and *Epirus Marcellus*, an abandoned accuſer in the reign of *Nero*, entered into a conſpiracy againſt the emperor, and drew into it great numbers of the prætorian guards. But, before the conſpiracy was ripe for execution, one of the conſpirators betrayed the whole to *Titus*, and even delivered to him a copy of the ſpeech, which *Cæcina* was to pronounce to the ſoldiers after the aſſaſſination, written with his own hand. This was ſufficient evidence; and therefore *Titus*, the night after this diſcovery, having invited *Cæcina* to ſup with him, cauſed him, without any farther inquiry or trial, to be murdered in the banquetting-room. As for *Marcellus*, he was tried and condemned by the ſenate; but prevented the execution of the ſentence, by cutting his throat with a razor [l]. Before *Veſpaſian* reſigned the conſulſhip, he was ſeized with a pain in his bowels, which obliged him to repair from *Campania*, where he then was, to *Rome*; and from thence to *Cutyliæ*,

Cæcina and Marcellus *conſpire again* Veſpaſian, *but are put to death.*

[i] Idem, c. 10---20. [k] Tacit. hiſt. l. iv. c. 67. Dio. l. lxvi. p. 752. Plut amat. [l] Suet. in Tit. c. 6. Dio. l. lxvi. p. 752. Tacit. l. iv. c. 6.

a *Cutyliæ*, his paternal eſtate in the neighbourhood of *Reate*, which he uſually viſited every ſummer, in order to drink certain waters, in great requeſt on account of their extreme coolneſs. Here he was ſeized firſt with a fever, and afterwards with a flux, occaſioned by the immoderate uſe of the cold waters, which brought him to ſuch weakneſs, that all about him began to deſpair of his recovery. However, he ſtill attended the diſpatch of buſineſs, received ambaſſadors, and gave audience to his miniſters. Once, as he found himſelf ready to faint away. *If I am not miſtaken*, he cried out, *I am going to be a god*, ridiculing the cuſtom of the *Romans*, who placed their emperors, after their death, in the number of their gods, and honoured them with divine worſhip. Upon the approach of death, he cried out again with his uſual bravery and reſolution, *An emperor ought to die ſtanding:* but, while he endea-
b voured to riſe, he expired in the hands of thoſe who ſuſtained him. His death happened on the twenty-fourth of *June*, in the ſeventy-eighth year of the *Chriſtian* æra, after he had lived ſixty-nine years, ſeven months, and ſeven days, and reigned ten years wanting ſix days, from the time he was proclaimed emperor in the city of *Alexandria*. His death was univerſally lamented; and his memory gratefully preſerved, by ſuch as were true friends to their country. In war, he was next to *Julius Cæſar*, and to *Auguſtus* in peace; and ſeemed to have been by providence raiſed on purpoſe to preſerve ſo vaſt an empire from utter deſtruction. Greatneſs and majeſty, ſays *Pliny*, worked no alteration in him, ſave that of making his power of doing good anſwerable to his will. He was the ſecond *Roman* emperor,
c if not the firſt, who died a natural death; and the firſt who was ſucceeded by his ſon. And here we cannot help obſerving the raſhneſs of ſome blind zealots, in aſcribing to divine vengeance the fate of ſuch as ſlew *Cæſar* the dictator. Not one of the aſſaſſins, they cry, died a natural death. But neither did *Cæſar*, who deſtroyed the ſtate, nor any of his ſucceſſors, except *Auguſtus*, of whom it is alſo doubted, to the preſent emperor. *Tiberius* was ſmothered by *Macro* his favourite, *Caligula* was ſlain by the officers of his guards, *Claudius* was poiſoned by his wife *Agrippina*, *Nero* ſtabbed himſelf, *Galba* was murdered by the ſoldiers, *Otho* fell by his own hand, and *Vitellius* was executed like a common malefactor. *Auguſtus* was thought to have been poiſoned by his wife *Livia* [w]. Such was the end of theſe uſurpers;
d and may the like doom overtake all who tread in their footſteps! *Veſpaſian* is ſaid to have been ſo confident, that the empire was by the laws of fate deſtined to him and his poſterity, that he affirmed in the ſenate, he ſhould, in ſpite of all plots and conſpiracies, retain the ſovereignty to his death, and be ſucceeded in it by his two ſons. His obſequies were performed with extraordinary pomp by *Titus*. The *Romans* were at this time ſo prepoſterouſly fond of mimics and farces, that they were exhibited even at the funerals of perſons of quality, when the pantomimes uſed to perſonate the deceaſed, counterfeit their ſpeech, and imitate their actions. At the obſequies of *Veſpaſian*, a celebrated pantomime, by name *Favor*, perſonate-
e ing the deceaſed emperor, demanded aloud, what the whole expence of the cere-mony amounted to; and being told, to one hundred thouſand ſeſterces, *Give me the money*, ſaid he, ſtretching out his hand and counterfeiting the emperor's ſpeech, *and throw my carcaſe, if you pleaſe, into the* Tyber [x]. *Veſpaſian* founded various colonies in different parts of the empire, *viz.* one at *Emmaus*, about ſixty furlongs from *Jeruſalem*, to which place he gave the name of *Nicopolis*, or *the city of victory*; one at *Cæſarea*, which was from him called *Flaviana*, with the addition of *Prima*, as being the firſt in dignity of all the cities in *Paleſtine*. *Develte*, or as ſome call it *Deülte*, in *Thrace*, *Sinope* in *Pontus*, and *Flaviobriga* in *Spain*, now *Bilboa*, are by ſome writers reckoned among the colonies founded by *Veſpaſian* [y]. *Neapolis* in *Samaria*, called formerly *Sychem*; *Samoſata*, the capital of *Comagene*, *Tripolis* in *Phœnicia*,
f *Chalcis* and *Philadelphia* in *Syria*, *Cyrene* in *Libya*, *Critia* in *Bithynia*, and *Eumenea* in *Phrygia*, bore each the name of *Flaviana*; whence ſome writers conclude *Roman* colonies to have been ſettled in all theſe cities, either by *Veſpaſian* himſelf, or one of his children [z]. Several writers flouriſhed in *Veſpaſian*'s time, but of them we ſhall ſpeak in our notes (D).

The death of Veſpaſian.

His character

His colonies.

Veſpaſian

[w] Vide TACIT. annal. i. ſub init. & DIO. l. lvii. [x] SUET. c. 19. [y] Vide SPANH. l. vii & BAUD. p. 291. [z] Vide BAUD. p. 769. & NORIS de epoch. Syro-Macedon.

(D) Theſe were, *Suetonius Paulinus*, of whoſe warlike exploits we have ſpoken in the reign of *Nero* when he governed *Britain*. He likewiſe diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the war between *Otho* and *Vitellius*,

Titus *declared emperor.*

Veſpaſian was ſucceeded in the empire by his eldeſt ſon *Titus*, who was born the a thirtieth of *December*, about the time of the death of *Caligula*, that is, in the year 40. of the *Chriſtian* æra; ſo that he was now thirty-nine years of age. He was brought up with *Britannicus* in the court of *Nero*, and is ſaid to have taſted the poiſon which was given to the young prince at the emperor's table. We are told, that an aſtrologer being conſulted by *Narciſſus*, the celebrated freed-man of *Claudius*, about the lot of *Britannicus*, returned anſwer, that by the laws of fate the empire was not deſtined to him, but to *Titus*, who happened to ſtand by him. He lived in great friendſhip with *Britannicus*; whence, ſoon after his acceſſion to the empire, he erected two ſtatues to his memory, one of gold in the palace, and another of ivory, which was by his orders publicly carried among other ſtatues at the *Circenſian* games. *Titus*, from his tender years, attended with great application the ſtudy of rhetoric and poetry, and made great progreſs in both, being commended by the ancients as an excellent poet, and an eloquent ſpeaker upon any ſubject whatever, and without premeditation. He ſerved firſt in quality of tribune in *Germany*, and afterwards in *Britain*; and in both provinces gained no leſs reputation by his modeſt and engaging behaviour, than by his courage. Upon his return from *Britain*, he betook himſelf to the bar, and pleaded ſome cauſes of great importance with uncommon applauſe. While he was yet very young, he married *Arricidia Tertulla*, whoſe father was only a *Roman* knight, but had been captain of the prætorian guards. Upon her death, he married *Martia Furnilla*, deſcended of an illuſtrious family, but divorced her after he had one daughter by her, named *Julia Sabina*. After his quæſtorſhip, which he diſcharged with great applauſe, he was advanced to the command of a legion, and attended his father into *Judæa* in quality

His education ſtudies &c before his acceſſion to the empire.

b

c

lius, and was without all doubt one of the beſt commanders of his age. He left behind him an account of an expedition; which he undertook beyond mount *Atlas*, in the year 41. of the *Chriſtian* æra, and the laſt of *Caligula*'s reign, againſt the *Moors*, who took up arms to revenge the death of *Ptolemy* their prince, murdered by *Caligula*, as we have related in the reign of that prince. This account has not reached our times, but is quoted by *Pliny* (9). He outlived *Otho*, whoſe cauſe he had eſpouſed; but from *Pliny* it appears, he was dead in the year 77. that is, in the eighth year of *Veſpaſian*'s reign (10). Some writers, through a ſtrange miſtake, have confounded *Suetonius Paulinus* with *Suetonius Lenis*, the father of *Suetonius* the hiſtorian, who ſerved only as a military tribune in the army of *Otho*, which *Suetonius Paulinus* commanded in quality of general (11). *Licinius Mucianus*, who is often quoted by *Pliny* in what relates to the hiſtory and geography of the eaſtern countries (12). In the year 75. the ſeventh of *Veſpaſian*'s reign, he was buſy in collecting the diſcourſes and letters of the ancient *Romans*, and had already publiſhed eleven volumes of ſpeeches, and three of letters (13). He is ſuppoſed to have died in the eighth year of *Veſpaſian*'s reign. *Pliny* tells us, that he always carried about with him a living fly, which he ſuperſtitiouſly looked upon as a preſervative of the ſight (14). *Julius Secundus*, who is one of the perſons introduced in the dialogue of orators, commonly aſcribed to *Tacitus*, wrote the life of one *Julius Aſiaticus*, and promiſed the lives of other illuſtrious perſons. He likewiſe publiſhed ſome ſpeeches or orations highly commended by *Quintilian* (15). In the ſame dialogue, *Vipſanius Meſſala* acts the chief part. He was tribune of the ſeventh legion, ſprung from an illuſtrious family, and the only one, as *Tacitus* informs us, who engaged in the civil war between *Veſpaſian* and *Vitellius* upon worthy deſigns. He pleaded with great eloquence in the ſenate, tho' not yet arrived at the age of a ſenator, in behalf of his brother *Aquilius Regulus*, charged as the accuſer and deſtroyer of many illuſtrious citizens in the reign of *Nero* (16). He wrote, as appears from *Tacitus* (17), an account of the war between *Vitellius* and *Veſpaſian*; and is ſuppoſed to have publiſhed ſome other hiſtories (18). *Modycratus*, the *Pythagoric*, a native of *Cadiz*, lived about this time, and publiſhed ſeveral philoſophical tracts (19). St. *Jerom* commends him on account of his eloquence (22); and *Origen*, if *Porphyrius* is to be credited (21), peruſed with attention his writings, and improved by them. *Curiatius Maternus*, a famous civilian and poet, flouriſhed under *Veſpaſian*, and wrote ſeveral tragedies; one of which, intitled *Cato*, made a great noiſe, and would have given great offence to any of the emperors who preceded *Veſpaſian*. He is introduced in the dialogue of orators, ſpeaking in defence of poetry (22). *Saleius Beſſus* wrote ſeveral poems in the reign of *Veſpaſian*, which were highly eſteemed by *Quintilian*, and *Veſpaſian* himſelf, who countenanced and with great generoſity rewarded the poet (23). *Cluvius* wrote the hiſtory of *Nero*'s reign, and of the civil wars preceding that of *Veſpaſian* (24), and is frequently quoted by *Tacitus*. Moſt writers take him to be the ſame perſon with *Marcus Cluvius Rufus*, who governed *Spain* in the reigns of *Galba*, *Otho*, and *Vitellius*. Of him *Tacitus* obſerves, that he was in great favour with *Nero*, and acquired mighty wealth, without injuring any man either in his life or fortune (25). He was, as the ſame writer obſerves, an eloquent man, and well qualified for affairs in time of peace, but void of experience in war (26). None of the writings of theſe authors have reached our times, except ſome ſentences quoted by the ancient grammarians.

(9) *Plin. l.* v. *c.* 1. (10) *Idem ibid.* (11) *Vide Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l.* i. *c.* 26, (12) *Plin. l.* v. *c.* 27. (13) *Tacit. orat. c.* 37. (14) *Plin. l.* 28. *c.* 2. (15) *Quint. l.* x. *c.* 1. (16) *Tacit. l.* iv. *c.* 42. (17) *Tacit. orat. c,* 14. (18) *Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l.* 1. *c.* 28. (19) *Fonſius deſcript. hiſt. philoſoph. c.* 5. (20) *Euſeb. chron.* (21) *Idem hiſt. eccleſ. l.* vi. *c.* 19. (22) *Tacit. orat. c.* 2. 3. 11. (23) *Tacit. ibid. c.* 5. *Quintil. l.* x. *c.* 1. (24) *Tacit. annal.* xiii. *c.* 20. (25) *Tacit. l.* iv. *c.* 49. (26) *Idem, l.* i. *c.* 8.

a lity of his lieutenant. In that war, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf, as appears from *Joſe-*
phus, in a very eminent manner; reduced, while he ſerved under his father, ſome
ſtrong holds; and gained the reputation both of a brave and prudent leader. Being
ſent by *Veſpaſian* to congratulate *Galba* upon his acceſſion to the empire, and to
receive his directions concerning the proſecution of the war againſt the *Jews*, it was
rumoured abroad by the populace at *Rome*, that *Galba* had ſent for him in order
to adopt him. Ground for this report was adminiſtered, as *Tacitus* obſerves, by the
condition of the emperor, ancient and childleſs, and the great character of *Titus*,
who was judged equal to any degree of fortune, however elevated. But having
received at *Corinth* certain advice of the murder of *Galba*, he returned to his father,
b and reconciled to him *Mucianus* governor of *Syria*; for between *Veſpaſian* and him,
as the one ruled over *Judæa* and the other over *Syria*, great animoſities reigned,
occaſioned by their governing two neighbouring provinces [a]. He was left by his
father in *Judæa* to proſecute the war againſt the *Jews*. Upon their parting, *Titus*
gave a ſignal inſtance of his good-nature and affection towards his brother *Domitian*.
For the emperor, being informed that *Domitian* had already abandoned himſelf to
all manner of debauchery, and aſſumed more authority than was ſuitable to a ſon
only, was highly incenſed againſt him. *Titus* therefore, upon the departure of
his father for *Italy*, pleaded with great affection and earneſtneſs in favour of his
brother, warning the emperor to beware of being raſhly incenſed by intelligence
c from ſuch as brought criminal repreſentations. *To your own ſon*, ſaid he, *it is but*
juſt you ſhould bear a ſpirit of gentleneſs, free from all prejudice. Not from fleets,
not from legions, are ſuch powerful bulwarks found for the ſupport of the imperial
dignity, as from a numerous iſſue in the imperial houſe. The number of our friends
is diminiſhed with time; they often deſert us to follow fortune; or becauſe we can-
not gratify their deſires. But from our own blood we may always promiſe ourſelves
ready aſſiſtance, and unſhaken fidelity. In our good fortune many will partake with
us, but our neareſt in kindred alone will bear us company in our adverſities. Even
between brothers, added he, *concord and unanimity will not prove laſting, if their*
common parent ſets them not firſt an example. *Veſpaſian*, who by this reaſoning
d was not ſo much reconciled to *Domitian*, as charmed with the tender affection of
Titus, deſired him to be of good chear, and to ſtudy how to aggrandize the com-
monwealth by war and the exerciſe of arms; adding, that it ſhould be his taſk
to inſure the public peace, and that of his family [b]. Of the conduct and warlike
atchievements of *Titus*, during the war which he carried on with ſtupendous ſucceſs
againſt the *Jews*, we have ſpoken at length in our hiſtory of that nation. After
the reduction of *Jeruſalem*, inſtead of returning to *Rome*, he went to *Alexandria*,
where he aſſiſted at the conſecration of the ox *Apis*, wearing a diadem; which,
together with his putting off from time to time his journey for *Italy*, and his giving
a private audience at *Zeugma* to the embaſſadors of the *Parthian* king, occaſioned
a report, as if he deſigned to revolt from his father, and make himſelf emperor of
e the eaſt. This rumour obliged him to haſten his departure for *Rome*, where he was
received with loud ſhouts of joy, and a few days after honoured with one of the
moſt magnificent triumphs the city had ever beheld. He was dignified by the ſe-
nate with the title of *Cæſar*, and by his father taken, in a manner, for his collegue
in the empire; for with him he exerciſed the cenſorſhip, the tribunitial power, ſeven
conſulſhips, and managed all the affairs of the empire, writing even letters, and
drawing up all edicts in his father's name. *Tacitus* tells us, that he was more ſtrict
and reſerved in his own reign, than in that of his father; and *Suetonius* charges
him with pride, cruelty, and even avarice. When any one, ſays the latter writer,
gave him, by his unguarded conduct, the leaſt umbrage, he hired people to demand
f his doom in the theatre, and in the camp of the prætorian guards, and then con-
demned him without further proof or trial. In adminiſtering juſtice, he was eaſily
biaſſed by preſents, ſold ſeveral employments of great truſt unknown to his father,
and indulged himſelf in feſtivity and pleaſures, ſpending great part of the night
in riotous banquets, with the moſt diſſolute of the *Roman* youth, with young eu-
nuchs, and a numerous herd of catamites and proſtitutes. His paſſion for *Berenice*,
the daughter of *Agrippa the great* and ſiſter of *Agrippa* II. king of *Ituræa*, was
highly

Is left by his father to carry on the war againſt the Jews.

His kindneſs to his brother Domitius.

Returns to Rome, *and triumphs.*

Is charged, while yet a private man, with pride, cruelty, and avarice.

[a] Tacit. hiſt. l. ii. c. 77. Suet. in Tit. c. 1, 2, 3, 5. Philostr. in vit. Apoll. Ty. l. vii. c. 3. Joseph. bell. Jud. l. iv. c. 29. [b] Tacit. l. iv. c. 52.

highly cenſured by the *Roman* people, who looked upon him as a ſecond *Nero*; a
ſo that ſcarce ever any man arrived at the empire with a more ſullied reputation,
Governs with great moderation. or more abhorred by the populace [c]. But, upon his acceſſion to the empire, all theſe
accuſations turned to his praiſe and advantage, no prince having ever governed
with greater moderation, humanity, and good-nature. Soon after his father's death,
he diſmiſſed the beautiful queen *Berenice*, who had followed him to *Rome* with her
father *Agrippa*, the laſt king of *Judæa*; and obliged her not only to withdraw from
the city, but from *Italy*, tho' he was paſſionately fond of her; and this merely out
of complaiſance to the ſenate and people, who were diſpleaſed to ſee their emperor
His conduct towards his brother. thus captivated with the charms of a foreign woman [d]. Tho' his brother *Domitian*
pretended to an equal ſhare in the government, and raiſed great diſturbances in b
the city, by giving out and arrogantly maintaining, that his father had left him
partner in the empire, but that the will had been falſified; yet he could not pre-
vail upon himſelf either to puniſh or baniſh him, but on the contrary treated him
as his collegue in the empire, conjuring him often in private, with tears in his eyes,
not to hate a brother, who bore him a ſincere and tender affection, and was willing
to allow him a due ſhare in the adminiſtration [e]. *Pliny* obſerves, that *Julius Baſſus*
dreaded *Titus* on account of his intimacy with *Domitian*; but that he received no
injury at the hands of the former, whereas he was baniſhed by the latter. The
emperors, ever ſince the reign of *Tiberius*, had paid no regard to the ordinances of
their predeceſſors granting to cities, or particular perſons, privileges, immunities c
or exemptions, till ſuch grants were confirmed by themſelves; which they did with
great reſerve, cauſing the charters to be firſt carefully examined, as if they had
Confirms all the grants of his prede-ceſſors. been firſt granted by themſelves. But *Titus*, without ſuffering any one to apply
to him, confirmed them all by one general edict; and his example was followed
by moſt of his ſucceſſors. He could not prevail upon himſelf to diſmiſs any who
applied to him diſſatisfied, or without ſome hopes of ſucceſs; whereupon, being
admoniſhed by ſome of his friends, that he promiſed more than he could well per-
form, he replied, that no man ſhould depart diſſatisfied from the preſence of a
prince. It is well known, that being told one night he had beſtowed no favour
that day, he expreſſed his diſſatisfaction and regret, with that memorable ſaying, *My* d
His complai-ſance to the people. *friends, I have loſt a day.* He treated the people with extraordinary kindneſs and
complaiſance: having deſigned to exhibit a ſhew of gladiators, he ſignified by a
proclamation, that it ſhould be exhibited, not according to his own taſte and plea-
ſure, but that of the people; and he was ſo far from refuſing what they deſired,
that he earneſtly ſolicited them to declare what they liked beſt, complying with
their taſte, tho' diſagreeing with his own. He allowed free acceſs to him, even while
he was bathing, and received all with great affability and condeſcenſion, yet ſo as
to maintain the dignity of his rank and the majeſty of an emperor. No man's
property he ever coveted; nay, he often refuſed the uſual preſents and ſuch con- e
tributions as were due to him: and nevertheleſs, of all his predeceſſors, none was
more generous than he, nor expended larger ſums in private bounties, in ſhews, in
buildings, *&c.* After he dedicated the famous amphitheatre, and finiſhed with in-
credible expedition certain baths cloſe to it, he exhibited, at an immenſe charge,
a ſhew of gladiators, a naval battle in the old naumachia, and brought into the
arena five thouſand wild beaſts of all kinds. When he entered upon the office of
chief pontiff, he ſolemnly declared, he took upon him that dignity in order to pre-
ſerve his hands undefiled, and pure from the ſhedding of blood; and truly from that
time he never was acceſſary to any man's death, though he might have exerted his
revenge with great juſtice: but, however provoked, he ſpared the criminals, declare- f
ing, that he had rather die himſelf, than put another to death. Of this his great
His clemency. clemency he gave the following inſtance: two patricians having conſpired againſt
him, were diſcovered, convicted, and ſentenced to death by the ſenate. But the
good-natured emperor freely forgave them, admoniſhing them only in private, that
in vain they aſpired to the empire, which was given by deſtiny, exhorting them to
be ſatisfied with the rank in which by providence they had been placed, and offer-
ing them any thing elſe which it was in his power to grant. At the ſame time he
diſpatched a meſſenger to the mother of one of them, who was then at a great
diſtance, and under great concern about the fate of her ſon, to aſſure her, that her
ſon

[c] Suet. c. 6, 7. Tacit. ibid. [d] Suet. c. 7. [e] Idem in Dom. c. 2. & 9.

a ſon was not only alive, but out of danger. He invited them the ſame night to his table, and having the next day placed them by him at a ſhew of gladiators, when the weapons of the combatants were, according to cuſtom, preſented to him, he deſired them to ſurvey them [e]. The law of majeſty he utterly abrogated, and would not ſuffer any perſon to be proſecuted for ſpeaking diſreſpectfully of himſelf, or the other emperors his predeceſſors, ſaying, *If they blacken my character undeſervedly, they ought rather to be pitied than puniſhed; if deſervedly, it would be a crying piece of injuſtice to puniſh them for ſpeaking truth. As for my predeceſſors, if they are truly gods, they are in a condition to revenge, when they think fit, the injuries done them, and ſtand in no need of my aſſiſtance and power* [f]. The accuſers were the only per- b ſons againſt whom he proceeded with unrelenting ſeverity, cauſing them to be publicly whipt, to be expoſed to public view, and to the inſults of the populace in the forum, the amphitheatre, and the circus, and then to be either ſold for ſlaves, or baniſhed to deſert iſlands [g]. In ſhort he was a prince, according to *Suetonius*, in whom all virtues centred, without the allay of one ſingle vice.

Aboliſhes the law of majeſty

His ſeverity towards the informers.

TOWARDS the end of the year 79. of the chriſtian æra, and firſt of *Titus*'s reign, *Campania* was alarmed with a moſt dreadful and almoſt incredible eruption of mount *Veſuvius*, which laid waſte the country to a great diſtance, and utterly conſumed a great many cities with their inhabitants, and among the reſt *Pompeii* and *Herculanum*. The former had ſuffered much by an earthquake in the year 63. of the chriſtian æra; c but had been rebuilt and imbelliſhed with ſeveral ſtately edifices, eſpecially a theatre, in which the people were aſſembled, and intent upon the public ſhews, when the city was ſwallowed up by an earthquake, which attended the eruption of the flames from the mountain. The cities of *Puteoli* and *Cumæ* were greatly damaged, what by the carthquake, what by the burning aſhes; which, if the ancients are to be credited, reached *Africa*, *Egypt*, and *Syria*, and at *Rome* turned ſuddenly, to the great terror of the inhabitants, day into night. *Pliny* the elder, who was then at *Miſenum*, where he commanded the fleet riding there, having diſcovered this cloud on the firſt of *November*, and not yet knowing whence it iſſued, went immediately on board one of the galleys, and ſailed towards mount *Veſuvius*. He was ſoon met by great d numbers of perſons, who, in ſmall boats, were flying from the dreadful conflagration; but nevertheleſs, prompted by his curioſity, he purſued his courſe, tho' ſtones, aſhes, and earth began already to ſhower down upon his veſſel; nay, we are told, that, to his great ſurprize, he found a new cape formed by the earth and huge ſtones, thrown out by the mountain. However, he proceeded with great intrepidity, and reaching *Stabiæ* between *Pompeii* and *Surrentum*, tho' the inhabitants had all abandoned the place, paſſed the night there, the better to obſerve, during the darkneſs, the mountain, which ſeemed all on a blaze. The ſame night a dreadful earthquake happened at *Stabiæ*, and ſuch a huge quantity of ſtones fell, that *Pliny* reſolved to put to ſea, but was prevented by contrary winds. At length the fire approaching, he attempted to ſave himſelf by flight; but, tho' ſupported by two e of his domeſtics, he ſoon fell, ſuffocated, as is ſuppoſed, by the thickneſs of the air and the inſupportable ſtench of ſulphur. His body was found three days after, and interred by his nephew *Pliny* the younger, who was then at *Miſenum*, and narrowly eſcaped the ſame fate, as he himſelf relates at length in his epiſtles [h]. On this occaſion the poet *Ceſius Baſſus* was conſumed, with his houſe, by the flames; and likewiſe *Agrippa*, the ſon of *Claudius Felix*, formerly governor of *Judæa*, and of *Druſilla*, daughter to *Agrippa*, the laſt king of the *Jews* [i]. This is the firſt eruption of mount *Veſuvius* we find mentioned in hiſtory.

A dreadful eruption of mount Veſuvius.

The death of Pliny *the elder*

THE ſame year, *Titus* aſſumed the title of *emperor* with the uſual ſolemnity, on account of the advantages which the brave *Agricola* had gained in *Britain*, during his f ſecond campaign in that iſland; for having applied himſelf in the winter with great care to the redreſſing of the grievances, of which the *Britons* but too juſtly complained, in the beginning of the ſummer he aſſembled his army, and marched farther into the country, commending ſuch of his men as in marching obſerved duty and rank, and checking ſuch as were looſe and ſtraggling. He himſelf always choſe the ground for incamping; the friths and woods he himſelf always firſt examined; and to the enemy, in the mean time, allowed not a moment's quiet, but was ever haraſſing them with ſudden incurſions. Then having ſufficiently alarmed and terrified them, he uſed to ſpare

Agricola's *ſecond campaign in* Britain.

[e] SUET. c. 9. epiſt. 16, 20. [f] DIO, l. lviii. p. 354. [g] SUET. c. 10. [h] PLIN. l. vi. [i] JOSEPH. antiq. l. xx. c. 5.

Several communities ſubmit and give hoſtages.

ſpare them, in order to tempt and allure them with the ſweets of peace. By this a conduct ſeveral communities, which till that day had held out upon equal terms, and maintained themſelves in a ſtate of independency, came to lay down their arms, gave hoſtages, and ſuffered fortreſſes to be erected in their territories; which was done with ſo much care and ſkill, that no part of *Britain* conquered by the *Romans* till that time eſcaped being annoyed by them [k]. This is the account which *Tacitus* gives us of what *Agricola* performed in the ſecond ſummer's expedition; but as he ſpeaks in general, without naming any particular place, it is no eaſy matter to determine through what part of *Britain Agricola* marched his army, and how far into the country; what friths he paſſed over, what communities ſubmitted and gave hoſtages, and in what places the fortreſſes were erected which *Tacitus* mentions. However, a b modern writer [l], whom our readers may conſult, endeavours by many learned con-

Through what part of Britain *he marched.*

jectures to prove, that *Agricola* in his ſecond campaign marched directly from *Angleſey* into *Scotland*, and penetrated as far as the frith of *Edinburgh*; that he bent his rout through the county of *Annandale* and the adjacent counties, where remains of ancient *Roman* camps are ſtill to be ſeen, ſome of which the learned antiquarian concludes, from *Tacitus*'s account of them, to have been made by *Agricola*; that the friths he paſſed were thoſe of *Dee*, *Ribble*, *Liverpool*, and *Solloway*; and finally, that the communities or cities, which ſuffered themſelves to be begirt, as *Tacitus* expreſſes it, with gariſons and fortreſſes, were thoſe on the iſthmus between *Clyde* and *Forth*. We refer our readers to the above-mentioned writer for a more diſtinct c explanation of theſe particulars.

Titus repairs the damages done by the eruption of mount Veſuvius.

The following year, *Titus*, now conſul the eighth time, with his brother *Domitian* the ſeventh, gave many remarkable inſtances of his humanity and good-nature, in repairing, at his own expence, the loſſes which the unhappy inhabitants of *Campania* had ſuffered by the late eruption of mount *Veſuvius*. He ſent into *Campania* two conſulars with large ſums, to be employed in rebuilding the cities which had been overturned, and applied to the relief of the poor ſufferers the goods and eſtates of ſuch, as had periſhed on this occaſion and left no heirs; nay, went in perſon into *Campania*, and with his own hand diſtributed immenſe ſums among thoſe, who ſeemed moſt worthy of his compaſſion [m]. While he was in *Campania*, a dreadful d fire broke out in *Rome*, which laſted three days and as many nights, and reduced to aſhes a great many private and public buildings, the library of *Auguſtus*, with all the books lodged in it, great part of the capitol, the theatre of *Pompey*, &c. *Titus* was no ſooner informed of this calamity, than he haſtened back to the city, and publicly declared, that the whole loſs ſhould fall upon him, and that, at his own charge, he would repair the damage ſuffered by particulars. He was as good as his word; for tho' many cities and foreign princes, by whom he was no leſs beloved than by *Romans*, offered to bear their ſhare in the expence, he could not by any means be prevailed upon to accept their offers, as *Nero* had done on the like occaſion; but choſe rather to ſell even the ornaments and furniture of his own palace and country- e houſes, in order to raiſe money wherewithal to defray the immenſe charges he was at in rebuilding the temples, the public edifices, and the dwellings of particulars. This conflagration was followed by the moſt dreadful plague that had ever raged in *Rome*. *Dion Caſſius* aſcribes its riſe to the aſhes of mount *Veſuvius*, which had covered the country all round to a great diſtance [n]. *Titus* left no remedy, human or divine, unattempted, to abate the malignity of the diſtemper, exerting at the ſame time all the care and regard of a prince, all the tenderneſs and compaſſion of a father, comforting the diſtreſſed multitude with his edicts, and relieving them with large and daily bounties [o]. Towards the end of this year he finiſhed the famous amphitheatre, which is elegantly deſcribed by *Martial* [p], who likewiſe mentions the baths f that were ended about the ſame time. The amphitheatre, whereof the ſtately remains are ſtill to be ſeen, had been begun by *Veſpaſian*, and ſtood, as we we learn from *Dion Caſſius*, in the midſt of the city, tho' its ruins lie in the outſkirts of modern *Rome*. *Titus*, when he dedicated, according to cuſtom, that noble and ſtately edifice, exhibited moſt magnificent ſhews, which laſted an hundred days, and raiſed the ſpirits of the people, ready to ſink under the calamities they had ſuffered [q].

And by a fire at Rome,

Exerts his good nature during a plague at Rome.

Finiſhes the amphitheatre.

In

[k] Tacit. vit. Agric. c. 20, 21. [l] Gordon. itiner. ſeptentrion. [m] Suet. c. 8.
[n] Dio, l. lvi. p. 756. [o] Idem ibid, Suet. c. 8. [p] Mart. lib. de ſpect. epigr. 1.
[q] Dio, p. 757. & Marc. Velser. monument. Auguſt. lapid. 35.

Agricola brings the Britons to love the Roman cuſtoms.

a In the mean time, *Agricola* employed his ſecond winter in meaſures extremely advantagious and ſalutary; for to the end that the people, wild and diſperſed over the country, and thence eaſily ſtirred up to war, might, by a taſte of pleaſures, be reconciled to inactivity and repoſe, he firſt privately exhorted, and then publicly aſſiſted, them, to build temples, houſes, and places of public reſort, reprimanding ſuch as were ſlow, and commending thoſe who were aſſiduous and forward in ſuch purſuits. He took care to have the ſons of their chiefs inſtructed in the liberal ſciences, finding their genius ſuperior to that of their neighbours the *Gauls*; and ſuch was his ſucceſs, that thoſe, who had lately ſcorned to learn the *Roman* language, were now become fond of its elegancies: thence they began to aſſume the *Roman* apparel, and
b the uſe of the gown grew frequent amongſt them. Thus by degrees they proceeded to the charms and allurements of vice and effeminacy, to magnificent galleries, ſumtuous bagnios, elegant entertainments, *&c.* all which things were, as *Tacitus* judiciouſly obſerves, by the unexperienced, ſtyled politeneſs, but at the bottom were nothing but baits of ſlavery. In the beginning of the ſummer, *Agricola* took the field again, and in purſuit of his conqueſts diſcovered new people, and continued his devaſtations through the ſeveral nations quite to the mouth of the *Taus* or *Tay*. Whence ſuch terror ſeized the the enemy, that they durſt not attack him, though his troops were ſorely haraſſed by terrible tempeſts; ſo that he had time to ſecure the places he had conquered by erecting forts. It was obſerved of *Agricola* by men of experience, that no
c commander ever choſe his poſts with more ſkill, in regard of their ſituation and convenience, and that no place of ſtrength founded by him was ever taken by ſtorm, or abandoned as not defenſible. From theſe ſtrong-holds frequent excurſions were made; and, as they were ſupplied with proviſions for a year, the *Romans* paſſed the winter in them without the leaſt apprehenſion, every ſingle fort defending itſelf; ſo that the enemy, in all their attempts upon them, were baffled, and thence reduced to deſpair, not being able, as formerly, to repair by their ſucceſs in the winter, the loſſes they had ſuſtained in the ſummer. In theſe expeditions *Agricola* never aſſumed to himſelf the glory of exploits performed by others; but to each commander, to each centurion, yielded the praiſe which was due to his atchievements. By ſome he is ſaid to
d have been too ſevere and ſharp in rebuking; and truly, as he abounded in courteſy towards thoſe who readily complied with their duty, ſo to the ſlothful and negligent he appeared ſterne and ſevere. But his anger was eaſily appeaſed: he harboured no rancour in his heart, thinking it more honourable to give open offence, than to foſter ſecret hatred [r]. The emperor *Titus*, in his eighth conſulſhip, and conſequently this year, repaired ſome ancient aqueducts, and at a vaſt expence paved with large ſtones the road from *Rome* to *Ariminum* croſs the *Apennines*, where is ſtill to be ſeen, not far from the preſent city of *Foſſombrone*, a huge rock cut through on this occaſion [s].

He extends his conqueſts to the Taus *or* Tay.

The next conſuls were *Sex. Annius Silvanus* and *T. Annius Verus Pollio*. The latter is by ſome writers ſuppoſed to be the grandfather of the emperor *M. Aurelius*,
e who was, according to *Capitolinus*, raiſed by *Veſpaſian* to the rank of a patrician, diſcharged twice the office of conſul, and governed *Rome* with general ſatisfaction. This ſummer, the fourth ſince *Agricola*'s arrival in *Britain*, was by him employed in ſettling and ſecuring the places which he had already conquered, *viz.* all the countries on this ſide of the *Glota* and *Bodotria*, now the *Clyde* and *Forth*, into which rivers the tide from the oppoſite ſeas flows ſo far up the country, that their heads are parted only by a narrow neck of land, not above twenty miles over. This iſthmus the *Romans* ſecured with forts and gariſons, and penned up the inhabitants, as it were, in another iſland; ſo that they might have made the two rivers *Glota* and *Bodotria* the boundaries of their conqueſts, and ſuffered the nations beyond them to live undiſ-
f turbed [t]. But the ambition of the *Romans*, which they diſguiſed under the ſpecious name of glory, knew no bounds; hence *Agricola* purſued his conqueſts the next and the following ſummers, as we ſhall relate according to the order of time. In the eaſt, one *Terentius Maximus*, paſſing himſelf upon the people for *Nero*, raiſed great diſturbances in that province, and likewiſe in the countries bordering upon the *Euphrates*; but, being purſued by the *Roman* troops, he took refuge in the territories of the *Parthians*, where he was entertained by king *Artabanes*, who was then at variance with the *Romans*; but nevertheleſs, upon the approach of their army, thought it adviſeable to abandon the cauſe of the impoſtor [u].

He employs the fourth ſummer in ſecuring the places already conquered.

This

[r] Tacit. vit. Agri. c. 22. [s] Onuph. in faſt. p. 210. Goltz. p. 56. [t] Tacit. ibid. c. 23. [u] Zonar. p. 195.

New honours conferred upon Titus.

This year, the ſenate, not out of flattery, but a ſenſe of gratitude, conferred new honours upon *Titus*. What honours theſe were, we are no-where told; but the good emperor lived not to enjoy them, being ſuddenly ſnatched away, to the inexpreſſible grief of the *Roman* people. *Suetonius* tells us, that he exhibited certain ſhews, during which he ſhed many tears in the preſence of the multitude, and retired, as ſoon as they were over, into the country of the *Sabines*, greatly grieved, becauſe the victim, while he was ſacrificing, had broke looſe, and a dreadful clap of thunder had been heard, though the day was quite bright, and not a cloud to be ſeen. The firſt night he lay out of *Rome*, he was ſeized with a burning fever; but nevertheleſs purſued his journey in a litter, being deſirous to end his days in the ſame houſe where his father died. We are told, that finding himſelf on the road greatly indiſpoſed, and not doubting but his end approached, he lifted up his eyes and hands to heaven, complaining, that he was thus to be cut off in the vigor of his age, when, during the whole courſe of his life, he had been guilty of one action only, which ſeemed to require repentance. What action that was, he did not declare; but *Dion Caſſius* is of opinion, that it was his freely forgiving his brother *Domitian*, who had conſpired againſt him, when, by inflicting upon him the deſerved puniſhment, he might have prevented the many evils and calamities, which the excellent emperor was well appriſed his brother, when inveſted with the ſovereignty, would bring upon the ſtate [w]. Others think, that the criminal converſation he was ſaid to have had with his brother's wife, occurred then to his memory. But *Suetonius* clears him from this aſperſion, upon the ſolemn proteſtation of *Domitia* herſelf, who, had the charge been true, would have rather gloried in it, as ſhe did in all other crimes, than denied it [x]. *Titus* having with much-ado reached *Cutyliæ*, his paternal eſtate, expired there ſoon after his arrival, on the thirteenth of *September*, in the forty-firſt year of his age, after having reigned two years, two months, and twenty days. *Philoſtratus* tells us, that he was poiſoned by his brother *Domitian* [y]. *Plutarch* aſcribes his death to the immoderate uſe of baths [z], and adds, that one *Regulus*, who, out of complaiſance, uſed to bathe with him, died of an apoplexy. *Suetonius* writes, that *Domitian*, who had ever ſought the deſtruction of his brother, cauſed the room to be cleared before he was dead, ordered all thoſe who could afford him any aſſiſtance to withdraw; but that writer does not charge *Domitian* with any other kind of violence [a]. He far excelled, in the opinion of the ancients, all his predeceſſors, even *Veſpaſian* himſelf, in every virtue becoming a prince, and was equalled by few of his ſucceſſors. He knew no purpoſe of being higher than others, but to do good to all. He was a ſtranger to all parade and oſtentation, chuſing to live with his people rather as a father with his children, than a prince with ſubjects; whence he was deſervedly ſtyled. *the love and delight of mankind*. What pity that ſuch princes, ſuch friends to the world, and protectors of men, ſhould ever die! His death was no ſooner known, than a general ſadneſs, an univerſal conſternation, appeared in *Rome*, which in a ſhort time ſpread all over the provinces to the moſt diſtant bounds of the empire. The ſenators, without being ſummoned according to cuſtom, haſtened to the palace, and having cauſed the doors of the chapel, where they met, to be ſhut for a while, in order to indulge their grief, they opened them again, and in the preſence of the multitude heaped more praiſes upon him after his death, than they had ever done while he lived amongſt them; a plain proof of the ſincerity of their eſteem and affection. *Domitian* cauſed him to be ranked among the gods, and was the firſt who paid him divine honours; but at the ſame time ſtudied both in private and in public to revile his memory, and leſſen the eſteem and veneration, which all orders of men had for ſo worthy and deſerving a prince [b]. *Titus* left only one daughter, named *Julia Sabina*, of whom we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak in the following reign.

Is taken ill, and leaves Rome.

His death.

His character

Is univerſally lamented.

Domitian *acknowledged emperor.*

Titus was ſucceeded by his brother *Domitian*, who, without the leaſt oppoſition or contradiction, was immediately acknowleged emperor, notwithſtanding the bad opinion which many entertained of him. He was born on the twenty-fourth of *October* of the year 51. of the chriſtian æra, his father being then conſul elect, and appointed to diſcharge that office the month following. He is ſtyled on ſeveral medals, which have reached our times, *Titus Flavius Sabinus Domitianus* [c]. He paſſed his youth in great poverty, and is ſaid to have been a pathic to *Nerva*, who ſucceeded him, for hire, and likewiſe to one *Clodius Pollio*, formerly prætor, who kept a note under

[w] Dio, l. lxvi. p. 758. [x] Suet. c. 10. [y] Philostrat. vit. Apol. Ty. l. vi. c. 14.
[z] Plut. de ſanit. p. 2. 4. [a] Suet. in Domit. [b] Idem ibid. [c] Goltz. p. 58. Suet. c. 1.

a under *Domitian*'s own hand, by which he bound himſelf, for a ſum of money, to comply, when required, with his lewd and unnatural deſires. He did not apply himſelf from his tender years to the ſtudy of hiſtory, poetry, eloquence, or any other liberal art or ſcience; hence in all his ſpeeches and harangues he made uſe of the eloquence of others. He took great delight in archery; in which he was ſo wonderfully expert, that he was frequently ſeen to ſhoot a great number of arrows between the fingers of one of his domeſtics, whom he placed at a great diſtance with his hand expanded, telling before between which fingers the arrow would paſs, and never miſſing his aim [d]. He was naturally cruel, ſuſpicious, and addicted to revenge; greedy of honours, but impatient of the leaſt toil or labour; affected the reputation of a brave
b commander, but carefully avoided expoſing himſelf to any danger. *Suetonius* thinks, that his cruelty was chiefly occaſioned by his timorouſneſs, and no-ways natural to him. Being at *Rome* when his father aſſumed the title of emperor, *Vitellius* placed guards about him; but he might nevertheleſs have eaſily eſcaped, ſeveral meſſengers having, by various diſguiſes and ſhifts, reached him from *Antonius Primus*, and ſhewed him from what place he might fly, and upon what guard and ſecurity depend; nay, even thoſe who guarded him, offered themſelves for companions of his flight; but he, apprehending from thence that they deſigned to betray him, could not by any means be prevailed upon to make his eſcape [e]. Upon the burning of the capitol, whither he had retired with his uncle *Sabinus*, he concealed himſelf in the room of one
c of the miniſters of the temple, and the next morning was conveyed by his freed-man beyond the *Tiber*, in the diſguiſe of one of the prieſts of *Iſis*. When *Primus* had made himſelf maſter of the city, and all apprehenſions of hoſtility had ceaſed, he diſcovered himſelf to his father's generals, and was by the ſoldiers thronging about him ſaluted *Cæſar* [f]; which title was confirmed to him the day following by the ſenate. From that time to the arrival of his father, he bore the chief ſway in *Rome*; but gave no attention to the cares of government, abandoning himſelf to all manner of voluptuouſneſs, and making uſe of his power only to indulge his vicious inclinations with more liberty. He took *Domitia Longina*, the daughter of the famous *Domitius Corbulo*, from her huſband *L. Ælius Lamia*, married her ſome time after, and had a
d ſon by her, who was honoured with the title of *Cæſar*, but died an infant, and was by *Domitian* ranked among the gods [g]. That he had other children, though not mentioned by any hiſtorian, appears from the epitaph of one *Pierius*, ſtill to be ſeen at *Rome*, who is ſtyled *the emperor's freed-man, and preceptor to his children*. The monument was raiſed by *Flavia Nicea*, wife to *Pierius*, with the permiſſion, as is expreſſed in the inſcription, of *Hermas*, the chief freed-man of *Domitia Auguſta*; for with this title *Domitius* honoured his wife *Domitia Longina* in the ſecond year of his reign [h]. In the beginning of his father's reign, being jealous of the glory which his brother had acquired in the *Jewiſh* war, he reſolved to go into *Gaul*, and take upon him the command of the army which was employed againſt *Civilis*. *Mucianus* did all that lay
e in his power to divert him, as he was quite unexperienced in military affairs, from ſuch a reſolution; but *Domitian* continuing obſtinately bent upon that expedition, *Mucianus* reſolved to attend him, in order to check his ardour, leſt, following the impetuoſity of his age and inſtigated by evil counſellors, were he once maſter of an army, he might diſconcert all meaſures, whether for peace or war. After many procraſtinations and delays, they both ſet out at length; but received, ere they reached the *Alps*, tidings of the defeat of the *Treverians*. Hereupon *Mucianus* communicated, as no more than his own ſentiments upon the preſent occaſion, what he had long propoſed and concealed, *viz.* that ſince, by the favour of the gods, the forces of the enemy were broken, with an ill grace would *Domitian* proceed, now the war was nigh
f concluded, and rob another of the whole glory. He added, that were the empire threatened with danger, it behoved the emperor's ſon to venture his perſon in battle; but to contend with the *Caninefates* and *Batavians*, was beneath him. Let *Domitian*, continued he, retire to *Lions*, and from thence diſplay the power and fortune of the empire at hand, neither engaging in ſmall hazards, nor failing to meet ſuch as are greater. Thus *Mucianus* prevailed upon him to retire to *Lions*. From thence

He reſolves to head the army againſt Civilis.

Domitian was believed to have tried by ſecret inter-agents to corrupt the fidelity of *Cerealis*, and to have propoſed, whether he would commit to him the army and empire, if he came in perſon. It remained uncertain what deſigns he foſtered, whether he

He attempts to corrupt Cerealis.

[d] Suet. c. 19. [e] Tacit. hiſt. l. iii c. 59. [f] Idem, c. 74. [g] Suet. c. iii. Spanh. p. 650.
[h] Vide Spanh. p. 12. & Suet. c. 3.

he meditated a war againſt his father, or intended to arm himſelf with power and forces againſt his brother; for *Cerealis*, by ſeveral evaſions, eluded his ſuit, as that of one, who, with a childiſh fondneſs, longed for things to which he was not equal. a

Retires, and feigns a love for learning and poetry.

Domitian perceiving, that *Cerealis* deſpiſed his youth, relinquiſhed all functions of government, even the ſmalleſt; and, burying himſelf in ſolitude, feigned a zeal for learning, eſpecially for poetry, thence to conceal his ambition and other paſſions, and to eſcape the jealouſy of his brother [i]. Some writers tell us, that on this occaſion he applied himſelf in earneſt to the ſtudy of poetry, and with wonderful ſucceſs. *Pliny* the elder ſeems to have admired his poetical compoſitions [k], and likewiſe *Quintilian* [l]; for both cry them up, not through flattery, ſays *Voſſius*, as is manifeſt from the tranſlation of *Aratus*, which has reached us, and was, without all doubt, done by *Domitian* [m]. b *Lactantius* aſcribes to him the learned comment on that tranſlation [n]; but *Voſſius* is of a different opinion [o]. *Valerius Flaccus* the poet, who flouriſhed under *Veſpaſian*, ſpeaks of a poem written by *Domitian* on the taking of *Jeruſalem* by *Titus* [p]. He likewiſe wrote a book in proſe about the means of preſerving the hair, which is quoted by *Suetonius* [q]. But while he pretended to place his whole delight in theſe ſtudies, and affected a fondneſs for ſolitude, the king of the *Parthians* having demanded ſuccours againſt the *Alani*, as we have hinted above, he earneſtly ſolicited his father for the command of thoſe troops; and when he found the emperor no-ways inclined to aſſiſt the *Parthians*, he applied to the eaſtern princes, ſoliciting them with promiſes and preſents to deſire ſupplies, and himſelf to lead them. But *Veſpaſian* was too well acquainted with his views and temper, to truſt him with the command of an army. c

Has ſome thoughts of revolting.

Upon the death of his father, he deliberated a long time with himſelf, whether he ſhould openly revolt, and tempt the fidelity of the prætorian guards, by offering them a larger donative than his brother had promiſed them; but his courage failing him, he bore no other title, during the reign of *Titus*, but that of *Cæſar*, *prince of the* Roman *youth*; a title now peculiar to the preſumptive heir to the empire [r]. His brother no ſooner expired, than he haſtened to *Rome*; and repairing to the camp of the prætorian guards, was there by the ſoldiery, after having promiſed them the uſual donative, ſaluted *emperor*. At the ſame time he aſſumed, as appears from ſeveral ancient inſcriptions, all the other titles annexed to the ſovereignty, which other emperors had taken ſucceſſively [s]. Some medals, which have reached our times, gives us room to ſuppoſe, that, in the firſt year of his reign, he took upon him the title of *Germanicus*, probably on account of his journey to *Lions* during the revolt of the *Gauls* and *Batavians*; for we know of no other expedition which could give him, however vain and ambitious, the leaſt colour for aſſuming that ſurname or title [t]. d

Domitian, now inveſted with the ſovereign power, which he had long and impatiently coveted, performed in the firſt place the obſequies of the deceaſed emperor, and pronounced himſelf his funeral oration, with an affected concern, bewailing the loſs of a brother ſo dear to him, and by whom he was ſo tenderly beloved; but that e

He reviles the memory of his brother.

his grief was only aſſumed, he made ſoon appear, by publicly reviling the memory of that excellent prince, by blaming his conduct, and perſecuting all thoſe whom he had diſtinguiſhed with particular marks of his favour; nay, he openly declared in the ſenate, that to him both his father and brother were indebted for the empire, and that they had only reſtored to him what was his own gift. However, in the beginning of his reign, he ſtudied to gain the affections of his people, by a conduct worthy of a great prince, diſguiſing his vices, and affecting the oppoſite virtues. He ſhewed ſuch an abhorrence to all manner of cruelty, that he once reſolved, by an expreſs edict, to forbid the ſacrificing of oxen, or any living creature. He was ſo far from betraying any bias to avarice, that, on the contrary, he gave daily inſtances of a temper truly princely and munificent, preſenting his officers and miniſters with large ſums, in order to raiſe them above the temptation of accumulating wealth by methods ſordid and mean. He could not be prevailed upon to accept ſuch inheritances as were left him by perſons who had children; and becauſe one *Ruſcius Cæpio*, by his will, obliged his heir to pay a certain ſum to every new ſenator, he declared the will void, and would not ſuffer it to be executed to the prejudice of his own children. All debts above five years ſtanding, which were owing to the exchequer, he freely f

His conduct in the beginning of his reign.

[i] Tacit. l. iv. c. 86. [k] Plin. in præfat. [l] Quintil. l. x. c. 1. [m] Voss. poet. Lat. c. 3. [n] Lact. l. i. c. 22. [o] Voss. hiſt. Lat. p. 115. [p] Val. Flac. l. ii. ver. 12. [q] Suet. c. 18. [r] Idem, c. 2. Onuph. in faſt. p. 210. [s] Idem ibid. [t] Vide Biragi numiſ. p. 131, 132.

a freely forgave; and after the diviſion of lands amongſt the veterans, reſtored the remainder to the ancient proprietors, tho' he might, after the example of other emperors, have appropriated it to himſelf. He forbad, on pain of baniſhment, all the officers of the treaſury to ſue any one for debts, that were not clear and undoubted [u]. He confirmed at once, as *Titus* had done; all the grants made by his predeceſſors, increaſed the pay of the ſoldiers, and finiſhed, at an immenſe charge, all the public buildings, which had been begun by *Titus*. *Plutarch* tells us, that he expended above twelve thouſand talents only in the gilding of the capitol; and that nevertheleſs each hall and gallery of his own palace far excelled that ſtately temple in magnificence [w]. To the ancient edifices, which he either repaired or rebuilt, he added an incredible b number of new ones, having a great paſſion for building, and ſeeming deſirous, as *Plutarch* expreſſes it [x], to change every thing into ſtones and gold. He was aſſidu- ous and quite unbiaſſed in the adminiſtration of juſtice, puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity ſuch judges as were convicted of having received bribes, and kept the magiſtrates of the city, as well as the governors of the provinces, in ſuch awe, that they were never known to have behaved with ſo much modeſty as in his time, tho', after his death, many of them abandoned themſelves, as *Suetonius* informs us, to all manner of rapine and extortion [y]. Tho', after his acceſſion to the empire, he utterly neglected all kind of literature, and was never known to have peruſed any book, except the memoirs of *Tiberius*, yet he repaired the libraries which had been burnt in his brother's reign, procuring copies of ſuch as had been conſumed in the flames, and c ſending perſons to *Alexandria* to tranſcribe thoſe that were lodged in that famous library [z]. Authors obſerve, as a thing very remarkable in *Domitian*, that, in the beginning of his reign, he uſed to retire every day for ſome time into his room, where his whole employment was to catch flies, and pierce them with a ſharp bodkin; which cuſtom gave occaſion to *Vibius Priſcus*, when he was aſked, whether any body was with the emperor, to anſwer pleaſantly, *Not ſo much as a fly* [a].

His magnificence in public buildings.

Repairs the public libraries.

Domitian, in the firſt year of his reign, took upon him, as other emperors had done, the conſular dignity, and choſe for his collegue *Titus Flavius Sabinus*, his couſin-german, the ſon of *Flavius Sabinus* governor of *Rome*, who was put to death d in the reign of *Vitellius*, as we have related above. The emperor reſigned the faſces on the thirteenth of *January*; but to whom, we are no-where told, and aſſumed the title of cenſor; which office he diſcharged with great applauſe, reſtraining, with ſeveral edicts, the licentiouſneſs, which generally prevailed amongſt all ranks of men. He enacted ſevere laws againſt the authors of ſuch writings as any ways reflected on perſons of diſtinction; degraded a ſenator, by name *Cæcilius Rufinus*, for no other reaſon, but becauſe he took great delight in dancing. From ſuch women as led ſcandalous lives, he took away the privilege of being carried in litters, and declared them incapable of enjoying legacies or inheritances. He ſtruck a *Roman* knight out of the liſt of judges, for taking his wife again after he had divorced her for adultery. One of his freed-men having erected a monument for his ſon, with the ſtones which e were deſigned for the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, he cauſed it to be demoliſhed, and the bones and aſhes of the deceaſed to be thrown into the ſea. He would not ſuffer the comedians and pantomimes to act on the public ſtage; but confined them to private houſes and gardens. Many perſons of both ſexes convicted of adultery, he puniſhed with death, *&c* [b]. Theſe regulations and acts of juſtice were received with great applauſe; but the death of *Flavius Sabinus*, which happened in the end of this, or the beginning of the following, year, cauſed an univerſal dread in the city; for the emperor, without any regard to his own blood, cauſed him to be aſſaſſinated, for no crime of his own, but only becauſe the public crier had, by miſtake, inſtead f of conſul, proclaimed him emperor in the aſſembly of the people [c]. *Sabinus* had married *Julia* the daughter of the emperor *Titus*; which marriage proved the ſource of *Domitian*'s jealouſy, if *Philoſtratus* is to be credited [d], and the chief cauſe of *Sabinus*'s death. In the mean time, the brave *Agricola* vigorouſly purſued his enterprizes in *Britain*. In the firſt year of *Domitian*'s reign and the fifth of the *Britiſh* war, he paſſed the frith himſelf in the firſt ſhip that landed, ſubdued in many ſucceſsful encounters nations till that time unknown, and placed forces in that part of *Britain* which fronts *Ireland*, not that he apprehended any danger from the inhabitants of

Enacts ſeveral wholſome laws.

Puts Flavius Sabinus *to death.*

Agricola *purſues his conqueſts in* Britain.

that

[u] Suet. c. 9. [w] Plut. vit. Public. [x] Idem, ibid. [y] Suet. c. 8. [z] Idem, c. 20. [a] Idem, c. 3. Aur. Vict. Dio, l. lxvii. p. 766. [b] Suet. c. 7, 8. Dio, p. 765. Plin. panegyr. Zonar. p. 197. [c] Suet. c. 10. [d] Philostrat. vit. Apoll. Ty. l. vii. c. 3.

that iſland, but becauſe he already entertained thoughts of reducing it; for, as it a
lies between *Britain* and *Spain*, and is capable of an eaſy communication with the
coaſt of *Gaul*, *Agricola* conſidered, that it would prove of infinite uſe in linking
together thoſe powerful members of the empire. A petty king of the country, ex-
pelled by domeſtic diſſention, was already received into protection by *Agricola*, and,
under the appearance of friendſhip, reſerved for a proper occaſion [d]. For theſe con-
queſts *Domitian* aſſumed the title of *imperator* the fourth time, having taken it three
time before [c], for what victories we find no-where recorded.

The following year, *Domitian* entered upon his ninth conſulſhip, having *Q. Petilius*
Rufus for his collegue, whom *Onuphrius* calls *Virginius Rufus*, and takes for the cele- b
brated *Virginius Rufus*, who ſo often refuſed the empire offered him by the ſoldiery [f].
But *Phlegon*, ſpeaking of a woman, who was, according to him, delivered of ſeveral
ſerpents at *Trent*, tells us, that this happened during the ninth conſulſhip of *Domitian*,
and the ſecond of *Petilius Rufus* [g]. He is likewiſe ſtyled *Petilius Rufus* in an ancient
inſcription in *Greek* diſcovered at *Smyrna* in the year 1679. and from thence conveyed
to *Rome* [h]. This year *Domitian* enacted a law, forbidding, under ſevere penalties,
Domitian *enacts other excellent laws* the caſtrating of children, and regulating the prices of ſuch as were eunuchs already;
for they were all ſlaves and brought from foreign countries [i]. *Philoſtratus* tells us,
that *Domitian* was chiefly prompted to enact this law by a ſecret envy to the memory
of *Titus*, who was greatly addicted to eunuchs, and had conſtantly many of them c
about him. Be that as it will, the law was generally applauded, and continued in
force in the time of *Juſtin* the martyr [k]. The ſame year, according to *Euſebius* [l],
Puniſhes ſome veſtals convicted of inceſt. he puniſhed four veſtals convicted of inceſt, *viz.* two ſiſters of the family of the *Ocel-*
lates, *Varonilla*, and *Cornelia*. The three former he allowed to chuſe the manner of
their death; but *Cornelia*, who had been pardoned before, he cauſed to be buried
alive, and her accomplices to be whipt to death in the midſt of the comitium. Thoſe
who had debauched the other three were only condemned to baniſhment [m]. In the
Agricola's *further conqueſts in* Britain. mean time, *Agricola* continued his conqueſts in *Britain*, or rather *Caledonia*. On the
the ſummer which began the ſixth year of his adminiſtration, as it was apprehended,
that the nations beyond *Bodotria*, or the frith of *Edinburgh*, would all take arms, d
and that all the ways and paſſages were beſet with the enemy's forces, his firſt ſtep
was to coaſt, and examine, by means of his fleet, the large communities beyond the
frith, probably thoſe of the counties of *Fife*, *Angus*, *Mernes*, and *Aberdeen*, which lie
beyond *Edinburgh* frith. As the fleet conſtantly attended the army, the ſame camp
often contained the foot and the horſe and the marines, all intermixed, and ſeverally
magnifying their own feats, hazards, and adventures. The ſoldiers boaſted their
laborious marches over ſteep mountains and thick foreſts; the ſailors their dangers
amidſt the tempeſts and waves, all vying together according to the uſual vaunts and
oſtentation of ſoldiers. As for the *Britons*, upon the ſight of the fleet, they were
ſeized, as from the captives was learnt, with conſternation and diſmay, finding the e
receſſes of the ſea now diſcovered, and the laſt refuge of the vanquiſhed cut off. The
ſeveral people therefore inhabiting *Caledonia* had immediate recourſe to arms, and
advancing with great parade, ſtill made greater by common report, boldly attacked
the *Roman* forts, and cauſed no ſmall terror and alarm amongſt the ſoldiers; inſo-
much, that there were ſome, who, covering real cowardice under the appearance of
prudence, adviſed *Agricola* to return to this ſide of *Bodotria*, ſeeing it was leſs ſhame-
ful to retire back of their own accord, than to be repulſed and driven by force. As
Agricola was informed, that the enemy deſigned to attack him in different bodies, he
divided his army into three parts, and thus marched to prevent their ſurrounding
him; for they ſurpaſſed him in numbers and in the knowledge of the country. f
The Caledonians *attack the ninth legion, but are repulſed.* Hereupon the *Caledonians* changed their meaſures, and in one body fell upon the
ninth legion, as the weakeſt of all. As the attack was in the night, they ſlew the
guards, entered the trenches, and were already purſuing the ſlaughter in the camp
itſelf, when *Agricola*, having learnt from his ſcouts what rout the enemy had taken,
and following their track, commanded the lighteſt of his foot and cavalry to charge
them, while yet engaged, in the rear, and the whole army to give a mighty ſhout.
Thus the *Caledonians* were diſmayed with double diſtreſs, and to the *Romans* their
courage returned; ſo that they fell upon the enemy with great reſolution, and drove
them

[d] Tacit. vit. Agric. c. 24. [c] Goltz. p. 58. [f] Onuph in faſt. p. 211. [g] Phleg. mir. c. 24. [h] Noris. epiſt. conſul. p. 55, 56. [i] Suet. c. 7. [k] Justin. apol. ii. p. 71. [l] Euseb. in chron. [m] Suet c. 8.

a them to the gates of the camp, where a bloody encounter enſued, the *Romans* who were come to the relief of their companions preſſing them in the rear, and thoſe who were in the camp in the front, and both exerting their whole might, the former to ſhew that they brought relief, the latter to appear not to have wanted it. At laſt the *Caledonians* were routed; and had not the bogs and woods covered their flight, by this victory the war had been ended. This battle, in the opinion of the writer whom we have quoted above [n], was fought in the county of *Fife*; for *Agricola*'s army was at that time, as is evident from *Tacitus*, on the north ſide of *Bodotria*, or the frith of *Edinburgh*; and the remains of a *Roman* camp are ſtill to be ſeen in that county, at a place called *Lochore*. To the ſouth of the camp is a large moraſs,
b in which are daily dug up roots of different trees; whence the above-mentioned writer concludes it to have been formerly a great wood, and thence ſtrengthens his conjecture, that the ninth legion was attacked there; for *Tacitus* tells us, that if the bogs and woods had not ſerved for ſhelter to the fugitives, that victory would have put an end to the war. The *Roman* ſoldiers, elated with this ſucceſs, and thinking nothing could now prove unſurmountable to their bravery, demanded to be led into the heart of *Caledonia*, and to the utmoſt limits of *Britain*, which they hoped to find out by a conſtant courſe of victories. Thus thoſe, who a little before had been ſo wary and ſo wiſe, were now after victory full of boaſts and intrepidity. Inſtead of returning to this ſide of *Bodotria*, they were for penetrating to the utmoſt bounds of *Britain*. On
c the other hand, the *Caledonians*, aſcribing the victory gained by the *Romans*, not to their ſuperior courage, but to the ſkill and addreſs of their general, loſt nothing of their ſpirit and reſolution, but armed their youth, removed their wives and children into places of ſecurity, and, in general aſſemblies of their ſeveral communities, engaged them in a league, which they ratified by ſolemn ſacrifices. And thus they mutually retired for the winter, with minds on both ſides equally irritated and bent upon war and revenge [o]. The ſame ſummer a cohort of *Uſipians*, levied by the *Romans* in *Germany*, and thence tranſported to *Britain*, having ſlain the centurion and ſome *Roman* ſoldiers, placed among them to teach them the diſcipline, imbarqued in three veſſels, with a deſign to return to their own country, forcing the pilots to conduct
d them. But one of theſe forſaking them and making his eſcape, or bringing them back, as we read in *Dion Caſſius*, to *Britain*, they ſuſpected, and therefore killed the other two, and abandoned themſelves to the mercy of the winds and waves; which, after having long toſſed them hither and thither, carried them quite round about *Britain*; inſomuch, that, departing, according to *Dion*, from the eaſtern, they returned to the weſtern, coaſt, where the *Roman* army was then incamped [p]. *Tacitus* tells us, that having ſailed quite round the iſland, they were driven on the coaſts of *Germany*, where, their veſſels being loſt, they were ſeized as pirates by the *Suevians* and *Friſians*; and being ſold for ſlaves, ſome of them by change of maſters were brought over to the *Roman* ſide of the *Rhine*, where they became famous by relating ſuch an extra-
e ordinary adventure, and by diſcovering, that *Britain* was an iſland. Their proviſions had ſoon failed them; ſo that they were obliged to make frequent deſcents, and engage with ſeveral of the *Britiſh* nations, in which conflicts they often proved victorious, and were ſometimes defeated. They were at length reduced to ſuch ſtreights, as to feed upon one another, firſt upon the weakeſt, then upon whomſoever the lot fell. This happened in the eighty-third year of the chriſtian æra, and the ſecond of *Domitian*'s reign. The ſame year, the emperor undertook an expedition againſt the *Cattans*, whom *Tacitus* deſcribes as the moſt polite and moſt warlike nation in *Germany*. *Domitian* attacked them, without the leaſt provocation, and while they were quite unprepared for war; laid waſte part of their country, took a ſmall number of peaſants
f priſoners; and then, upon advice that the enemy were drawing their forces together, haſtened back, and returned to *Rome* with all the pomp and parade of a conqueror [q]. The ſenate, for this pretended victory, decreed him a triumph, in which were led before his chariot great numbers of ſlaves by him bought, and attired like *Germans*. On occaſion of this mock victory, he promiſed to increaſe the pay of the ſoldiers; but, not having wherewithal to diſcharge his promiſe, and at the ſame time ſupply his other extravagances, he ſoon after betook himſelf to all manner of rapine and violence. From this time forward, *Domitian* conſtantly wore in the ſenate, and at all public aſſemblies, the triumphal robe [r].

The Roman ſoldiers demand to be led into the heart of Caledonia.

Britain *diſcovered to be an iſland.*

Domitian *attacks the* Cattans, *and for his mock victory is honoured with a triumph.*

THE

[n] Gordon. itin. ſeptent. p. 36. [o] Tacit. ibid. c. 24. [p] Dio, l. lxvi. p. 754. [q] Idem, l. lxvii. p. 760. [r] Idem ibid. Suet. c. 12. Zonar. p. 196.

The following year, *Domitian* being conſul the tenth time, with *Appius*, or, as others call him, *Oppius Sabinus*, the brave *Agricola* purſued his conqueſts in *Caledonia* with wonderful ſucceſs. In the beginning of the ſummer, he loſt, to his great grief, his ſon, about a year old; a misfortune which he neither bore with an oſtentation of firmneſs and conſtancy, like many other great men, nor with lamentations and tears, worthy only of women. Againſt this affliction war proved his chief remedy. Having therefore ſent forward his navy, in order to ſpread a mighty terror, by committing devaſtations in ſeveral places, he put himſelf at the head of his army lightly equipped; and to it added ſome of the braveſt *Britons*, whoſe fidelity had been well proved by long experience in peace. Thus he arrived at the *Grampian* hills, upon which the enemy were already incamped. For the *Caledonians*, nothing daunted by the iſſue of the late battle, and boldly waiting, either to take revenge or to ſuffer bondage, had, by embaſſies and confederacies, drawn together the forces of all their communities, to the number of thirty thouſand; and their youth from every quarter were ſtill continuing to flock in, as were alſo ſuch of their elderly men as were yet vigorous, and had ſignalized themſelves in war, carrying with them their ſeveral enſigns of honour formerly gained in the field. Upon the approach of the *Roman* army, the *Caledonians* with great eagerneſs prepared for battle; and *Galgacus*, who ſurpaſſed all their other leaders both in valour and deſcent, is ſaid to have encouraged them with the following ſpeech, which the learned *Lipſius* looks upon as one of the fineſt pieces of eloquence ever committed to the *Roman* language[a]:

The Caledonians *draw together thirty thouſand men.*

Galgacus's *ſpeech to them.*

" When I conſider the cauſes of the war and the neceſſity to which we are reduced,
" great is my confidence, that this day and this your union will give a happy begin-
" ning to the liberty of the whole iſland. Bondage we have never borne; and we
" are ſo beſet, that beyond us there is no further land, nor any ſecurity left us from b
" the ſea, while the *Roman* fleet is hovering upon our coaſts. Thus what brave men
" covet for glory, is to cowards become the ſafeſt expedient of all others, I mean
" preſent recourſe to battle and arms. The other *Britons*, in their former conflicts
" with the *Romans*, had ſtill a remaining ſource of hope and ſuccour in this our na-
" tion: for of all the people of *Britain*, we are the moſt noble, placed in its remoteſt
" regions, and at a great diſtance from thoſe nations that are held in bondage by the
" enemy; ſo that our eyes are yet unpolluted with the ſight of lawleſs and uſurped
" power. To us, who are the utmoſt inhabitants of the earth and the laſt who enjoy
" liberty, this extremity of the globe, this remoteſt receſs, unknown even to com-
" mon fame, has proved the only protection and defence. At preſent, the utmoſt c
" boundary of *Britain* is laid open; beyond us no more people are found, nor aught
" but ſeas and rocks; and already the *Romans* have advanced into the heart of our
" country. Againſt their pride and ambition you will in vain ſeek a remedy or re-
" fuge from any obſequiouſneſs or humble behaviour. Theſe plunderers of the earth,
" theſe ravagers of the univerſe, finding countries to fail them, endeavour to rifle
" the wide ſeas and the ocean. If the enemy be wealthy, he inflames their avarice;
" if poor, their ambition. Neither the eaſtern world, nor the weſtern, vaſt as they
" are, can ſatiate theſe general robbers. Of all men, they alone thirſt after acquiſi-
" tions, both poor and rich, with equal avidity and paſſion, Devaſtations, murders, d
" and univerſal deſtruction, they by a lying name ſtyle *empire* and government; and
" when they have ſpread a general devaſtation, they call it peace. Deareſt to every
" man, by the inſtinct of nature, are his children and kindred. Theſe are ſnatched
" from us to ſupply their armies, and doomed to bondage in other parts of the earth.
" Our wives, daughters, and ſiſters, however they eſcape violence from them as from
" open enemies, are debauched under the appearance of friendſhip. Our goods are
" their tribute, our corn their proviſion, our bodies and limbs their tools for the
" drudgery of making cuts through woods and drains in bogs, under continual blows
" and outrages. Other ſlaves, whom nature and fortune have deſtined to ſervitude, e
" are but once ſold, and thenceforward nouriſhed by their lords. The *Britons* are
" daily paying for their ſervitude, are daily maintaining and feeding their imperious
" lords and oppreſſors. Moreover, as in a tribe of domeſtic ſlaves, he who comes
" laſt is ſcoffed by his fellows, and ſerves for ſport to them; ſo in this ancient ſtate
" of ſlavery, to which the world is reduced, we, as the lateſt ſlaves, and thence held
" the moſt contemptible, are now deſtined to deſtruction. For we have no fields to
" manure,

[a] Lips. in vit. Agr. c. 31. not. 46.

a " manure, no mines to dig, no ports to make; works for which they might be
" tempted to reſerve us. Beſides, magnanimity and a daring ſpirit, in ſubdued na-
" tions, is always diſtaſteful to jealous and arbitrary rulers. And truly our ſituation,
" ſo ſolitary and remote, the more ſecurity it affords to us, the greater jealouſy it
" raiſes in them. Since therefore you are thus bereft of all hopes of mercy, rouſe
" your courage in defence both of your lives and glory. The *Brigantes*, even under
" the conduct of a woman, burnt their colony, ſtormed their intrenchments, and,
" had not ſuch auſpicious beginnings degenerated into ſloth, might have with eaſe caſt
" off the yoke and recovered their former liberty. Let us, who are yet unſubdued,
" who ſtill preſerve our forces intire, and want not to acquire, but only to ſecure,
b " liberty, ſhew at once, in the very firſt encounter, what kind of men *Caledonia* has
" reſerved for her own vindication and defence, Do you believe the *Romans* to be
" equally brave in war, as they are vicious and diſſolute in peace? No; not from
" their valour they have derived their renown, but from our quarrels and diviſions,
" which they have dextrouſly converted to the glory of their own army; an army
" compounded of a motly multitude of different nations, which by ſucceſs alone are
" held together, and conſequently cannot fail to diſſolve upon any misfortune or
" diſaſter: unleſs you ſuppoſe the *Gauls* and *Germans*, and many of the *Britons*,
" whom with ſhame I mention, to be attached to them with any real affection: they
" have been all longer their enemies than their friends; and what reſtrains them at
c " preſent is, nothing but awe and terror; which being once removed, thoſe who
" ceaſe to fear will immediately begin to give proofs of their hatred. Whatever can
" incite men to victory, is found on our ſide. The *Romans* have no wives to encou-
" rage and urge them: they have here no fathers or mothers to upbraid them for fly-
" ing. In number they are but few, ignorant of the country, and thence ſtruck with
" dread, whilſt whatever they behold around them is wild and ſtrange, even the air
" and the ſky, with the woods and the ſea; ſo that the gods ſeem to have delivered
" them up incloſed and fettered into our hands. Let not the vain ſhew and glare of
" gold and ſilver terrify us; this is what can neither wound nor ſave. In the very
" army of the enemy we ſhall find many on our own ſide: the *Britons* will own and
d " eſpouſe their own cauſe, and abandon one foreign and unnatural to them: the *Gauls*
" will remember their former liberty: what the *Uſipians* have lately done, the other
" *Germans* will do, and abandon the *Romans*. And what elſe have we to fear? their
" forts are ungariſoned; their colonies peopled with the aged and infirm; the municipal
" cities are weakened and rent into parties and factions, while the people are averſe
" to obedience, and the magiſtrates rule with injuſtice. Here you ſee a general, here
" an army; there tributes and mines, with a long train of calamities and curſes, ever
" attending a ſtate of ſlavery. Whether all theſe are to be for ever impoſed and borne,
" or we forthwith avenge ourſelves for the attempt, this very day muſt determine.
" As therefore you advance to battle, look back upon your anceſtors, who lived in
" the happy ſtate of liberty; look forward to your poſterity, who, unleſs you exert
e " your valour in this very field, muſt live for ever in a miſerable ſtate of ſervitude[t]."
This ſpeech was received with ſongs, according to the cuſtom which then prevailed among the *Caledonians*, with joyful ſhouts, and a terrible din. Already their bands moved, and the glare of their arms appeared, while the moſt reſolute were running to the front. As the army was forming in battle array, *Agricola*, tho' he ſaw his men full of alacrity and hardly to be reſtrained, yet choſe to diſcourſe them in the following ſtrain: " It is now the eighth year, my fellow ſoldiers, ſince, through the auſpicious
" fortune of the *Roman* empire and by your own valour, you have been purſuing
" the conqueſt of *Britain*. In ſo many marches, in ſo many battles, you have had
f " conſtant occaſion to exert your bravery againſt the enemy, or your patience againſt
" the obſtacles of nature. During all theſe ſtruggles, we have found no cauſe of mu-
" tual regret, I to have conducted ſuch ſoldiers, or you to have followed ſuch a cap-
" tain. We have both paſſed the limits which we found, I thoſe known to ancient
" governors, you thoſe of former armies. The utmoſt bound of *Britain* is found,
" not by fame only and report: but we poſſeſs it with our arms and camps. *Britain*
" is intirely diſcovered, and intirely ſubdued. While we were marching, and fatigued
" with paſſing mountains, rivers, and bogs, I have often heard every man remark-
" ably brave cry out, When ſhall we ſee the enemy? when be led to battle? Already
" they

Agricola's *ſpeech to his men.*

[t] Tacit. ibid. c. 30—32.

" they are come, rouſed from their faſtneſſes and lurking-holes. Here you ſee the a
" end of all your wiſhes; here is room for all your valour, and all things promiſing
" and propitious, if you conquer; but equally diſaſtrous, ſhould you be overcome.
" To have thus marched over a tract of country ſo immenſe, to have paſſed through
" thick and gloomy foreſts, to have croſſed arms of the ſea, is matter of great
" glory and applauſe, while we advance againſt the enemy; but if we fly from
" them, whatever is now moſt to our advantage, will prove moſt to our diſadvan-
" tage and ruin. We are not ſo well ſkilled in the country as the enemy, nor have
" we the like ſtore of proviſions; but we have hands and weapons, and in theſe all
" things. For myſelf, I have been long ſince convinced, that neither for the ſol- b
" diers, nor for the general, is there any ſafety in turning their backs upon the foe.
" Hence an honourable death is far preferable to a life with reproach; and ſecurity is
" inſeparable from renown. Neither would it be a fate void of glory to fall in this
" utmoſt verge of the world and nature. Were people unknown to you now arrayed
" againſt you, were you to engage men never before tried, I would animate you by
" the examples of other armies. At preſent only recollect and enumerate your own
" exploits, only aſk and conſult your own eyes. Theſe are the ſame men, who, but
" the laſt year, truſting to the darkneſs of the night, attacked by ſtealth a ſingle
" legion, and were by the terror of your ſhouting utterly overthrown. Theſe, of all
" the *Britons*, are the moſt timorous and moſt prone to flight; and therefore have c
" thus ſurvived all the reſt. As in foreſts and woods, beaſts of the greateſt ſtrength
" are driven thence by ſuperior force, and the timorous and ſpiritleſs are ſcared even
" at the cry of the purſuers; ſo all the braveſt *Britons* are long ſince fallen by the
" ſword, and only the moſt fearful and daſtardly remain, whom at length you have
" found, not becauſe they intended to ſtay and make head againſt you, but becauſe
" they are overtaken and ſurpriſed. They ſtand in the field, ſtruck with dread and
" bereft of all ſpirit; whence you may without much danger gain over them a glori-
" ous and memorable victory. Here conclude your warfare; here complete your
" expeditions and efforts, and put an end to a ſtruggle of fifty years, with one great
" and important day; ſo that the army may not be charged either with protracting d
" the war, or with any cauſe for reviving it [u]." *Agricola* had ſcarce ended his ſpeech,

He engages the Caledonians *under the command of* Galgacus.

when the ſoldiers, tranſported with joy, flew to their arms. *Agricola*, ſeeing them ſufficiently animated and inflamed, drew them up in battle array, placing the auxiliary foot, to the number of eight thouſand men, in the centre, and three thouſand auxiliary horſe in the wings. The legions he would not ſuffer to advance, but commanded them to ſtand in battle-array cloſe to the intrenchments; for the victory, he thought, would be the more glorious, were it, by ſparing them, gained without ſpilling any *Roman* blood; and, on the other hand, they were ſtill a ſure ſuccour, ſhould the reſt be repulſed. The *Caledonians* were ranged upon the riſing grounds in ſuch manner, that the firſt band ſtood upon the plain, and the reſt roſe ſucceſ- e
ſively upon the brows of the hills, one rank cloſe above the other, as if they had been linked together. The enemy's chariots of war and cavalry filled the interjacent field. Then *Agricola* fearing, as the enemy far ſurpaſſed him in number, leſt he ſhould be attacked at once in the front and on each flank, opened and extended his front. As thence his ranks proved more weak, many adviſed him to bring on the legions; but he, in all difficulties more prone to hope than to fear, without hearkening to their advice, diſmiſſed his horſe, and advanced on foot before the enſigns. The onſet was begun at a diſtance, wherein the *Britons* diſplayed great courage and equal ſkill, eluding, with their huge ſwords and ſmall bucklers, the miſſive weapons of the *Romans*, whilſt of their own they poured a torrent upon f
them, till *Agricola* encouraged three *Batavian* cohorts and two of the *Tungrians*, to cloſe with the enemy, and bring them to an engagement hand to hand, as what to the veteran ſoldiers by a long practice was become familiar, but proved to the enemy very uneaſy and embaraſſing, as they were armed with little targets and with ſwords of enormous ſize; for the ſwords of the *Britons*, as they were blunt at the end, were quite unfit for a cloſe encounter. Hence the *Batavians* doubled their blows, wounded the enemy with the iron boſſes of their bucklers, mangled their faces, and beating down all who withſtood them in the plain, were already carrying the attack up to the hills; inſomuch, that the other cohorts, encouraged by their example,

[u] Idem ibid. c. 33, 34

a example, fell upon the enemy with equal ardour, and made a dreadful havock of all who oppoſed them; nay, ſuch was the hurry of the conquerors, that they left many of the enemy behind them but half dead, and others not ſo much as wounded. In the mean time, their cavalry betook themſelves to flight, and their chariots of war, mixing with the battalions of foot, and intangled with the unevenneſs of the place, occaſioned in the plain a general diſorder and confuſion. The engagement had not the leaſt appearance of a combat of cavalry; for ſtanding obſtinately foot to foot, they preſſed to overthrow each other by the weight and bodies of their horſes. Beſides, the chariots, abandoned and ſtraggling, and likewiſe the horſes deſtitute of managers, and thence wild and affrighted, were running to and fro juſt
b as the next fright drove them; inſomuch, that all of their own ſide who met them, or croſſed their way, were beaten down by them. In the mean time, the *Britons*, who were lodged upon the ridges of the hills, and had hitherto no ſhare in the encounter, looking with ſcorn upon the ſmall number of the *Roman* forces, began to deſcend ſlowly, and to ſurround them in the rear, while they were purſuing their victory. But *Agricola*, who had apprehended this very deſign, detached againſt them four ſquadrons of horſe, which he had reſerved near him for the ſudden exigencies of the field. Theſe falling upon the enemy, with great vigor and intrepidity, obliged them to retire, and put them in great diſorder: then, turning againſt the *Caledonians* their own devices, they wheeled about, and attacked the enemy in
c the rear. Hereupon the *Caledonians* began to retire in great confuſion, and nothing was to be ſeen all over the open fields but purſuits, wounds, and captivity, and the preſent captives always ſlaughtered when others occurred to be taken. Some of the enemy fled in large troops, with all their arms, before a ſmaller number who purſued them; others, quite unarmed, ruſhing into danger, offered themſelves through deſpair to inſtant death. On all ſides lay ſcattered arms, and carcaſes, and mangled limbs; and the ground was dyed with blood. Some bands of the vanquiſhed ſtill fought with incredible reſolution and bravery; and when they drew near the woods, they rallied, and ſurrounded the foremoſt purſuers, who, without knowing the country, had ventured too far: whence the conquerors muſt have ſuffered ſome
d notable diſaſter, had not *Agricola*, who was conſtantly flying from one quarter to another, ordered the braveſt cohorts lightly equipped to inveſt the enemy on all ſides, and ſome of the cavalry to diſmount and enter the narrow paſſes, while the reſt of the horſe advanced into the more open and paſſable parts of the wood. The *Caledonians*, perceiving the *Romans* to continue the purſuit with regular and cloſe ranks, betook themſelves to flight, not in united bodies as before, but quite ſcattered, no man regarding or awaiting another, but all in the utmoſt confuſion making towards the deſarts and the moſt remote places. The *Romans* followed them cloſe; and the purſuit was not ended, but with night and a ſatiety of ſlaughter. Of the enemy, ten thouſand were ſlain; of the *Roman* army, three hundred and forty,
e among whom was *Aulus Atticus*, commander of a cohort, who, by his own youthful heat and alſo by a fiery horſe, was hurried into the midſt of the enemy [w] (E).

The Caledonians *are utterly routed.*

And purſued by the Romans *with great ſlaughter.*

THE

[w] Idem, c. 35——38.

(E) We will not take upon us to aſcertain the preciſe place of this memorable action, our antiquaries being greatly divided in their opinions about it. However, we cannot help obſerving, that the chief argument, which the author of the *Itinerarium Septentrionale* makes uſe of to confute the opinions of other antiquaries, equally concludes againſt his own. For he approves of no place, but where ſome veſtiges are ſtill to be ſeen of a *Roman* camp capable of containing the army which *Agricola* had with him at this battle. Hence he rejects the opinions of thoſe who pretend, that the battle was fought in the *Mearns*, or at the *Blair* of *Athol*, becauſe no remains of a *Roman* camp are to be ſeen in either of theſe places. Againſt ſuch as maintain *Ardoch* in *Strathallan* and *Innerpeffery* to be the ſpot on which the fate of *Caledonia* was determined, he alledges, that the camps, which are to be ſeen there, were not capable of containing the army which *Agricola* led out againſt the *Caledonians*. Having thus confuted the opinions of other antiquaries, he offers his own, which is, that the real place, where the battle was fought, is in *Strathern*, half a mile ſouth of the kirk of *Comerie*, there being ſtill to be ſeen in that place a *Roman* incampment, divided into two partitions or ſquares, which are joined together with a vaſt rampart of ſtone and earth. Our learned antiquary tells us, that having calculated the number of men contained in the ſouthmoſt camp, according to the allowance of ground made by *Polybius* for every foot-ſoldier, he was moſt agreeably ſurpriſed to find it contained the preciſe number of foot which *Tacitus* ſays *Agricola* had along with him at the battle of *Mons Grampius*, viz. eight thouſand auxiliaries; and that the other ſquare, where he ſuppoſes the horſe lay, contained exactly three thouſand horſemen. For *Tacitus*, ſays he, plainly informs us of the number of *Agricola*'s army at that battle; for, ſpeaking of his diſpoſing of the troops, he ſays thus; *Inſtinctos ruenteſque ita diſpoſuit, ut peditum auxilia, quæ octo millia erant, mediam aciem firmarent, equitum tria millia cornibus affunderentur:* that

The following night proved a night of great joy to the conquerors, both from victory and ſpoil. But the *Caledonians*, both men and women, crying and howling, wandered in deſpair: ſome dragged away their wounded; others were heard calling their loſt friends; all abandoned their houſes, and ſome in rage even ſet fire to them: not knowing where to ſhelter themſelves, they fled from one lurking-hole to another; then met to conſult, and from their counſels gathered ſome hope; ſometimes, at the ſight of their deareſt pledges of nature, they were moved to pity, ſometimes to reſolution and fury: nay, ſome, out of compaſſion and tenderneſs, murdered their children and wives. The next day diſplayed more fully the greatneſs of the victory; on all ſides a profound ſilence, ſolitary hills, a thick ſmoke riſing from the houſes on fire, and not a living ſoul to be found by the ſcouts. When from theſe, who had been diſpatched out into all quarters, it was learnt, that no certain traces could be diſcovered whither the enemy had fled, and that they had no-where rallied in bodies, *Agricola*, conſidering that the ſummer was already far ſpent, and conſequently that he could not purſue the operations of the war, led his army into the country of the *Horeſtians*, that is, as is commonly ſuppoſed, into *Angus*. Having there received hoſtages, he ordered the admiral of the fleet to ſail round *Britain*, furniſhing him with proper forces for that expedition, which he happily accompliſhed; and thence proved *Britain* to be, as it was thought before, an iſland. On this occaſion were diſcovered and ſubdued the iſles of *Orkney*, till then unknown. *Thule*, now called *Iſeland*, or, as others will have it, *Shetland*, was likewiſe found, hitherto hid, to uſe the expreſſion of *Tacitus*, by winter, under eternal ſnow. In the mean time, *Agricola* himſelf led on the foot and horſe with a

He orders his fleet to ſail round the iſland.

ſlow pace, that the minds of theſe new-conquered nations might be awed and diſmayed by prolonging his march through them. He then put his army into winter quarters. Soon after, the fleet, having ſailed round the iſland, returned with great fame to the port whence it had departed. That port is called by *Tacitus*, *Trutulenſis*, which is utterly unknown. Some, inſtead of *Trutulenſis*, read *Rhutupenſis*, ſuppoſed to be *Sandwich* haven. But from *Tacitus* it is manifeſt, that the fleet at that time attended *Agricola* in *Caledonia* or *Scotland*; and conſequently muſt have ſailed from ſome port of that kingdom. Thus, after many ſtruggles and conteſts, *Britain* was at length intirely reduced; but the *Romans* did not long continue maſters, at leaſt of *Caledonia*, what *Agricola* won being ſoon after loſt by *Domitian*. The poet *Juvenal* ſpeaks of a *Britiſh* king, by name *Arviragus*, who was at war with the *Romans* in *Domitian*'s reign [x]; and all the *Scotch* hiſtorians tell us, that, upon the departure of *Agricola*, the *Caledonians* poſſeſſed themſelves of the caſtles and forts raiſed by him in their country. As for the *Roman* hiſtorians, they ſcarce take any notice of the *Britiſh* affairs till the reign of the emperor *Hadrian*, who came over into *Britain*, where he built a wall eighty miles in length, in order to ſeparate the *Romans* from the barbarians, as *Spartianus* ſtyles them [y].

He puts his troops into winter-quarters.

Britain *intirely reduced.*

Agricola immediately acquainted *Domitian* by letters with the ſucceſs that had attended his arms in *Britain*, and the ſituation of affairs there. The account he conveyed

[x] Juven. ſatir. iv. v. 38.

[y] Spart. in vit. Hadriani.

that is, *Thus encouraged and ruſhing forward*, Agricola *formed them ſo, that the body of auxiliary foot, who were eight thouſand men, compoſed the centre, and three thouſand horſe were placed in the wings.* But were theſe eight thouſand auxiliary foot and three thouſand horſe all the troops, *Agricola* had with him at this battle? Does not *Tacitus* to the words we have juſt quoted ſubjoin, *Legiones pro vallo ſtitere, ingens victoriæ decus citra Romanum ſanguinem bellanti, & auxilium, ſi pellerentur:* that is, *The legions ſtood juſt without the intrenchments, that the victory might be the more glorious, were it gained without* Roman *blood; and that the legions might be ready to ſuccour the auxiliaries, if repulſed.* Hence it is evident, that *Agricola*, beſides the eight thouſand auxiliary foot and three thouſand horſe, had ſome legions with him, for which there was no room, according to our antiquary's own calculation, in the above-mentioned camp. If therefore his chief argument has any force, it confutes, without leaving room to any reply, his own opinion, as muſt evidently appear to every reader. Beſides, to us it ſeems quite abſurd to ſuppoſe, as that writer does, that ſome veſtiges muſt ſtill remain of all the *Roman* camps in this iſland, and indeed elſewhere, notwithſtanding the innumerable changes and alterations that muſt have happened, unknown to us, in the courſe of ſo many ages. How many camps were made by the *Romans* in *Germany*, *Gaul*, and *Italy*, of which no traces remain in our days! Great cities have been overturned and utterly deſtroyed, by the devourer of all things, time; inſomuch, that antiquaries are at a loſs about the places where they ſtood. But, admitting our author's ſuppoſition, it is evident from his own arguments, that the battle was not fought in the place for which he contends, the camp there being capable of containing only eight thouſand foot and three thouſand horſe; beſides which, *Agricola* had with him ſeveral legions, as is plain from the words of *Tacitus* (18).

(18) *Tacit. vit. Agr. c.* 35.

veyed to him was plain and modeſt, without all oſtentation, or any pomp of words. The emperor received it with joy in his countenance, but with anguiſh in his heart, being well appriſed, that his late mock triumph over the *Germans* was held in public deriſion; whereas now a true and mighty victory, gained by the ſlaughter of ſo many thouſands of the enemy, was every-where ſounded by the voice of fame, and received with univerſal applauſe. He could not brook that the name of a private man ſhould be exalted above that of the prince: to the emperor alone, he thought, properly appertained the glory and renown of being a great general. Tortured with theſe anxious thoughts, and indulging his humour of being ſhut up in ſecret, a certain indication that he was meditating ſome bloody deſign, he at laſt judged it the beſt courſe upon this occaſion, to ſmother his rancour, till the fame of theſe conqueſts, and the affection of the army to *Agricola*, were ſomewhat abated. To him, therefore, he cauſed to be decreed by the ſenate the triumphal ornaments, a ſtatue crowned with laurel, and whatever elſe is beſtowed inſtead of a real triumph, heightening theſe honours with many expreſſions full of eſteem and reſpect. But, in the mean time, he reſolved to recal him; and that this might not be aſcribed to jealouſy or envy, he cauſed a report to be ſpread abroad, that to *Agricola* was deſtined the province of *Syria*, a government then vacant by the death of *Atilius Rufus*, a man of conſular dignity, ſince the ſame was reſerved only for men of the firſt rank. There were many who believed, that an imperial freedman, one much truſted with the ſecret deſigns of his maſter, was by him diſpatched to carry the inſtrument appointing *Agricola* governor of *Syria*, with orders to deliver it to him, were he ſtill in *Britain*, for he had already named him a ſucceſſor; that the freedman met *Agricola* croſſing the chanel, and, without ſo much as ſpeaking to him, returned directly to *Domitian*. Whether this account be true, or only a fiction, framed in conformity to the character and genius of *Domitian*, is, according to *Tacitus*, uncertain. *Agricola* had already ſurrendered to his ſucceſſor, probably *Salluſtius Secundus*, the province, now ſettled in perfect peace and tranquillity. To avoid all popular diſtinction and concourſe of people to meet him, he entered *Rome* by night, and by night went, as he was directed, to the palace, where he was received by the emperor with a ſhort embrace, without a word ſaid, and then paſſed undiſtinguiſhed amongſt the crowd of courtiers. From this time forward, to leſſen the reputation he had acquired of a military man and a gallant commander, a name ever diſtaſteful to thoſe who live themſelves in idleneſs, he reſigned himſelf intirely to inactivity and repoſe. In his dreſs he was modeſt; in his converſation affable and free, and never found accompanied by more than one, or at moſt two, of his friends: inſomuch, that many, eſpecially ſuch as judge of great men from their retinue and parade, when they beheld and obſerved *Agricola*, could not conceive, whence proceeded his mighty fame; and indeed few there were, who could account for the motives of his conduct. Notwithſtanding the retired life he led, he was frequently accuſed in his abſence before *Domitian*, and as often in his abſence acquitted. What threatened his life was no crime of his, nor complaint of any particular for injuries received, nor any thing elſe, ſave the glorious character of the man, and the perverſe diſpoſition of the emperor, hating all excellence and every virtue. With theſe cauſes concurred the worſt ſort of enemies, ſuch as extolled him in order to deſtroy him. Beſides, ſuch times afterwards enſued, as would not ſuffer the name of *Agricola* to remain unmentioned; ſo that he was in conſtant danger of being ſacrificed to the jealouſy of the emperor, but nevertheleſs lived nine years longer[z]; whence we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of him again in the courſe of this reign.

a

b

c

d

e

Domitian *is ſtung with envy at the news of his conqueſts.*

Yet cauſes triumphal honours to be decreed to him.

He recals him.

Agricola *leads a retired life.*

THE ſame year, *Cariomerus*, king of the *Cheruſcans*, a *German* nation, being driven out by the *Cattans*, becauſe he had ſubmitted to the *Romans* and delivered hoſtages to them, had recourſe to *Domitian* for aſſiſtance. But the emperor, not caring to engage in a war with that fierce nation, contented himſelf with conveying to his friend and ally a ſum of money, inſtead of troops, which, he ſaid, he could not at that juncture well ſpare[a]. About the ſame time, one *Ganda*, a *German* virgin and propheteſs, and revered in *Germany* as a deity, arrived at *Rome*; and being there well received by *Domitian*, after ſome private conferences with him, returned to her own country[b].

f

THE

[z] TACIT. ibid. c. 38—42. [a] DIO, l. lxvii. p. 760. [b] Idem, p. 761.

The year following, *Domitian* was conſul the eleventh time, and had for his colleague one *Fulvius*, whom *Onuphrius* takes to be *T. Aurelius Fulvius*, or *Fulvus*, the grandfather of *Titus Antoninus*. He was a native of *Niſme*, twice conſul and governor of *Rome*. This year *Domitian* took the title of emperor four times, but for what victories we find no-where recorded. We read indeed in *Dion Caſſius*, that the *Suevians* and *Lygians*, whom that writer places in *Mœſia*, ſolicited *Domitian* for ſuccours, who ſent them only an hundred horſemen; which ſo provoked the *Suevians*, that joining the *Iazygians*, a people of *Sarmatia*, they advanced with a deſign to paſs the *Danube*, and lay waſte the *Roman* territories [c]. *Dion Caſſius* does not acquaint us with the iſſue of this bold undertaking; but *Tacitus*, having told us in one place, that the *Sarmatians* and *Suevians* entered into an alliance againſt *Rome* [d], adds in another [e], that, ſoon after the return of *Agricola* out of *Britain*, the *Romans* loſt intire armies in *Mœſia*, in *Dacia*, in *Germany*, and in *Pannonia*, all by the bad conduct of their generals, either altogether cowardly or fool-hardy. From ſeveral medals it appears, that *Domitian* returned this year to *Rome* from ſome expedition, of which not the leaſt mention is made by the hiſtorians: perhaps he marched in perſon againſt the *Suevians* and *Iazygians*; at leaſt ſeveral medals were ſtamped this year in memory of a ſignal victory, real or pretended, gained over the *Germans* [f]. The emperor, after his return to *Rome*, abandoning himſelf to all manner of cruelty, cauſed the nativity to be caſt of all the illuſtrious perſons in the city, and put ſuch of them to death, as were ſaid by the aſtrologers to be deſtined to the empire. *Metius Pompoſianus*, againſt whom ſome ill-deſigning perſons had on the ſame account endeavoured in vain to ſtir up the emperor *Veſpaſian*, was on this occaſion baniſhed *Italy*, and confined to the iſland of *Corſica*, where he was ſoon after by *Domitian*'s order put to death. *Nerva*, who ſucceeded him in the empire, would have ſuffered the ſame doom, had not an aſtrologer aſſured the emperor, that he had no reaſon to be afraid of *Nerva*, who could not live many days. He encouraged informers more than any other prince had done, tho' in the beginning of his reign he had treated them with great ſeverity, and ſolemnly declared, that he would never give ear to their informations. Amongſt theſe, the moſt famous were *Metius Carus*, *Catullus Meſſalinus*, and *Bebius Maſſa*, three robbers, as *Pliny* calls them [g], who enriched themſelves and the emperor, with ſpoils of many thouſand illuſtrious and innocent perſons. *Carus* is often mentioned by the poets *Juvenal* and *Martial*, and by *Pliny*, againſt whom he preſented a memorial to *Domitian* [h]. *Catullus Meſſalinus* was blind, but nevertheleſs one of the moſt miſchievous informers who frequented the court: he died about the latter end of *Domitian*'s reign; whence it is plain, that *Catanæus* was miſtaken in ſuppoſing him to be the ſame perſon with *Catullus*, governor of *Cyrene*, who died, according to *Joſephus*, in the reign of *Veſpaſian* [i]. Authors obſerve, that this year multitudes of ſenators and knights were accuſed of treaſon, and either ſentenced to death by the ſenate, or ordered by *Domitian* to diſpatch themſelves. Of theſe the moſt illuſtrious were, *Ælius Lama*, whom he cauſed to be publicly executed only for a jeſt; for the emperor, who, as we have obſerved above, had taken away his wife, commending one day his voice, *Lamia* anſwered, *Yet, alas! I muſt be ſilent*. *Civicus Cerealis* was murdered during his proconſulſhip of *Aſia*, under colour, that he deſigned to raiſe diſturbances in the ſtate, but in reality becauſe he had accepted the government of *Aſia*, which had fallen to him by lot. Hence *Agricola*, when to his lot the proconſulſhip of *Aſia* or *Africa* was to fall, declined the employment, and preſented a petition to the emperor, begging to be excuſed. *Domitian* not only granted him his requeſt, but ſuffered himſelf to be on that account preſented with formal thanks. Neither to *Agricola* did he give the ſalary which was wont to be paid to proconſuls, and which he himſelf had continued to ſome. *Salvius Coccianus* was put to death for celebrating the birth-day of the emperor *Otho*, who was his uncle by the father's ſide; *Salluſtius Lucullus*, who had ſucceeded *Agricola* in the government of *Britain*, for ſuffering a new kind of lances to be called after his own name; *Junius Ruſticus* for publiſhing a writing in commendation of the celebrated *Thraſea* and of *Helvidius Priſcus*; *Maternus*, a renowned philoſopher, for having declaimed in public againſt tyranny and tyrants. All the profeſſors of philoſophy and every laudable ſcience,

The Suevians *invade the* Roman *territories.*

Domitian *puts many perſons of diſtinction to death.*

[c] Idem ibid. [d] Tacit. hiſt. l. i. c. 2. [e] Tacit. vit. Agr. c. 41. [f] Vide Birag. numiſm. p. 134. & Noris. ep. conſul. p. 175. [g] Plin. panegyr. [h] Idem, l. iii. ep. 4. [i] Vid. Catan. in not. ad Plin. jun. & Joseph. de bell. Jud. l. vii. c. 39.

a ſcience, ſays *Tacitus*, were expelled and driven into exile: and that nothing which was worthy and honeſt might any-where be ſeen, not only againſt perſons, but againſt books commending virtue or patriotiſm, a new kind of cruelty was exerted; for in the forum the works of men famous for their genius and parts were publicly burnt [k]. Every thing gave the jealous tyrant fear and offence. Was a man nobly born and popular? he withdrew the affections of the people, rivalled the prince, and threatened a civil war. Was he afraid of popularity and lived retired? he gained fame by ſhunning it, wat ſtill an eye-ſore, and his beſt fate was to leave his country. Was he virtuous and his life and morals without blame? he was another *Brutus*, and by the purity of his manners upbraided the vicious behaviour of the b emperor. If a man ſeemed dull and unactive, he only put on the diſguiſe of ſtupidity and ſloth, till he found room for ſome bloody purpoſe. If he had a different character, and was a lively and active man, then it was plain, he did not ſo much as feign a deſire of private life and receſs, but avowed a buſtling republican ſpirit. If he was rich, he was too wealthy for a ſubject; and great wealth in private hands boded ill to princes: if he was poor, he was thence the more enterpriſing and deſperate. In ſhort, no man could poſſeſs any advantage or quality that rendered him acceptable to his fellow-citizens, and a bleſſing to his country, to his friends, or to himſelf, but ſuch quality and advantage was ſure to awaken the jealouſy and vengeance of the tyrant, and procure his doom. Hence *Tacitus*, ſpeak- c ing of theſe unhappy times; Mighty, ſays he, was the teſtimony which we gave of our patience; for, as our forefathers had beheld the ultimate perfection of liberty, ſo did we of bondage; ſince, through dread of informers, we were bereft of the common intercourſe of ſpeech. Nay, with our utterance we had likewiſe loſt our memory, had it been equally in our power to forget as to be ſilent [l]. Againſt the defence of innocence accuſed, againſt the moſt evident truth and juſtice, the ears of the emperor were ever ſhut; but calumny whiſpered by any informer had equal weight with real crimes proved by authentic witneſſes. Falſhood and flattery, ſays *Dion Caſſius*, envy and rapaciouſneſs, paſſed for evidence; juſtice was converted into cruelty, and judgment into rage; the tribunals, erected for juſtice and preſervation d of life and property, were turned into ſhambles; and what had the names of pains and penalties was in truth robbery and aſſaſſination. The perſons of the accuſers were conſidered as ſacred and inviolable; the more they were deteſted by the public, the more they were protected by the emperor; and, in proportion as they deſerved death and ignominy, had countenance and preferment. Their vileſt forgeries, convicted and owned againſt the lives and fortunes of the greateſt men, drew down no puniſhment upon them [m]. In the midſt of his cruelties, he abandoned himſelf to all manner of lewdneſs and debauchery, and was on that ſcore no leſs infamous, than the moſt vicious of his predeceſſors. His avarice was equal to his lewdneſs and cruelty; not that he had any natural biaſs to that vice, ſays *Suetonius*; e but having exhauſted his treaſury by the many buildings he raiſed, by the magnificent ſports and ſhews which he exhibited, by increaſing the pay of the ſoldiers, and by other wild and extravagant expences, he betook himſelf to all ſorts of rapine and extortion, ſeizing, upon the leaſt information, the eſtates of the moſt wealthy citizens: the leaſt action or word againſt the majeſty of the prince, was made uſe of as a pretence for ſtripping them of whatever they poſſeſſed. He confiſcated inheritances, appropriating to himſelf all the effects of perſons whom he never knew, if he could find but one witneſs to depoſe, that he had ever heard the deceaſed ſay, that *Cæſar* was his heir. With theſe and ſuch-like artificial contrivances, he reduced to beggary the moſt opulent perſons, not only in *Rome* and *Italy*, f but in all the provinces of the *Roman* empire. His officers and procurators exacted the tributes and taxes with the greateſt rigor and ſeverity imaginable; but above all, he oppreſſed the *Jews* in a moſt cruel manner, not excepting even ſuch of them as had renounced their religion; and with the like ſeverity treated thoſe, ſays *Suetonius*, meaning, no doubt, the *Chriſtians*, who lived in *Rome* after the manner of the *Jews*, and ſeemed to profeſs the ſame ſuperſtition [n]. The heavy tributes, and the rigor uſed by the officers in exacting them, occaſioned great diſorders and frequent revolts in the diſtant provinces. In *Africa*, the *Naſamonians*, whom moſt geographers place in the province of *Cyrenaica*, no longer able to bear the heavy impoſts

The deplorable condition of Rnme.

Encourages informers.

Abandons himſelf to all manner of lewdneſs.

His avarice and extortions

The Naſamonians *revolt.*

[k] Suet. c. 20. Tacit. vit. Agr. c. 2. [l] Tacit. ibid. [m] Dio, l. lxvii. p. 759.
[n] Suet. c. 12.

impoſts with which they were loaded, and the inſults and extortions of the collectors, a
roſe up in arms this year, defeated *Flaccus* governor of *Numidia*, ſtormed his camp,
and put great numbers of his men to the ſword. But *Flaccus* was ſoon revenged on
them; for being informed, that, elated with their ſucceſs, they had abandoned
themſelves to jollity and carouſing, he rallied his men, and coming unexpectedly
upon them, while they were intoxicated with the wine they had found in the *Roman*
camp, he cut them all off to a man. *Zonaras* ſeems to infinuate, that he extirpated
But are utterly cut off. the whole nation, without any regard to ſex or age [o]; and *Ariſtides* tells us, that by
an order from one of the emperors, the whole race of the *Naſamonians* was cut off [p].
However, that ſome of that race outlived this dreadful ſlaughter, is evident from
Ptolemy the geographer, who places them, as people ſtill in being, to the ſouth of b
Libya Marmarica [q]. *Domitian*, puffed up with the victory gained by his lieutenant
over the *Naſamonians*, bragged in the ſenate, that he had cut off the whole nation;
for to himſelf he aſcribed, as *Dion Caſſius* obſerves [r], all the advantages gained by his
officers, tho' he bore not the leaſt ſhare in them, and to others every miſcarriage,
however occaſioned by a ſtrict obſervance of his orders. As he hated and ſuſpected
every man of parts, eſpecially ſuch as had acquired any military renown, the com-
manders of the armies, to recommend themſelves to his favour, carefully avoided
ſignalizing themſelves by any military exploits, chuſing rather to bear the inſults of
the enemy, than to expoſe themſelves to the dangers ariſing from the jealouſy of the
Domitian *aſſumes the title of* Lord, *and that of* God. prince [s]. The ſame year he firſt aſſumed, according to *Euſebius*, the title of *Lord* c
and that of *God*, not being aſhamed, in dictating an ordinance to one of his ſecreta-
ries, to begin it thus; *Our Lord and our God orders and commands*, &c. About the
ſame time he enacted a law, obliging all to pay him divine worſhip; and from that
time forward no man dared to call him by any other name but that of *Lord* and of
God [t]; nay, ſome writers [u] tells us, that, by an expreſs law, all other titles, either
The ſhameful flattery of the Romans. in ſpeaking or writing to him, were to be ſuppreſſed. Of this impious flattery we
have many inſtances in the poets *Juvenal* and *Martial*. *Pliny* complains, that all the
ſtreets leading to the capitol were conſtantly crouded with droves of victims to be
ſacrificed before his ſtatues [w]. He pretended to be, and would be called, the ſon
of *Minerva*, for which goddeſs he profeſſed a particular veneration. He would not d
ſuffer any ſtatues to be erected to him in the capitol, but ſuch as were of pure gold
or ſilver, and of a fixt weight. He filled the city with triumphal gates and arches,
and by an immenſe number of monuments, raiſed at a vaſt charge, endeavoured to
tranſmit to poſterity the memory of his pretended victories [x]. He was the firſt who
was ever known to have been ſeventeen times conſul. Not ſatisfied to have aſſumed
the title of *Germanicus*, on account of his pretended victory over the *Cattans*, he
cauſed the month of *September* to be diſtinguiſhed with the ſame name, and the month
of *October* with that of *Domitian*; becauſe in the latter he was born, and in the for-
mer declared emperor. In ſhort, before the end of the fourth year of his reign, he
ſurpaſſed, if *Dion Caſſius* is to be credited, all his predeceſſors, *Nero* not excepted, e
in pride, cruelty, rapaciouſneſs, and all other vices, which complete the character
of an accompliſhed tyrant [y].

The inſtitution of the Capitoline *ſports.* The following year, *Domitian* entered upon his twelfth conſulſhip, having *Servius*
Cornelius Dolabella for his collegue. This year were inſtituted the *Capitoline* ſports,
ſo much ſpoken of by the writers of thoſe days, according to whom they were to be
exhibited once in five, but, according to our way of reckoning, once in four years;
for they were celebrated, as the *Olympic* ſports, at the end of four years complete,
and in the beginning of the fifth. As they were exhibited in honour of *Jupiter Ca-
pitolinus*, the emperor preſided at them in perſon, attended by the prieſt of *Jupiter*,
and the college of the *Flavian* prieſts [z]. To this year *Euſebius* fixes the war with the f
Dacians, the moſt bloody and dangerous which the *Romans* ſuſtained, during the
Some account of the Dacians reign of *Domitian*. The *Dacians* were looked upon by the *Romans* as the moſt war-
like nation they were then acquainted with. They were not only men for the moſt
part of great ſtrength, but of equal courage, deſpiſing death, which they conſidered
as the end of a tranſitory, and the beginning of a happy and laſting, life; whence with
great intrepidity they braved the greateſt dangers. This doctrine they had learnt
of an ancient philoſopher, by name *Zamolxis*, whom ſome ſuppoſe to have been the
diſciple

[o] Zonar. p. 197. [p] Arist. p. 194. [q] Ptol. l. iv. c. 5. [r] Dio in excerpt. Val. p. 709.
[s] Plin. l. viii. epiſt. 14. [t] Suet. c. 13. [u] Aur. Vict. & Oros. l. vii. c. 10. [w] Plin.
paneg. p. 99. [x] Suet. c. 13. [y] Dio, ibid. p. 710. [z] Suet. c. 4.

a disciple of *Pythagoras*; others to have flourished long before his time [a]. *Dion Cassius* observes, that these people were by some *Greek* writers called *Getæ*; but by the *Romans Daci*, which was their proper appellation; for the *Getæ* dwelt beyond mount *Hæmus*, near the mouth of the *Danube* and the *Euxine* sea; but the *Dacians* more to the west and nearer *Germany*; that is, according to the opinion of most modern geographers, in the countries now known by the names of *Moldavia*, *Valachia*, and *Transilvania*. But the emperor *Aurelian* having afterwards placed them on this side of the *Danube*, (we speak with respect to *Rome*) they gave their name to that part of *Illyricum* which they possessed; and this is the province, which, in the fourth and fifth centuries, was known by the name of *Dacia*. As for the ancient *Dacia*, it was
b then held by the *Goths*, whom *Jornandes* throughout his history confounds with the *Dacians* [b]. At this time one *Duras* ruled over the *Dacians*; but after having for some time held the sovereignty, by an instance of moderation hardly to be matched in history, resigned it of his own accord to one *Decebalus*, whom he judged better qualified for the discharge of so great a trust than himself; for *Decebalus* was a man of great prowess and experience in war, and equally skilled in affairs of state [c]. He is by *Jornandes* [d] and *Orosius* [e] called *Dorpanæus* and *Diurpanæus*; for a prince of that name reigned, according to them, in *Dacia*, when the defeat of *Fuscus* happened, of which we shall speak anon; and, on the other hand, we are told by *Dion Cassius*, that *Fuscus* was overthrown in battle by *Decebalus*. As to the issue of the war which *They make war upon the Romans.*
c he maintained against *Rome*, *Tacitus* speaks thus, without descending to any particulars: In the commonwealth there ensued such times, as would not permit the name of *Agricola*, lately returned from *Britain*, to remain unmentioned; so many were the armies we had lost in *Mœsia*, *Dacia*, *Germany*, and *Pannonia*, all by the misconduct of our generals. The question and contest was not now about maintaining the limits of the empire, and guarding the rivers which served for its boundaries, but about defending the standing incampments of the legions, and preserving our own territories. Thus, when public calamities were following one another, and each year was become signal for slaughters and misfortunes, *Agricola* was, by the common voice of the populace, required for the command of our armies; for all men were comparing
d his vigor, his resolution, and experience in war, with the sloth and timidity of the others. The best of *Domitian*'s freed-men advised and pressed him to this choice out of pure affection and duty, as did the worst, out of virulence and envy, hoping by that means to compass the destruction of *Agricola*. But that jealous and distrustful *Domitian jealous of Agricola.*
prince dreaded nothing so much, as to see a man of courage and reputation at the head of an army [f]. Thus much *Tacitus* in general of the war with the *Dacians*, in which the *Romans*, according to that historian, sustained great losses, and had many armies slaughtered, many brave officers killed, and many taken prisoners. For a more particular and distinct account of this destructive war, we must recur to, and depend upon *Jornandes*. According to him, the *Dacians*, dreading the effects of the emper-
e ror's avarice, broke the alliance which they had made with his predecessors, crossed the *Danube*, drove away the troops stationed on the banks of that river; and falling upon *The Romans defeated by the Dacians, and their general killed.*
Appius, or *Oppius*, *Sabinus*, governor of *Mœsia*, defeated and killed him, committing every-where most dreadful devastations, and seizing all the forts and castles raised in their neighbourhood by the *Romans*. Hereupon *Domitian*, having with all possible expedition raised a formidable army, marched himself at the head of it into *Illyricum*. Upon his approach, *Decebalus* dispatched embassadors to him, declaring, that he was ready to put an end to the war and renew the former treaties. But *Domitian*, instead of returning any answer to the deputies, ordered the flower of his forces to advance
f against the *Dacians*, under the conduct of *Cornelius Fuscus*, captain of the prætorian guards. He was, according to *Tacitus* [g], of an illustrious descent, and had in his early youth, from a passion for solitude and repose, divested himself of the senatorial dignity. Upon the death of *Nero*, he declared for *Galba*, by whom he was created procurator of *Illyricum*. Afterwards he embraced the party of *Vespasian* against *Vitellius*, and to the flame of war added, to use the expression of *Tacitus*, fresh fuel; for he took not so much delight in the rewards of perils, as in the perils themselves. He was second in the command of the forces under the famous *Antonius Primus*, and honoured by the senate, after the death of *Vitellius*, with the ornaments of the prætorship.

[a] Strabo, l. vii. p. 297. Suid. Phot. c. 166. [b] Vide Lloyd. dict, historic. p. 405. Baud. p. 237. Jornand. Got. c. 12, 13, &c. [c] Dio, ibid. p. 709-- 761. [d] Jornand. c. 13. [e] Oros. l. vii. c. 20. [f] Tacit. vit. Agric. c. 41. [g] Tacit. hist. l. ii. c. 86.

ſhip. *Domitian* conferred upon him the command of the prætorian guards. But after all, he was not, if *Juvenal* is to be credited [h], ſufficiently qualified for the chief command of an army. Hence *Decebalus*, deſpiſing ſuch a general, ſent a freſh embaſſy to *Domitian*, offering to conclude a peace with him, upon condition that each *Roman* paid him yearly two *oboli*; and threatening, if they rejected his propoſal, to purſue the war with vigor, and deſtroy their territories with fire and ſword. The *Romans* were ſo provoked with the inſolence of this propoſal, that they demanded to be led forthwith againſt the enemy. Accordingly *Fuſcus*, having cauſed his army to paſs the *Danube* on a bridge of boats, entered the *Dacian* territories, where, after ſeveral ſkirmiſhes, *Decebalus* and *Fuſcus* agreed to put the whole to the iſſue of a general engagement. Both armies fought with equal bravery and reſolution, and the victory continued long doubtful; but in the end the *Romans* were utterly routed, and *Fuſcus* himſelf ſlain. The *Dacians* took one eagle, a great quantity of arms, all the engines of war, and a vaſt number of captives, who were afterwards found in the enemy's caſtles, and releaſed by the emperor *Trajan* [i].

They are defeated a ſecond time.

The news of this defeat alarmed *Domitian*, who was already returned to *Rome*, where he made a no leſs dreadful havock of the ſenate and people, than the *Dacians* had done of the ſoldiery. He ſtrove at firſt to ſmother the diſmal tidings; but finding they were by common fame divulged all over the city, and even magnified, he left *Rome* a ſecond time, giving out, that he would head the army in perſon. But arriving in *Mœſia*, he ſtopped in a city of that province, and ſent forward his generals againſt the enemy. Many bloody battles were fought with various ſucceſs, fortune being ſometimes favourable to the *Romans*, ſometimes to the *Dacians* [k]. *Julianus*, one of the *Roman* commanders, gained a ſignal victory, by obliging his ſoldiers to write their names on their bucklers, that he might by that means the more effectually encourage or upbraid each particular [l]. On this occaſion *Vezinas*, who among the *Dacians* was next in authority to *Decebalus*, finding no other means to make his eſcape, concealed himſelf amongſt the dead, and in the night retired undiſcovered. *Decebalus* apprehending the *Romans* might, after their victory, lay ſiege to his capital, felled, during the night, a great number of trees in a neighbouring wood, covered the trunks of them with armour, and, by that contrivance, prevented the *Romans*, who miſtook them for ſoldiers, from purſuing the advantages of their victory. However, *Decebalus* was at length reduced to great ſtreights, and obliged to ſue for peace; which *Domitian* would not grant him upon any terms whatſoever. But, inſtead of purſuing the war with vigor, and forcing him, as he might eaſily have done, to ſubmit at diſcretion, he turned his arms againſt the *Quadians* and *Marcomanians*, becauſe they had ſent him no ſuccours during the war with the *Dacians*. Theſe two nations, though ſignal in force and renown, declining to involve their reſpective countries in an unneceſſary war, ſent deputies to the emperor, begging him to forbear hoſtilities, which they were not conſcious to themſelves to have provoked. But *Domitian*, inſtead of hearkening to their intreaties, cauſed their embaſſadors, in defiance of the right of nations, to be murdered; which ſo provoked thoſe warlike people, that, drawing together all their youth, they took the field, engaged *Domitian*, and put him to flight. Then the cowardly prince, now no leſs dejected upon his defeat, than lately elated with his victory, diſpatched embaſſadors to *Decebalus*, with offers of peace, upon very advantageous terms; which the *Dacian* thought it adviſeable to accept, ſince his army had been greatly weakened by the many battles he had fought. However, he refuſed to go in perſon to *Domitian*; but ſent his brother to treat with the emperor, whom *Domitian* received with particular marks of friendſhip and eſteem, delivering to him a diadem for *Decebalus*, and by that means acknowledging him for king. Beſides the diadem, he preſented him with large ſums, ſent to him, at his requeſt, a great number of artificers and workmen of all profeſſions, and engaged to pay him yearly a certain ſum, which, to the reign of *Trajan*, was punctually conveyed to him; but that prince would not ſubmit to the payment of ſo ſhameful a tribute, ſaying, That he had never been overcome by *Decebalus* [m]. *Domitian*, upon the concluſion of ſuch an opprobrious peace, acquainted the ſenate by letters, that he had at length obliged the *Dacians* to ſubmit to the *Roman* yoke; and at the ſame time diſpatched to *Rome* the embaſſadors of *Decebalus*, with a letter written to him by

The Dacians *receive a great overthrow.*

Domitian *defeated by the* Marcomanians.

Concludes a diſhonourable peace with the Dacians.

[h] Juven. ſat. iv. ver. 112. [i] Jornand. de reb. Goth. c. 13. Oros. l. vii. c. 8. Dio, l. lxviii. p. 773. Juv. ſat. iv. ver. 111. [k] Tacit. hiſt. l. i. c. 2. [l] Dio, l. lxvii. p. 762, & in excerpt. Val. p. 709. [m] Dio, l. lxvii. p. 762. & l. lxviii. p. 771. Mart. l. v. epigr. 3.

a by that prince, or, as was moſt commonly believed, feigned by the emperor himſelf, wherein the *Dacian* owned himſelf conquered, and no longer able to withſtand the gallantry of the *Roman* troops, led on by ſo brave and valiant a commander as *Domitian*. Hereupon the ſenate decreed him a triumph, which he enjoyed upon his return, triumphing at the ſame time over the *Dacians*, of whom he had with an annual tribute purchaſed a peace, and over the *Quadians* and *Marcomanians*, by whom he had been utterly defeated and driven out of the field [n]; for his triumphs, ſays *Pliny* [o], were ever certain proofs of ſignal advantages gained by the enemy. However, the poets, who flouriſhed under him, extol theſe mock victories, and compare them to thoſe gained by the *Scipios* and *Cæſars*. *Domitian*, before he left *Dacia*, cauſed a

b ſtately monument to be erected to the memory of *Cornelius Fuſcus* [p]. *Pliny* complains that *Domitian*, in his marches and journeys, behaved more like an enemy than a prince, exacting immenſe ſums from the inhabitants of the countries through which he paſſed, pillaging their houſes, laying waſte their fields, and obliging them to ſupply, at a vaſt charge, with all manner of proviſions both him and his numerous retinue [q].

But is honoured with a triumph.

The following year, *Domitian* was conſul the thirteenth time with *L. Saturninus*; but nothing happened, during their adminiſtration, which authors have thought worth tranſmitting to poſterity. But the following year, when *Domitian* was conſul the fourteenth time with *L. Minucius Rufus*, is remarkable for the celebration of the *ſecular games*, ſo called, becauſe they were to be ſolemnized once in an age. They had been celebrated but forty-one years before by *Claudius*; but *Domitian* computed

c the time from their being exhibited by *Auguſtus* [r]. They ended, as appears from ſeveral medals which have reached our age, ſome time after the ides of *September* in the eighth year of *Domitian*'s reign [s], while *Tacitus* the hiſtorian was prætor [t]. *Domitian*, purſuing this year the carnage he had begun, before he left *Rome* to wage war with the *Dacians*, filled the city with funerals, putting all thoſe to death, who, on account of their birth or virtue, gave him the leaſt umbrage [u]. This general ſlaughter was in all likelihood produced by the revolt of *L. Antonius*, which happened this year. *L. Antonius* was governor of *Upper Germany*, where he had two legions under his command. Being provoked with the cruelties and tyrannical conduct of the em-

d peror, and depending upon the fidelity of his ſoldiers, whoſe affections he had gained by his mild and obliging behaviour, he at once took upon him the title of emperor, and as ſuch was acknowledged by the forces he commanded, and likewiſe by moſt of the *German* nations, who promiſed him powerful ſuccours, not from any eſteem or kindneſs they had for him, but through hatred to *Domitian*. The news of this revolt no ſooner reached *Rome*, than *Domitian*, quitting the city, haſtened to ſuppreſs it, leading with him the prætorian guards and the flower of the troops quartered in *Italy*, all the ſenators, and the greater part of the *Roman* knights, even ſuch as had abſented themſelves from the city and long led a retired life, leſt they ſhould be afterwards accuſed of having abandoned the emperor in time of danger; a charge which might have coſt them their lives. But he had not proceeded far on his march,

e ere he received a certain account of the total overthrow of *Antonius*, whoſe army was intirely cut off, and he himſelf ſlain by *L. Maximus*, according to ſome writers, or, as others will have it, by *Appius Norbanus* [w]. Perhaps theſe four names belonged to one and the ſame perſon; at leaſt a letter written by *Domitian* to *L. Appius Maximus* has reached our times [x]; and one *Appius Maximus* is ſaid in an ancient inſcription to have happily ended the war in *Germany* [y]. While the armies of *Antonius* and *Maximus* were engaged on the banks of the *Rhine*, the river ſwelled all on a ſudden to ſuch a height, that the *Germans*, who came to the aſſiſtance of *Antonius*, could not croſs it; ſo that his army was intirely cut off. *Antonius* himſelf being killed in the battle, his head was cut off and ſent to *Rome* [z]. *Suetonius* tells us, that the very day on which the

f battle was fought, an eagle, placing herſelf upon one of the emperor's ſtatues at *Rome*, covered it with her wings, making a noiſe which expreſſed a kind of joy; and that at the ſame time a report prevailed all over the city, that *Antonius* was overcome, and utterly defeated; nay, that he was killed, and that his head was brought to *Rome*, which ſeveral perſons affirmed they had ſeen [a]. *Maximus* on this occaſion diſplayed

He celebrates the ſecular games.

The revolt of L. Antonius.

Who is defeated and killed.

no

[n] Dio. p. 761. Suet. c. 6. Euseb. in chron. [o] Plin. paneg. p. 21. [p] Mart. l. vi. p. 76.
[q] Plin. ibid. p. 35, 36. [r] Suet. c. 4. [s] Onuph. lud. [t] Tacit. annal. xi. c. 12.
[u] Euseb. in chron. [w] Dio. l. lxvii. p. 764. Idem in excerpt. Val. p. 709. Plut. in vit. Æmil.
[x] Vide Onuph. in faſt. p. 216. [y] Idem ibid. [z] Suet. c. 6. Dio, in excerpt. Val. p. 709.
[a] Plut. in Æmil, p. 489. Suet. ibid.

no leſs prudence after the victory, than he had done courage in gaining it; for upon the death of *Antonius*, he ſeized and burnt all his papers, that the emperor might not make uſe of them to the prejudice of any man. *Domitian*, however, made a diligent ſearch after his accomplices, torturing in a moſt cruel manner perſons of all ranks and conditions, upon the leaſt ſuſpicion of their having been privy to the conſpiracy, or having lived in friendſhip and intimacy with *Antonius*. On this occaſion great numbers of perſons were executed or baniſhed, and their eſtates ſeized. Of the many who were accuſed, two perſons only eſcaped unpuniſhed, *viz.* a tribune of ſenatorial dignity, and a centurion, who ſaved their lives at the expence of their reputation, by making it appear, that they had been pathics, and conſequently incapable of engaging in any hazardous enterprize, or having any intereſt in matters of this nature, either with the general or the army [b]. After this revolt, *Domitian* would not ſuffer two legions to be quartered in the ſame camp during the winter; but kept them all ſeparate and at ſome diſtance from each other, leſt, depending upon their ſtrength, they ſhould form dangerous deſigns, and raiſe new diſturbances [c]. This year another counterfeit *Nero* appeared in *Aſia*; and having, with a great multitude of followers, ſtruck terror into the neighbouring provinces, retired to the court of the *Parthian* king, who received him with great marks of diſtinction, ſupplied him with a choſen body of troops, and ſeemed inclined to quarrel on his account with the *Romans*. But in the end he was prevailed upon by *Domitian* to deliver him up to the governor of *Syria* [d]. This, without all doubt, is what gave occaſion to the poet *Silius* to celebrate the emperor's triumph, and extol his victories over the *Ganges*, the *Bactrians*, and, in ſhort, over all the countries of the eaſt [e].

Great numbers of perſons executed.

A counterfeit Nero *in* Aſia.

The following year, *T. Aurelius Fulvius* and *L. Atratinus* being conſuls, *Domitian* took the title of emperor three times; but for what exploits we know not. Some writers, and amongſt the reſt the learned cardinal *Noris*, are of opinion, that *Domitian* this year undertook a ſecond expedition againſt the *Germans* [f], the more becauſe the poet *Statius* ſuppoſes the *Germans* to have been by *Domitian* twice conquered [g]. But theſe triumphs were in all likelihood only for pretended victories and real overthrows. Thus we have ſeen him triumph over the *Dacians*, of whom he had purchaſed a peace, by engaging to pay them an annual tribute, and over the *Marcomanians* and *Quadians*, by whom he had been ſhamefully put to flight. The next conſuls were *Domitian*, the fifteenth time, and *M. Cocceius Nerva*, who was afterwards raiſed to the empire, the ſecond time; for he had been conſul in the ſecond year of *Veſpaſian*'s reign. Some modern writers [h] tell us, that having been baniſhed by *Domitian* the year before, in this he was recalled, and honoured with the conſulſhip. They quote *Dion Caſſius*; but in that writer we find no ſuch account. *Philoſtratus* indeed writes, that *Nerva*, who ſucceeded *Domitian*, was baniſhed to *Tarentum*; but from his words it is manifeſt, that *Nerva* did not incur the diſpleaſure of *Domitian*, till he had finiſhed his ſecond conſulſhip [i]. Nothing happened this year, either at *Rome* or in the provinces, which the few hiſtorians, who have written of theſe times, and whoſe works have reached us, thought worth recording. The conſuls of the following year were *M. Ulpius Trajanus*, who ſucceeded *Nerva* in the empire, and *Acilius Glabrio*. As *Glabrio* was a man of great ſtrength and activity, the emperor obliged him to fight in the arena with a huge lion, whom he overcame and killed. The people with loud ſhouts applauded his victory; which rouſed the jealouſy of the emperor, who thereupon, under colour of ſome crime or other, baniſhed him, and ſoon after cauſed him to be murdered in the place of his exile, as if he had attempted to raiſe diſturbances in the ſtate [k]. A modern writer would fain perſuade us, that he was put to death for profeſſing the chriſtian religion [l]; but the arguments which he makes uſe of are deſtitute of all ſolidity and quite trifling. This year *Domitian* exhibited a great many ſhews, both in the amphitheatre and the circus, which are celebrated by the writers of thoſe times, as the moſt coſtly and magnificent that *Rome* had ever beheld. Near the *Tiber* he cauſed a vaſt lake to be dug, in which a ſea-fight was repreſented with ſuch numbers of ſhips as amounted to complete fleets. In the combats of gladiators, not only men, but women, entered the liſts. In the amphitheatre two great combats were exhibited, one of horſe, the other of foot: with the former, which was quite new, the populace were ſo taken, that, forgetting the emperor's cruelties,

Acilius Glabrio *put to death.*

Domitian *exhibits magnificent ſhews.*

[b] Suet. c. 10. [c] Dio. p. 764. [d] Tacit. l. i. c. 2. Seut. c. 6. [e] Sil. l. iii. p. 51. [f] Noris ep. conſ. p. 175. [g] Stat. Theb. l. i. ver. 19. [h] Petav, chron. & Calvis. [i] Philost. vit. Apol. Ty. l. vii. c. 3. [k] Dio, p. 766. Suet. c. 10. [l] Baron. ad ann. 74.

year *Domitian* undertook an expedition againſt the *Sarmatians*, who had cut in pieces a
a whole legion with the officer who commanded them [c]: but as to the iſſue of this
war, we are quite in the dark: all we know is, that on this occaſion he quarrelled
likewiſe with the *Marcomanians*, and on his return aſſumed the title of emperor, for
the twenty-ſecond and laſt time. He returned to *Rome* in the month of *January*,
and, inſtead of triumphing, contented himſelf with preſenting a crown of laurel to
Jupiter Capitolinus [d]. *Statius* and *Martial* [f] make frequent mention of this war,
extolling, with their uſual flattery, the ſuppoſed exploits and pretended victories of
their hero.

The following year, *L. Nonnius Aſprenas* and *Sextilius Lateranus* being conſuls, b
Domitian began to rend the commonwealth with cruelties without all reſpite, as
Tacitus expreſſes [e], and to put in execution the deſign, which he had long ſince
formed, of utterly extirpating the ſenate, and deſtroying all who were any-ways
conſiderable, either for their birth or virtue. That hiſtorian deſcribes the miſeries
The calamity of the times. of theſe calamitous times in general terms thus: The iſlands were peopled with
exiles; the rocks contaminated with murder and blood. But more hideous ſtill
were the ravages of cruelty at *Rome*. It was treaſonable to be noble; capital to be
rich; criminal to have borne honours, criminal to have declined them; and the
reward of worth and virtue was quick and inevitable deſtruction. Nor were the
iniquities of the informers more ſhocking, than their great and diſtinguiſhing rewards;
for upon ſome were beſtowed, as the ſpoils of the ſtate, the pontifical dignities and c
thoſe of the conſulſhip; others were ſent with the character of procurators into the
provinces; ſome were made prime miniſters and confidents at home; and, in every
ſtation exerting all their terrors and purſuing their hatred, they controuled and
confounded all things. Slaves were ſuborned againſt their maſters, freed-men againſt
their patrons; and ſuch as had no enemies were betrayed and undone by their friends.
The age, however, continues our hiſtorian, was not ſo utterly deſtitute of all
virtue, as not to afford commendable examples of friendſhip and magnanimity.
There were mothers who accompanied their baniſhed ſons; wives who followed
their huſbands into exile; in relations were found reſolution and ſuccour; in ſons-
in-law conſtancy and duty; in ſlaves ſuch fidelity as baffled all the menaces and hor- d
rors of the torture; illuſtrious men ſtruggling under the greateſt diſtreſs, ſupporting
it with conſtancy, and diſplaying a fortitude in death equal to that of the moſt cele-
brated ancients [g]. The ſame writer, after having recounted the death of *Agricola*;
He ſaw not, adds he, the court of the ſenate beſieged, nor the ſenate incloſed with
armed men, nor the butchery of ſo many perſons of conſular dignity, nor the flight
and exile of ſo many women of the prime nobility, all effected in one continued
havock. Even *Nero* with-held his eyes from ſcenes of cruelty: he indeed ordered
murders to be perpetrated, but ſaw them not. The principal part of our miſeries
under *Domitian* was, to be obliged to ſee him, and be ſeen by him, at a time when
all our ſighs and ſorrows were watched and marked down for condemnation; when e
that cruel countenance of his, always covered with a ſettled red, whence he hard-
ened himſelf againſt ſhame and bluſhing, ſerved him to obſerve all the pale hor-
rors at once poſſeſſing ſo many illuſtrious men [i]. Thus *Tacitus* deſcribes in general
terms the calamities of thoſe unhappy times. The perſons whom he mentions in
Helvidius, Senecio, and Rufticus put to death. particular to have been this year put to death by *Domitian*, are *Helvidius*, *Ruſticus*,
and *Senecio*. *Helvidius* was the ſon of the celebrated *Helvidius Priſcus*, of whom we
have ſpoken above. He had been raiſed to the conſulſhip, in what year we know
not; and was, on account of his extraordinary virtue, abilities, and accompliſhments,
in great credit with perſons of all ranks, though he endeavoured, through fear of give- f
ing the emperor umbrage, to ſhun the applauſes of the multitude, and conceal his
talents in ſolitude and retirement. However, he was accuſed of treaſon, and it was
pretended, that in a poem, by him compoſed, he had, under the borrowed names
of *Paris* and *Œnone*, reflected on the emperor for divorcing his wife *Domitia*. When
the accuſed appeared to plead his cauſe before the ſenate, one of the judges, by
name *Publicius Certus*, formerly prætor, ſeized him with the aſſiſtance of ſome
other ſenators, and, without allowing him to ſpeak in his own defence, dragged
him to priſon, where he was by the emperor's orders ſoon after executed [k]. As for
Certus,

[c] Suet. c. 6. [d] Idem ibid. [e] Stat. ſyl. l. 3. p. 398, &c. [f] Mart. l. vii. epigr. 1, 4, 7. & l. viii. epigr. 8, 15, &c. [g] Tacit. vit. Agr. c. 44. [h] Tacit. hiſt. l. i. c. 2. Idem, vit. Agr. c. 44. [k] Suet. c. 10. Plin. l. ix. epiſt. 13.

thirteenth of *July*, the former to *M. Lollius Paulinus Valerius Aſiaticus*, and the latter a
The death of Agricola. to *C. Antius Julius Quadratus*. This year was remarkable for the death of the celebrated *Agricola*. His end proved afflicting to his family, ſays *Tacitus*, ſorrowful to his friends, and matter of trouble even to foreigners and ſuch as knew him not. The common people, during his ſickneſs, were not only frequent in their viſits to his houſe; but, in all public places, in all private companies, made him the ſubject of their converſation: nor, when his death was divulged, was there a ſoul found, who did not lament it as a public misfortune. What heightened the general concern was, a prevailing rumour, that he was diſpatched by poiſon. That there was
Domitian *ſuſpected of having cauſed him to be poiſoned.* any proof of this, *Tacitus*, his ſon-in-law, will not take upon him to aver. However, he tells us, that, during the whole courſe of his illneſs, *Domitian* cauſed frequent viſits to be made him, indeed much more frequent than princes are wont to make, both by his favourite freedmen and his moſt truſty phyſicians; whether from real concern for his health, or eagerneſs to learn the probability of his death, our hiſtorian will not determine. It is certain, that on the day in which he expired, continual accounts were by meſſengers, purpoſely placed, every inſtant tranſmitted to the emperor, informing him how faſt his end was approaching; and no one believed he would have been thus eager to hear tidings, had he been to feel any ſorrow from hearing them. However, upon the news of his death, he affected to ſhew in his countenance ſome grief and concern; for being now ſecure againſt the object of his hatred, he could more eaſily diſſemble his preſent joy, than lately his fear. It is incredible, how great was the ſatisfaction which he expreſſed, when upon reading the laſt will of *Agricola*, he found himſelf left joint heir with his excellent wife and tender daughter. This he took to have been done out of judgment and choice; ſo blinded he was by continual flattery, as not to know, that to no prince, b
but a tyrant, did ever any good father bequeath his fortune[y]. *Agricola* was born, according to *Tacitus*, on the thirteenth of *June*, during the third conſulſhip of the emperor *Caligula*, and died on the twenty-fourth of *Auguſt*, during the conſulſhip of *Collega* and *Priſcus*, in the fifty-ſixth year of his age, the ninety-third of the *Chriſtian* æra, and twelfth of *Domitian*'s reign. But as to the time of birth, ſome miſtake has certainly crept into the text of *Tacitus*, there being but fifty-three years two months, and ſome days, from the thirteenth of *June* of the year of the *Chriſtian* æra 40. when *Caligula* was the third time conſul, to the twenty-fourth of *Auguſt*, in the year 93. *Agricola* therefore either died in the fifty-fourth year of his age, or was born in the ſecond conſulſhip of *Caligula*, that is, in the year 38. of the *Chri-* c
ſtian æra. *Tacitus* delivers the following glorious and affecting character of him:
His character. If poſterity deſires to know his make and perſon, he was rather genteel and well-proportioned than tall: in his aſpect there was nothing terrible; his looks were extremely gracious and pleaſing, a good man you would have readily believed him, and been glad to have found that he was a great man. Tho' he was ſnatched away, while his age was yet in full vigor; yet, if his life be meaſured by his glory, he attained to a great length of days. For every true felicity, namely ſuch as ariſes from virtue, he had already enjoyed to the full. As he had been likewiſe diſtinguiſhed with the conſular and triumphal honours, what more could fortune add to d
his luſtre and renown? Exceſſive wealth he coveted not; an honourable ſhare he poſſeſſed. As behind him he left ſurviving his daughter and his wife, he may be even accounted happy, ſince by dying while his credit was no-ways ſtained, while his fame was in its full ſplendor, and his relations and friends in a ſtate of ſecurity, he eſcaped the evils to come and the miſery of the latter times. We ſhall cloſe our account of this great commander, this virtuous citizen, with the tender and affect-
Tacitus's *affecting addreſs to him after his death.* ing words of *Tacitus*, who thus addreſſes him after his death: Happy therefore art thou, *Agricola*, not only as thy life was glorious, but as thy death was ſeaſonable! Thou didſt, as I am informed by thoſe who heard thy laſt words, accept thy fate c
chearfully and with firmneſs; as if, for thy part, thou wouldſt have ſaved the credit of the prince. But to myſelf and thy daughter, beſides the grief of having our father ſnatched from us, it proves a further acceſſion of ſorrow, that we had not an opportunity of attending thee in thy ſickneſs, of cheriſhing thy drooping ſpirits, and pleaſing ourſelves with ſeeing and embracing thee. We ſhould greedily have received thy inſtructions and precepts, and engraved them for ever in our hearts.

This

[y] Tacit. vit. Agr. c. 44.

a This is our grief, this our unſpeakable misfortune, that, by our long abſence from thee, thou waſt already loſt to us four years before thy death. Thou waſt, no doubt, abundantly ſupplied with whatever thy condition required, by thy loving wife, the beſt of mothers, who attended thee. Yet fewer tears were ſhed at thy funeral, and at thy laſt hour ſomewhat was wanting to ſatisfy thine eyes. If for the manes of good men any place be allotted; if, as philoſophers hold, the ſpirits of great men periſh not with their bodies; pleaſing be thy repoſe! Recal us, thy family, from this our weakneſs in bewailing thee, to the contemplation of thy virtues, for which it were unjuſt to lament or to mourn. Let us rather adorn thy memory with immortal praiſes, and by following, as far as our weakneſs will allow, and b adopting thy excellencies. This is true honour, this the duty incumbent upon every near relation. Thus I would have thy daughter and wife to reverence the memory of a father and huſband, and to be ever ruminating upon all his doings and ſayings; and rather to adore the image of his mind, than that of his perſon. Not that I mean to condemn the uſe of ſtatues in marble or braſs; but as the perſons of men are frail and periſhing, ſo are likewiſe the images of them: the form of the mind is eternal, and cannot be repreſented or preſerved by art or materials foreign to its nature, nor otherwiſe but by a conformity of manners. What we loved in *Agricola*, what we admired, remains, and will for ever remain, imprinted in the minds of men, and conveyed through a continual ſucceſſion of ages by the voice of fame to c the lateſt poſterity. Many of the ancients lie buried in an obſcure and inglorious oblivion; but *Agricola* ſhall live recommended to future ages, and his fame continue for ever [z]. Thus far *Tacitus*, who wrote the life of *Agricola* in the reign of the emperor *Trajan*, without which, and a ſhort paſſage in *Dion Caſſius*, the memory and exploits of one of the greateſt commanders and beſt citizens, *Rome* ever bred, would have been buried in oblivion. *Tacitus*, as he himſelf informs us, had, together with his wife, been four years abſent from *Rome* when his father-in-law died; but where, or on what account, we are no-where told. Some writers, without the leaſt foundation, ſuppoſe him to have been baniſhed by *Domitian*; but *Lipſius* is of opinion, that he retired of his own accord from the city, not being able, as he was d a man of a virtuous and humane ſpirit, to behold the ſufferings of the *Romans* under ſo cruel and bloody a tyrant [a].

THE ſame year, *Bebius Maſſa*, an infamous accuſer, was himſelf accuſed of extortion by the *Bithynians*, whom he had plundered and oppreſſed, in a moſt tyrannical manner, while he governed that province. The ſenate appointed *Pliny* the younger and *Herennius Senecio*, originally a *Bithynian* and formerly quæſtor in the ſame province, to plead the cauſe of the *Bithynians*; which they did ſo effectually, that *Bebius* was condemned by the ſenate, and the conſuls were ordered to ſeize his eſtate and effects. But as they, taken up with more preſſing affairs, put off from day to day the execution of the judgment, *Senecio*, fearing the delinquent might in e the mean time privately convey away part of his goods, reſolved to apply to them for an immediate execution of the ſentence, and begged *Pliny* to act therein in concert with him. *Pliny* at firſt declined engaging in an affair which he thought foreign to the profeſſion of a pleader; but, *Senecio* continuing obſtinate in his reſolution, he at length conſented to ſolicit jointly with him the conſuls to ſeize without delay the effects of *Bebius*, that reparation might thence be made of the loſſes ſuſtained by the *Bithynians*. Accordingly they went together to the conſuls, where they found *Bebius*, who, upon hearing their ſuit, was ſo provoked againſt *Senecio*, that he ſummoned him before the emperor, as guilty of treaſon. The very name of treaſon ſtruck the whole aſſembly with terror. But *Pliny*, without betraying the f leaſt fear, addreſſing *Bebius*, told him, he was ſorry he did not charge him with the ſame crime, ſince by his not accuſing him, as well as *Senecio*, of treaſon, men might believe that he had not acted againſt him with equal zeal, and that he ſhould be grieved if he knew that any one entertained of him ſo bad an opinion. This firmneſs and intrepidity in *Pliny* was by all highly applauded; and *Nerva*, who was at that time in exile at *Tarentum*, congratulated him by letters upon his ſteady conduct. *Pliny* himſelf wrote to *Tacitus*, acquainting him with what had paſſed, and begging him to inſert it in his hiſtory, which he looked upon as a work that would never die; but the letter of *Pliny* has outlived that part of *Tacitus*'s hiſtory [b]. This year

Bebius Maſſa, *a noted accuſer, arraigned.*

The conſtancy and firmneſs of Pliny.

z Idem ibid. c. 45, 46. a LIPS. vit. Tacit. b PLIN. l. vii. epiſt. 33. & l. iii. epiſt. 4.

a *Certus*, he was named for the conſulſhip, which he ſeems to have diſcharged four years after, that is, in the ſecond year of *Nerva*'s reign, when *Pliny* demanded leave of the ſenate to arraign him as a criminal, in order to clear his friend *Helvidius*, and make his innocence appear, at leaſt after his death, ſince no one had been allowed to ſpeak in his favour while living. The ſenate put a ſtop to all proſecutions of this nature, but yet degraded *Certus*, and deprived him of the conſular dignity; whence he died a few days after in great agonies and terror, imagining, as he himſelf owned, that *Pliny* purſued him with a drawn ſword. *Pliny* publiſhed the ſpeech which he pronounced againſt him in the ſenate; but it has been long ſince loſt [l].

b *Herennius Senecio* was, as we have related above, accuſed of treaſon by *Bæbius Maſſa*, whom he had accuſed of extortion at the ſuit of the *Bithynians*. The charge alledged againſt him was, that he had written the life of *Helvidius Priſcus*, at the requeſt of *Fannia* his widow, and made uſe of the memoirs with which ſhe had furniſhed him. Tho' *Senecio* had with all poſſible care avoided ſuch expreſſions as might ſeem in the leaſt to reflect on the emperor, yet, becauſe he could not help commending a man whom the prince had condemned, *Domitian* cauſed him to be ſentenced to death, and the ſentence to be without delay put in execution. *Fannia* owned of her own accord, that ſhe had perſuaded *Senecio* to write the life of her huſband, and ſupplied him with materials for it. For this crime ſhe was, by a decree of the ſenate, confined to a deſert iſland, whither ſhe carried with her, as her only comfort, the hiſtory of

c her huſband's actions, which had been the cauſe of her baniſhment, tho' it was declared capital to read or keep it. *Arria*, her mother, the widow of the famous *Pætus Thraſea*, was likewiſe baniſhed; but they were both called home in the beginning of the reign of *Nerva* [m]. The emperor, as *Tacitus* informs us [n], did not content himſelf with condemning *Senecio* for celebrating the praiſes of *Helvidius Priſcus*, and *Arulenus Ruſticus*, of whom anon, for thoſe of *Pætus Thraſea*; but ordered the magiſtrates to commit their books to the flames, imagining, that in the ſame fire he ſhould aboliſh the voice and utterance of the *Roman* people, with the liberty of the ſenate, and all the ideas and memory of mankind. The third perſon, mentioned by *Tacitus* to have been ſacrificed by *Domitian* this year, was *Lucius Junius*

d *Arulenus Ruſticus*. He profeſſed the philoſophy of the *Stoics*, was tribune of the people when *Pætus Thraſea* was condemned by a decree of the ſenate in the reign of *Nero*, and as ſuch would have interpoſed againſt it, had not *Thraſea* himſelf reſtrained him [o]. He was prætor in the ſhort reign of *Vitellius*, by whom he was ſent to *Petilius Cerealis*, one of *Veſpaſian*'s commanders, to mediate an accommodation. On which occaſion he was wounded by the ſoldiery, who ſternly rejected all terms of peace; and, notwithſtanding the character of an embaſſador, altogether ſacred, would have been maſſacred, had it not been for the protection of a guard appointed by *Cerealis* [p]. The crime laid to his charge by *Domitian* was, his having, in a book publiſhed by him, commended *Thraſea*, and likewiſe *Helvidius Priſcus*, as

e men of honour and integrity. He was accuſed by one *Marcus Regulus*, who even publiſhed a book filled with moſt bitter invectives againſt him [q]. *Pliny* ſeems to have entertained a mighty opinion of his accompliſhments and integrity [r], as does likewiſe *Plutarch*, who tells us, that he was by *Domitian*'s orders put to death for no crime of his own, but merely to remove from the emperor's ſight one who, with his exemplary life, ſeemed to reproach him with his debaucheries. That writer adds, that while he himſelf was one day declaiming in public, a ſoldier, entering the aſſembly, preſented to *Ruſticus*, who was hearkening to him with great attention, a letter from the emperor. Hereupon he immediately interrupted his diſcourſe; but *Ruſticus*, putting the letter, without even opening it, into his boſom, deſired him to

f purſue his ſpeech, and would not open the letter till *Plutarch* had done [s]. *Dion Caſſius* writes, that *Domitian*, not long before he was killed, dreamt, that *Ruſticus* was purſuing him with a drawn ſword [t]. *Junius Mauricus*, the brother of *Ruſticus*, who is highly commended by *Pliny* [u], was baniſhed, as was likewiſe *Pomponia Gratilla*, the wife of *Ruſticus*; but they were both recalled by the emperor *Nerva* [w]. At the ſame time was executed by the emperor's orders one *Hermogenes* of *Tarſus*, being

Fannia, *the wife of* Senecio, *and her mother* Arria *baniſhed.*

Several illuſtrious perſons baniſhed.

[l] Plin. l. ix. epiſt. 13. & l. vii. epiſt. 33. [m] Plin. l. vii. epiſt. 19. & l. ix. epiſt. 13. Dio, l. lxvii. p. 765. Suet. c. 10. [n] Tacit. vit. Agr. c. 2. [o] Tacit. annal. l xvi. c. 26. [p] Idem, annal. iii. c. 80. [q] Tacit. vit. Agr. c. 2. Suet. c. 10. Dio, l. lxvii. p. 765. Plin. l. i. epiſt. 5. [r] Plin. l. i. epiſt. 14. [s] Plut. curioſ. p. 927. [t] Dio, l. lxvii. p. 767. [u] Plin. l. i. epiſt. 14. [w] Plin. l. i. epiſt. 14. & l. v. epiſt. 13.

a cruelties, they beſtowed upon him higher encomiums, than they had ever given either to *Veſpaſian* or *Titus*. During the ſea-fight, a violent ſhower fell; but nevertheleſs the emperor continued till the fight was ended, often changing his cloaths, and would not ſuffer any of the ſpectators to retire; whence, as the ſhower laſted ſome hours, many were ſeized with diſtempers, and ſome even died [o]. *Dion Caſſius* deſcribes at length an entertainment, to which the emperor invited the principal men among the ſenators and knights; an entertainment, ſays that writer, which more than any thing elſe diſplays his tyrannical temper, and how wantonly he abuſed his power. At the entrance of the palace, the gueſts were received with great cere- *He terrifies the ſenators and chief knights by a cruel device.*
b mony, and conducted to a ſpacious hall hung round with black, and illuminated with a few melancholy lamps, which were only ſufficient to diſcover the horror of the place, and the ſeveral coffins, upon which were written in capitals the names of the ſeveral ſenators and knights invited. Great was their fright and conſternation at the ſight of ſo diſmal a ſcene; for the emperor had often publicly declared, that he could not think himſelf ſafe ſo long as one ſenator was left alive, and that amongſt the knights there were few whom he did not look upon as his enemies. After they had long waited, expecting every moment their laſt doom, the doors were at length all on a ſudden burſt open, when a great number of naked perſons, having their bodies all over died black, entered the hall, with drawn ſwords in one hand, and flaming torches in the other. The gueſts, at this dreadful appearance,
c giving themſelves up for loſt, already felt all the agonies of death; but thoſe whom they looked upon as their executioners, having for ſome time danced round them, ſet at once open the doors, and acquainted them, that the emperor gave the company leave to withdraw. Thus did *Domitian* inſult theſe two illuſtrious orders, ſhewing, ſays *Dion Caſſius*, how little he feared them, and at the ſame time with how much reaſon they might dread his reſentment, ſince it was in his power to cut them all off, without expoſing himſelf to the leaſt danger [p].

THE next conſuls were *Domitian*, the ſixteenth time, and *Q. Voluſius Saturninus*. This year, the emperor obſerving a vaſt plenty of wine and as great a ſcarcity of *His edict againſt planting of vines.*
d earth to attend the cultivating of their vines. To prevent therefore this inconvenience for the future, he publiſhed an edict, forbidding any more vines to be planted in *Italy*, and commanding half the vines in the provinces to be immediately rooted up. Hereupon the cities of *Aſia* ſent a ſolemn embaſſy to him, begging he would ſuſpend the execution of the edict with reſpect to their lands, ſince their chief revenues accrued from wine, and the neighbouring provinces abounded with corn. At the head of this embaſſy was *Scopelianus*, profeſſor of eloquence at *Smyrna*, who, inſinuating himſelf with wonderful addreſs into the emperor's favour, prevailed upon him, if *Philoſtratus* is to be credited [q], to repeal the edict, and allow all nations
e ſubject to *Rome* full liberty of planting and cultivating what vines they pleaſed. *Suetonius* tells us, that to this he was chiefly prompted by the general diſcontent, which his edict produced amongſt perſons of all ranks, both in the city and the provinces, where many lampoons were publiſhed, one among the reſt, importing, that, in ſpite of all edicts, wine would not be wanting for the ſacrificing of *Cæſar* [r]. But after all, *Eutropius* [s] and *Vopiſcus* [t] ſpeak of this edict as continuing in full force in moſt provinces of the empire, till the reign of the emperor *Probus*, that is, for the ſpace of almoſt two hundred years. From ſeveral medals it appears, that the city of *Chalcis* in *Syria* began its æra in the autumn of this year, the 92d after the *The ſmall kingdom of* Chalcis *united to the empire.*
f birth of *Chriſt*, according to the common method of computing, and the eleventh of *Domitian*'s reign; whence ſome learned chronologers conclude, that this ſmall kingdom, formerly poſſeſſed by the brother, and afterwards by the ſon, of *Agrippa*, the laſt king of the *Jews*, was then by *Domitian* united to the empire [u]. It was in
g all likelihood on this account, that the city of *Chalcis* took the name of *Flavia*, which we ſuppoſe to have happened after the death of *Ariſtobulus*, who reigned at *Chalcis* in the year 72. of the *Chriſtian* æra [w].

THE following year, *Pompeius Collega* and *D. Priſcus* were conſuls. *Pliny* names the former among the conſulars who were ſtill living in the reign of *Trajan* [x]. From an ancient inſcription it appears, that both conſuls reſigned the faſces on the thirteenth

[o] SUET. c. 4. DIO, l. lxvii. p. 762, 763. [p] DIO, ibid. p. 769. [q] PHILOSTR. ibid. c. 17.
[r] SUET. c. 14. [s] EUTROP. p. 240. [t] VOPIS. p. 245. [u] NORIS. de epoch. Syro-Macedonum. [w] JOSEPH. bell. Jud. c. 28. [x] PLIN. l. ii. epiſt. 11.

being accuſed of ſpeaking diſreſpectfully of the emperor, under borrowed names, in a hiſtory which he compoſed: all thoſe, who were concerned in tranſcribing or ſelling it, were condemned to be crucified [x]. The ſame year, and chiefly out of hatred to *Ruſticus*, who, as we have hinted above, profeſſed the philoſophy of the *Stoics*, all philoſophers were, by a decree of the ſenate, driven out of *Rome*, and every laudable ſcience expelled *Italy*, that nothing which was worthy and honeſt, ſays *Tacitus*, might any-where be ſeen [y]. *Epictetus*, the famous *Stoic*, was, in virtue of this decree, obliged to abandon the city [z]. *Lucius Teleſinus*, who had been conſul in the reign of *Nero*, choſe rather to retire from his native country, as a philoſopher, than to maintain his dignity there by renouncing that profeſſion [a]. *Pliny* beſtows mighty encomiums upon the philoſopher *Artemidorus*, who, on this occaſion, left *Rome*. He had contracted great debts, but for laudable purpoſes, ſays *Pliny*, who ſupplied him with money to diſcharge them, when his other friends, tho' poſſeſſed of great wealth, abandoned him in his diſtreſs. The philoſopher would afterwards have reimburſed *Pliny*; but he generouſly preſented him with the ſum which was owing to him [b]. *Pliny* went frequently to viſit him in the place of his retirement; by which means he expoſed himſelf to no ſmall danger, his actions and conduct being the more narrowly obſerved, as he was at that time prætor. He was himſelf well appriſed, that *Domitian* ſuſpected him, as he had lived in great intimacy with *Senecio*, *Helvidius*, and *Ruſticus*. And truly, had not *Domitian* been ſeaſonably cut off, *Pliny* would have undergone the ſame doom which moſt of his friends had ſuffered: for, after the emperor's death, a memorial was found among his papers, preſented to him againſt *Pliny* by the celebrated informer *Metius Carus* [c]. Some philoſophers, dreading the reſentment of the emperor, renounced their profeſſion, and increaſed the herd of informers. Some, abandoning *Italy*, fled to the moſt weſtern coaſts of *Gaul*; and others to the deſarts of *Libya* and *Scythia*. *Dion Chryſoſtomus*, a celebrated ſophiſt, took ſhelter in the country of the *Getæ*, where he earned a livelihood by tilling the ground, and carrying water, having always with him, to comfort him in his diſtreſs, a treatiſe of *Plato* and an oration of *Demoſthenes* [d]. In the height of his perſecution, *Apollonius Tyaneus* came to *Rome*, if *Philoſtratus* is to be credited [e], and was there received with great marks of eſteem and veneration by *Caſperius Ælianus*, commander of the prætorian guards. He had not been long in the city, ere he contracted a ſtrict friendſhip with *Nerva*, *Rufus*, and *Salvidienus Orfitus*, whom he ſolicited to conſpire againſt *Domitian*, and to deliver the world from ſo bloody a tyrant. The author of his life tells us, that the conſpiracy was actually formed; but that the conſpirators putting off, for want of courage, the execution of it, the emperor, in the mean time, ſuſpecting their deſign, accuſed them of treaſon before the ſenate: the charge was not proved; but nevertheleſs *Ruſus* and *Orfitus* were confined to the iſlands, and *Nerva* to the city of *Tarentum* [f]. *Orfitus* was ſoon after put to death [g] in the place of his exile. Of *Rufus* we find no farther mention made by the writers of thoſe times. As for *Nerva*, if he was baniſhed, as *Philoſtratus* writes, he returned home the ſame, or the following, year; for he was at *Rome*, as is plain from *Dion Caſſius* [h], when *Domitian* was murdered: nay, that writer takes no notice of the baniſhment of *Nerva*, which makes us ſuſpect the truth of what *Philoſtratus* writes, who is often guilty of very conſiderable miſtakes. *Sulpicia*, a *Roman* lady of great diſtinction, wrote a poem upon the expulſion of the philoſophers, wherein ſhe inveighs with great bitterneſs againſt *Domitian*, and even threatens him with death. She is highly commended by *Martial* for the purity of her manners and the elegance of her compoſition [i]; for ſhe publiſhed ſeveral other pieces, but was not, as ſhe ſeems to boaſt, the firſt *Roman* of her ſex known to the muſes [k].

All philoſophers driven out of Rome.

Pliny *ſuſpected by* Domitian.

Apollonius Tyaneus *comes to* Rome

Encourages Nerva *and others to conſpire againſt the emperor.*

The following year, *Domitian* entered upon his ſeventeenth and laſt conſulſhip, having for his collegue *Flavius Clemens*, of whom we ſhall ſpeak anon. This conſulate of *Domitian* is the ſubject of one of the poet *Statius*'s poems [l]. In the beginning of the year was diſcovered a dangerous conſpiracy againſt the emperor; at the head of which was *Juvenius Celſus*, whom ſome writers take to be the celebrated civilian *Publius Jubenius Celſus*, who was prætor in the reign of *Trajan* and conſul

The conſpiracy of Juvenius Celſus.

in

[x] Suet. c. 10. [y] Tacit. vit. Agr. c. 2. [z] Gell. noct. Attic. l. xv. c. 11. [a] Philostrat. ibid. l. vii. c. 5. [b] Plin. l. iii. epiſt. 11. [c] Plin. l. vii. epiſt. 27. [d] Philos. ibid. l. vii. c. 2. [e] Idem ibid. l. vii. c. 4. [f] Idem ibid. c. 3, 4. [g] Suet. c. 10. [h] Dio, l. lxvii. p. 767. [i] Mart. l. x. epig. 35. [k] Vide Voss. poet. Lat. c. 2, 3. [l] Stat. ſyl. l. iv. c. 1.

a in that of *Adrian*, and is highly commended by *Pliny* [m]. Be that as it will, *Celſus*, finding himſelf betrayed, begged and obtained a private audience of the emperor; in which throwing himſelf at his feet, and accoſting him as a deity with the titles of *Lord* and of *God*, he proteſted, that as to himſelf, he was quite innocent of the crime laid to his charge; but would, provided he was allowed a ſhort reſpite, diſcover all thoſe who were concerned in the plot, and produce undeniable proofs of their guilt. Hereupon the emperor diſmiſſed him untouched; but *Celſus*, putting off, under various pretences, from time to time, the promiſed diſcovery, eſcaped by the death of *Domitian*, which happened the following year, the danger that threatened him [n]. *Dion Caſſius* obſerves, that *Domitian* about this time cauſed the road

b to be paved leading from *Sinueſſa* to *Puteoli* [o]; and *Statius* ſpeaks of another road by him repaired at a vaſt expence, that, as we conjecture from the poet's words, which led from *Rome* to *Baiæ* [p]. This year, the fourteenth of *Domitian*'s reign and 95th of the *Chriſtian* æra, is remarkable for the cruel perſecution, which was by the bloody tyrant raiſed againſt the *Chriſtians*, of whom infinite numbers were put to death both at *Rome* and in the provinces, the emperor having diſpatched letters and edicts into the moſt remote provinces of the empire, commanding all thoſe who profeſſed that religion to be treated as declared enemies to the ſtate [q]. This perſecution is taken notice of by *Suetonius*, who tells us, that he obliged thoſe who lived at *Rome* after the manner of the *Jews*, to pay the ſame taxes as if they were

c really *Jews*, and treated them with no leſs rigor and ſeverity [r]. That *Suetonius* meant the *Chriſtians*, is evident; for all the pagan hiſtorians, whether *Greek* or *Latin*, conſtantly ſpeak of them as reſembling the *Jews* in their manners, tho' not originally of that nation. Among the many illuſtrious perſons, who ſuffered for ſo good a cauſe, we may deſervedly reckon the emperor's own relations; viz. *Flavius Clemens*, his couſin german and collegue in the conſulſhip, and the two *Flaviæ Domitillæ*, the one the wife, the other the niece, of *Flavius Clemens*. He was the ſon of *Flavius Sabinus*, the brother of *Veſpaſian*, who was killed by the ſoldiers of *Vitellius*, while he was governor of *Rome*, as we have related above. His eldeſt ſon, named likewiſe *Flavius Sabinus*, was conſul with *Domitian* in the firſt year of

d his reign, and ſoon after, by the emperor's orders, put to death. *Flavius Clemens* married, in compliance with the emperor's deſire, *Flavia Domitilla*, who was nearly related to *Domitian*, but not his ſiſter, as *Philoſtratus* writes [s]; *Domitilla*, his only ſiſter, being dead before *Veſpaſian* was raiſed to the empire [t]. *Flavia Domitilla* was, as appears pretty plain for *Dion Caſſius* [u] and *Quintilian* [w], the daughter of *Domitilla*, and the niece of *Domitian*. By her *Clemens* had two ſons, to whom *Domitian*, as he had no iſſue of his own, reſolved to leave the empire; and therefore changed their names, cauſing one of them to be called *Veſpaſian*, and the other *Domitian*. *Quintilian* [x] tells us, that he was charged with the care of inſtructing and

e educating the two grandſons of the emperor's ſiſter; which is a convincing proof, that *Flavia Domitilla*, the wife of *Clemens*, was daughter to *Domitilla* the emperor's ſiſter; for theſe two youths were, without all doubt, the ſons of *Clemens* by *Flavia Domitilla* [x]. *Clemens* was this year conſul; but had ſcarce reſigned the faſces, when he was, upon a ſlight and groundleſs ſuſpicion, ſays *Suetonius* [y], cut off by the emperor's orders. *Dion Caſſius* tells us, that he was accuſed of impiety or atheiſm; a crime, ſays that writer, for which many others were at that time condemned, who had adopted the manners of the *Jews* [z]. Thus the *Chriſtians* are conſtantly deſcribed by the *Pagan* writers, as is evident from *Origen* and other *Chriſtian* writers of the primitive times [a]. As for the crime of impiety or atheiſm, this was one of the

f charges commonly brought againſt the *Chriſtians*, on account of their refuſing to pay any worſhip to the pretended deities of the gentiles [b]. *Suetonius*, ſpeaking of *Flavius Clemens*, ſays, he was no-ways to be feared, in reſpect of his ſloth and inactivity; which was another charge, as *Tertullian* obſerves [c], brought againſt the *Chriſtians*, on account of the retired life they led, and their deſpiſing the dignities, which by others were ſo ambitiouſly coveted. It is therefore, in our opinion, pretty plain, that the only crime alledged againſt *Flavius Clemens* was, his profeſſing the *Chriſtian* religion;

The ſecond general perſecution.

The death of Flavius Clemens.

Some account of that illuſtrious perſon.

[m] Plin. l. vi. epiſt. 5. [n] Dio, ibid. p. 765. [o] Idem, p. 766. [p] Stat. ſyl. iv. c. 3. [q] Oros. l. vii. c. 10. Tertull. apol. c. 5. Lactan. perſ. c. 3. Euseb. chron. c. 17. [r] Suet. c. 12. [s] Philostrat. ibid. l. viii. c. 10. [t] Suet. vit. Veſp. c. 3. [u] Dio, l. lxvii. p. 766. [w] Quintilian. l. iv. p. 105. [x] Dio, ibid. [y] Suet. c. 15. [z] Dio, l. lxvii. p. 760. [a] Origen. in Celſ. l. i. p. 5. [b] Vide Just. apol. i. p. 56, [c] Tertull. apolog. c. 42.

religion; and consequently, that he ought to be ranked among those illustrious heroes, who have sealed their faith with their blood. A modern writer of great note supposes St. *Clement*, who at this time was bishop of *Rome*, to have been of the imperial family [d]; but therein confounds him, as we conjecture, with *Clement* the consul, ascribing to the former what he must have read of the latter. *Flavia Domitilla*, wife to *Flavius Clemens*, was likewise arraigned of impiety; and, besides, refused to comply with the orders of the emperor, commanding her to marry another person a few days after the death of her husband [e]. She was therefore banished to the island of *Pandataria*, in the bay of *Puteoli*, now known by the name of *Santa Maria*. *Eusebius* mentions another *Flavia Domitilla*, confined at the same time and for the same cause, to the island of *Pontia*, near that of *Pandataria*; and supposes her to have been the daughter of *Clemens*'s sister [f]. *Scaliger* takes this *Domitilla* to be the same with the wife of *Flavius Clemens*, not aware that *Eusebius* follows therein and quotes a *Roman* historian, by name *Brutius*, who flourished in those times, and whom some writers take to be *Præsens*, named also *Brutius*, to whom one of *Pliny*'s letters is inscribed [g]. To these two illustrious women *Tacitus* perhaps alluded, when he wrote, that *Domitian*, towards the latter end of his reign, drove into exile several ladies of the prime nobility [h]. St. *Jerom* mentions *Domitilla* in particular, whom he honours with the title of *saint*, and tells us, that she suffered a long martyrdom in the island of *Pontia*, to which she was confined by *Domitian* for professing the *Christian* religion [i]. As to *Clemens*'s two sons, to whom *Domitian* designed, as we have observed above, to bequeath the empire, we find no farther mention made of them by the ancient historians; but we suppose, that if they were not put to death by *Domitian*, the excellent princes *Nerva* and *Trajan*, who were enemies to all bloodshed and slaughter, suffered them to live unmolested. *Gruter* proves from an ancient inscription, that *Clemens* had likewise a daughter, named *Flavia Domitilla*, who was married to one *T. Flavius Onesimus* [k]; but no historian speaks either of her or her husband. *Trebellius Pollio*, in his history of the thirty tyrants, under the emperor *Gallienus*, mentions a celebrated commander, by name *Domitian*, descended from *Flavius Clemens* and the niece of the emperor *Domitian* [l]; whence it is plain, that the children of *Clemens* had issue. During this persecution, St. *John* was confined to the island of *Patmos* in the *Archipelago*, where he wrote the *Apocalypse*; and a great many illustrious champions of the *Christian* faith, mentioned by the ecclesiastic writers, suffered for the same glorious cause death or banishment, with a constancy and firmness worthy of the religion which they professed. *Lactantius* will have this cruel persecution to have ended with *Domitian*'s life, and not before; for then all his acts were annulled by the senate, and consequently the edicts which he had enacted against the *Christians* [m]. But two of the most ancient ecclesiastic writers, viz. *Hegesippus*, quoted by *Eusebius* [n], and *Tertullian* [o], tell us in express terms, that *Domitian*, before his death, put a stop to the persecution which he had raised against the church, and recalled all those whom he had banished on the score of their religion. This same year, *Domitian* caused *Epaphroditus*, formerly freed-man and secretary to *Nero*, to be put to death for having aided that prince in dispatching himself, when he ought to have defended him. By this instance of severity he hoped to deter his own freed-men from any attempts upon his life; and this, as *Dion Cassius* observes, was the only motive which prompted him to exert such rigor against one whom he had admitted to his confidence, and honoured with the same employment which he had enjoyed under *Nero* [p]. This is, as is commonly believed, the *Epaphroditus*, to whom *Josephus* inscribed, at least three years before, his *antiquities*; a plain proof, that he was then in great favour with the emperor.

Flavia Domitilla *banished.*

Another heroine of the same name banished.

Many Christians *put to death or banished.*

The next consuls were *Caius Fabius Valens* and *Caius Antistius Vetus*, of whom the former was ninety years old when he entered upon his consulship, and seems to have died before it expired [q]. Many prodigies are said to have happened this year, at *Rome* and in the provinces. The city was for eight months together almost daily alarmed with dreadful claps of thunder, and flashes of lightning: the capitol, the temple

The death of Domitian *foretold by several prodigies.*

[d] Pearson episc. Cestrien. annal. Paulin. p. 215. [e] Philostrat. ibid. l. viii. c. 10. [f] Euseb. in chron. p. 205. [g] Plin. l. vii. epist. 3. Voss. hist. Lat. l. iii. p. 698. Scal. in chron. p. 205. [h] Tacit. vit. Agr. c. 45. [i] Hier. epist. xxvii. c. 1. [k] Gruter. p. 245. [l] Treb. Poll. hist. trig. tyr. c. 11. p. 191. edit. Paris. [m] Lact. pers. c. 3. [n] Euseb. l. 3. c. 20. [o] Tert. apol. c. 5. [p] Dio, p. 766. Plin. panegyr. Suet. c. 14. [q] Dio, p. 766. Onuph. p. 313. Idat. in fast. &c.

a temple of the *Flavian* family, and the emperor's own chamber were thunder-ſtruck; the inſcription upon one of the emperor's triumphal ſtatues was beaten off, and, by the violence of the ſtorm, carried into a neighbouring monument; the tree, which had been thrown down in *Veſpaſian*'s time, as we have related above, and roſe up again, fell down the ſecond time; the oracle at *Præneste*, which had always returned favourable anſwers, and promiſed him good fortune and ſucceſs at the beginning of each year, preſaged nothing now but calamities and ſlaughter; *Domitian* himſelf dreamt, that *Minerva*, to whom, as his tutelar deity, he paid a particular worſhip, and whoſe feaſt he annually celebrated on the *Alban* mount, had withdrawn herſelf from the chapel which he had conſecrated to her, telling him, that *Jupiter* had diſ-
b armed her, and that ſhe could protect him no longer. But nothing terrified him ſo much as the anſwer of an aſtrologer, by name *Aſcletarion*, and what enſued there-upon; for he being accuſed of having foretold the death of the emperor, and not denying the charge, *Domitian* aſked him, Whether he knew what would be his own doom? The aſtrologer anſwered, He was to be, and that in a ſhort time he ſhould be, devoured by dogs. Hereupon the emperor, to convince the world of the falſe-hood of his art, ordered him to be immediately put to death, and his body to be burnt. The firſt part of the ſentence was put in execution; but before the body was half conſumed by the flames, it was blown down, together with the funeral pile, by a violent ſtorm, and devoured, purſuant to the prediction, by the dogs [q]. Another
c aſtrologer, by name *Larginus Proculus*, foretold publicly in *Germany*, that the eigh-teenth of *September* would prove the laſt day of *Domitian*'s life. Hereupon he was apprehended, by the governor of the province and ſent to the emperor, in whoſe preſence he maintained the truth of his prediction, and was on that account condemned to be executed on the nineteenth of the aforeſaid month; but *Domitian* being mur-dered the day before, as *Proculus* had foretold, he was not only diſmiſſed unhurt, but preſented by *Nerva* with a large ſum, and ever after had in great eſteem [r]. No wonder, therefore, that *Domitian*, terrified with theſe predictions and prodigies, and moreover alarmed by his own guilty conſcience, lived in continual diſquiet: there was no accident ſo trivial, no perſon ſo contemptible, as not to diſmay him, and
d put him upon ſanguinary precautions. Of the eminent perſons, either of the ſena-torial or equeſtrian order, he was under perpetual apprehenſions, and making daily victims: their wealth and race, their poverty, names, and quality, frightened him; he feared friends and enemies; thoſe who adviſed him in council, thoſe who diverted him at his leiſure hours, his moſt intimate friends and confidents, were all martyrs to his jealouſy and fury: he dreaded all men and every thing; ſeveral of his freed-men he put to death, depoſed the commander of the prætorian guards, diſcharged great numbers of officers, *&c.* But the more he made others ſuffer, the faſter he multi-plied his own torments. At length he would not ſuffer any criminal, however loaded with chains, to plead before him, till he had firſt ſecured their chains in his hands [s].
e A young child, with whom he uſed to divert himſelf, having one day, while the emperor was aſleep, taken a paper from under his head to play with it, the empreſs happening to meet him, deſired to ſee it; when, to her great ſurpriſe, ſhe found it contained the names of ſeveral illuſtrious perſons deſtined to ſlaughter, and her own name at the head of them, with thoſe of *Norbanus*, of *Petronius Secundus*, captains of the prætorian guards, and of *Parthenius*, the emperor's chamberlain. To theſe *Do-mitia* immediately communicated the whole, and by them a reſolution was, without further deliberation, taken to diſpatch the tyrant, before he had time to put his bloody deſign in execution [t]. Of this *Suetonius* takes no notice; but nevertheleſs tells us, that *Domitian* periſhed by a conſpiracy of his friends and freed-men, not without the pri-
f vity of his wife [u]. The death of *Clemens* haſtened, according to the ſame writer, his own ruin [w], either becauſe the cruelty he exerciſed towards thoſe of his own family occaſioned a general dread and deſpair, or becauſe it provoked *Stephanus*, who was freed-man and procurator to *Domitilla*, the wife of *Clemens*, and beſides was at that time accuſed of having embezzled part of her effects [x]. Be that as it will, *Stephanus* not only joined the conſpirators; but, as he was a man of great ſtrength, took upon him to diſpatch the tyrant [y]. *Domitian* had, if *Suetonius* is to be credited, long before an apprehenſion, not only of the year and day, but of the hour and manner of his death

He lives in continual agonies and apprehenſions,

A conſpiracy formed againſt him.

[q] Suet. c. 5. Dio, p. 767. Chron. Alexand. p. 599. [r] Dio, ibid. Suet. c. 16. [s] Dio, p. 766. [t] Idem ibid. [u] Suet. c. 14. [w] Idem, c. 15. [x] Philost. ibid. l. vii. c. 10. [y] Dio, ibid. Suet. c. 17.

death, having been forewarned of what in the end befel him, when he was but a child. a
One night his father *Veſpaſian*, who gave great credit to the predictions of aſtrologers, and retained one of them, by name *Seleucus*, conſtantly about him; obſerving that *Domitian* at ſupper abſtained from muſhrooms, derided him as one ignorant of his own fate, ſince he ſeemed to be under greater apprehenſion of poiſon, than of the
His jealouſy. ſword. This *Domitian* ever after remembered, and was thence ſtrangely affected by the bare ſight of a drawn ſword or any other weapon. From this diffidence and fear it was, that, however ambitious, he refuſed the new and extraordinary honour that was decreed for him, namely, that as often as he was conſul, a certain number of *Roman* knights, choſen by lot, ſhould walk before him amongſt his lictors in their robes, with lances in their hands. When the time which he chiefly dreaded and b
ſuſpected drew near, his jealouſy increaſed to ſuch a degree, that he cauſed the gallery, in which he uſually walked, to be ſet round with a certain ſtone called *phengites*, by which images were reflected as in a looking-glaſs; ſo that he could diſcover what
He ſeems to have ſome knowledge of his death. was done behind him [z]. The day before he was murdered, he ordered ſome choice fruit, which were preſented to him, to be reſerved againſt the next day, adding, *If it be my fortune to uſe them:* then turning to thoſe about him, *To morrow*, ſaid he, *the moon will appear bloody in* Aquarius, *and ſomething will happen which will be much talked of.* About midnight he was ſo terrified, that he leaped out of his bed. However, he went the next morning to the forum to adminiſter juſtice, and returned to the palace an hour before mid-day, the time which he chiefly dreaded. Having c
therefore aſked, what time of the day it was, one of the conſpirators, on purpoſe to deceive him, told him, it was noon. Whereupon overjoyed, as if he had happily eſcaped all danger, he thought of nothing but abandoning himſelf to mirth and jollity. As he was going to bathe, according to the *Roman* faſhion, before dinner, *Parthenius*, his chief chamberlain, accoſting him, told him, he had ſomething of great importance to impart to him, and ſuch as could not be deferred. Hereupon the emperor, ordering all his attendants to withdraw, retired to his chamber, where *Parthenius* introduced *Stephanus* to him, who, the better to diſguiſe his deſign, had appeared for ſome days with his left arm wrapt up and in a ſling, as if he had received ſome hurt. He preſented to *Domitian* a memorial, wherein he pretended to diſcover d
a dangerous conſpiracy formed by his couſin *Flavius Clemens*, whom he averred to be ſtill alive, and by ſeveral others, whoſe names were all ſet down, with the places of their abode. While the emperor was reading the memorial with great attention, *Ste-*
He is wounded by Stephanus. *phanus* drawing ſuddenly a dagger, which he kept concealed, ſtruck it into his belly. The emperor, finding himſelf wounded, called to a boy, who happened to be in the room, to reach him a dagger which lay under his pillow, and to run for aſſiſtance; but under his pillow was found only a ſcabbard, and the doors were all locked and well ſecured. *Domitian*, notwithſtanding his wound, ſtruggled ſome time with *Stephanus*, and even threw him with great violence to the ground, ſtriving to wreſt the dagger out of his hand, and with his fingers, tho' all cut and mangled, to thruſt out his eyes. At length *Parthenius*, who had withdrawn when *Stephanus* came in, fear- e
ing ſome of the guards might, in the mean time, hearing the noiſe, come to his relief, opened the door of the chamber; and falling upon the emperor with *Claudianus*, *Maximus*, *Satureius*, and a celebrated gladiator, diſpatched him with many wounds.
And diſpatched by him, and the other conſpirators. Many, who were not privy to the conſpiracy, alarmed at the noiſe, haſtened to the emperor's apartment; and, finding him wallowing in his blood, killed the brave *Stephanus*. The other conſpirators made their eſcape as ſoon as the murder was perpetrated [a]. Thus died *Domitian*, notwithſtanding all his precautions and his pretended divinity, after having lived forty-four years, ten months, and twenty-ſix days, and reigned fifteen years and five days. For his death the common people ſhewed neither f
He is regretted by the troops. grief nor joy; but the ſoldiers, whoſe pay he had increaſed, and with whom he often ſhared his rapines, bewailed him more than they had done either *Veſpaſian* or *Titus*; and would have raiſed great diſturbances, had not their officers, as moſt of them were concerned in the conſpiracy, reſtrained them. The troops quartered in the country of the *Getæ*, were ready to revolt when they underſtood he had been aſſaſſinated; but the philoſopher *Dion Chryſoſtomus*, who had retired to that province, as we have related above, checked their fury, by a ſpeech which he made to the mutinous legion upon the guilt of tyrants, and puniſhments due to ſuch as abuſe their power,

[z] Suet. c. 14. [a] Idem, c. 17. Dio, p. 676. Philost. in vit. Apoll. Ty. p. 485.

a power, to the oppreſſion of the people committed to their care [b], But, on the contrary, the ſenate could not diſguiſe their joy: they aſſembled in haſte, and after having, in the moſt opprobrious manner imaginable, reviled his memory, they commanded ladders to be immediately brought, in order to pull down, and tear to pieces all his images. An infinite number of ſtatues of gold and ſilver, erected to him in the different quarters of the city, were by their orders broken and melted down; his triumphal arches were overturned, and his name declared infamous; nay, they enacted a decree, commanding all inſcriptions, in which he was mentioned, to be razed, his name to be ſtruck out of the conſular tables, his body to be thrown into the *Tiber*, and his memory to be aboliſhed for ever [c]. Several ancient inſcriptions are ſtill to be b ſeen, in which the name of *Domitian* is razed [d]. All his acts were annulled, and thoſe whom he had baniſhed recalled. A woman, by name *Phyllis*, who had been charged with the care of his education, while he was yet an infant, cauſed his body to be privately conveyed upon a bier, as that of a perſon of the meaneſt condition, to a country-houſe ſhe had at a ſmall diſtance from the city; where ſhe burnt it, and carrying the aſhes, without being obſerved, to the temple which he had built for the *Flavian* family, mixed them with thoſe of *Julia* the daughter of *Titus*, whom ſhe had likewiſe brought up. *Domitian* was the laſt emperor of the *Flavian* family, and likewiſe the laſt of thoſe princes, who are commonly ſtyled the twelve *Cæſars*.

The joy of the ſenate.

His ſtatues broken, and his acts annulled.

As the celebrated philoſopher *Apollonius Tyaneus* acted a chief part in the late revo- *Some account of the celebrated philoſopher* Apollonius Tyaneus.
c lutions of the *Roman* empire, and made at this time a great figure in the world, a ſuccinct account of his life and actions cannot be looked upon as foreign to the preſent ſubject, nor be ill received by our readers. Of the other writers who flouriſhed under *Domitian*, we ſhall ſpeak in our notes (F). *Apollonius* was born three or four years before

[b] Suet. c. 22. Philost. ibid. p. 492. [c] Suet. ibid. Dio, l. lxviii. p. 769. Macrob. Saturn. l. v. c. 12. Lactan. perſec. c. 3. [d] Goltz. p. 234.

(F) Theſe were *Quintilian*, *Valerius Flaccus*, *Martial*, *Statius*, *Juvenal*, *Silius*, &c. *Marcus Fabius Quintilianus* was, according to St. *Jerom* and *Auſonius*, a native of *Calagorina*, now *Calahorra*, in *Old Caſtile*. What profeſſion his father followed, we find no-where recorded; for all we know of him is, that he wrote ſome declamations, which are quoted by his ſon (15). Our *Quintilian* ſtudied rhetoric under *Domitius Afer*, who was ſtricken in years when *Quintilian* was very young (16), and died, as is plain from *Tacitus* (17), in the fifth year of *Nero*'s reign. Hence it is manifeſt, that *Quintilian* did not come firſt to *Rome* with the emperor *Galba*, as St. *Jerom* ſuppoſes (18); neither can we conclude, as ſome have done (19), from his having ſtudied at *Rome* while he was very young, that he was born there. He pleaded ſeveral cauſes at *Rome* before queen *Berenice* (20), and conſequently under *Veſpaſian*; for in his reign *Berenice* came to *Rome*, and was by *Titus* ſent back to her own country, in the very beginning of his reign. *Veſpaſian* having ſettled a ſalary upon the profeſſors of eloquence, to be paid yearly out of the exchequer, *Quintilian* was the firſt who opened a free ſchool at *Rome*. He diſcharged that important office with great reputation, and to the ſatisfaction of all, for the ſpace of twenty years; during which time he acquired great wealth, what by his ſalary, what by the preſents made him by the parents of the children whom he inſtructed (21). Both *Juvenal* and *Martial* ſpeak of him as an able orator; and *Pliny* the younger, who was one of his diſciples, ſeems to have entertained a high opinion of him. After he had taught publicly for twenty years, he reſigned his charge, and writ a book about the cauſes of the decay of eloquence (22). Whether this be the dialogue which is commonly aſcribed to *Tacitus*, we will not take upon us to determine, there being, as to this particular, great diſagreement amongſt authors. When *Quintilian* had finiſhed this treatiſe, he was prevailed upon by his friends to undertake a more laborious work, *viz.* his twelve books of rhetoric, which will be ever admired by all perſons of taſte and judgment. This performance coſt him two years labour, and it was much againſt his will that he publiſhed it before he had kept it by him for ſome time, in order to examine it as the work of another. It is inſcribed to one *Marcellus Victorius*, and filled with commendations of *Domitian*, altogether unworthy of a man of *Quintilian*'s character (23). While he was employed in compoſing this work, *Domitian* charged him with the education of his ſiſter's grandſons, as we related above (24). He was afterwards honoured with the conſular ornaments, at the recommendation of *Flavius Clemens*, then in great favour with the emperor (25). *Auſonius* ſeems to inſinuate, that, after having acquired conſiderable wealth at *Rome*, he was, by what misfortune we know not, reduced to earn a livelihood by teaching rhetoric at *Beſançon* and *Lions*. Perhaps upon the death of *Clemens*, who was his chief patron, he was baniſhed *Rome* (26). Whether it was to him, or to another of the ſame name, that *Pliny* the younger preſented, in a moſt genteel and obliging manner, a conſiderable ſum, on occaſion of the marriage of his daughter with *Nonius Celer*, has by ſome writers been queſtioned (27). *Sidonius Apollinaris* beſtows high encomiums upon *Quintilian*, and equals him to the moſt elegant writers of antiquity (28). As for the declamations which paſs under the name of *Quintilian*, and are frequently mentioned by the ancients, it is evident, they were not written by him, but either

(15) *Quint. l.* ix. *c.* 3. (16) *Idem, l.* v. *c.* 7. (17) *Tacit. annal.* xiv. *c.* 19. (18) *Hier. chron.* (19) *Vide P. Pagi, p.* 432. (20) *Quint. l.* iv. *c.* 1. (21) *Martial. l.* ii. *epig.* 90. *Auſon. de Moſ. p.* 268. *Sidon. car.* ix. *ver.* 318. (22) *Quint. præfat. & l.* vi. *p.* 177. (23) *Idem, l.* iv. *præfat.* (24) *Idem ibid.* (25) *Auſon. conſ. p.* 387. (26) *Idem ibid.* (27) *Plin. l.* vi *epiſt.* 32. *P. Pagi, p.* 247. (28) *Sid. Apollin. l.* v. *epiſt.* 10. *& l.* ii. *car. ver.* 190. *& l.* ix. *ver.* 318.

before the common chriſtian æra; for he is ſaid to have lived a hundred years, and a died ſoon after the acceſſion of *Nerva* to the empire, which happened in the ninety-ſixth

ther by his father, or, as a modern author conjectures (28), by his grandfather, ſince *Seneca* the elder, the father of *Seneca* the philoſopher, who flouriſhed in the reign of *Auguſtus*, ſpeaks of the author of theſe declamations as a perſon more ancient than himſelf (29). This is the opinion of M. *Pithou* concerning the declamations aſcribed to our *Quintilian*, which he publiſhed in 1580. and inſcribed to the celebrated *Thuanus*. Beſides theſe, there are nineteen declamations more, commonly thought to have been written by *Quintilian*; but by *Voſſius* aſcribed to *Poſthumus* the younger, who, as we ſhall relate in the ſequel of this hiſtory, aſſumed the name of *Cæſar*, and that of *Auguſtus* in *Gaul*, about the year 260 (30).

C. Valerius Flaccus Setinus Balbus was a native of *Padua*, as is evident from *Martial* (31), and not of *Setia* in *Campania*, as ſome have conjectured from the name of *Setinus*. He wrote an epic poem on the voyage of the *Argonauts*, divided into eight books, which he began in the reign of *Veſpaſian*, to whom it is inſcribed, and continued under *Domitian*; for he was, according to *Voſſius*, prevented by death from putting the laſt hand to it (32). He died while *Quintilian* was writing his books of rhetoric, that is, in the latter end of *Domitian*'s reign. *Quintilian* (33) and *Martial* (34) commend his performance; but the moſt able critics amongſt the modern writers ſpeak of it with the utmoſt contempt, diſcover in it a great many material faults, and few, if any, beauties (35).

The poet *M. Valerius Martialis*, ſo famous for his epigrams, was a native of *Bilbilis*, (36), which ſtood at a ſmall diſtance from the preſent city of *Calataïud* in the kingdom of *Arragon* (37). He was born in the reign of *Claudius*, came to *Rome* in that of *Nero*, being then twenty years old, and lived there thirty years (38), favoured by the emperors, eſpecially by *Domitian*, whom on all occaſions he flatters in a moſt ſhameful manner. Upon that prince's death he left the city, and retired to his own country; where after three years, which he paſſed without writing, he was prevailed upon by *Terentius Priſcus* to compoſe his twelfth book, in which he ſpeaks of the emperors *Nerva* and *Trajan* (39). *Pliny*, in whoſe commendation he had written an epigram, had a particular kindneſs and eſteem for him; whence he preſented him, upon his departure from *Rome*, with a ſum of money to defray the expences of his journey (40). As to his writings, the emperor *Lucius Verus* uſed to call him his *Virgil* (41); but few, either before or ſince that prince's time, ſeem to have entertained ſuch a mighty opinion of his compoſitions. *Scaliger* approves of what he himſelf wrote of his epigrams *viz.* that ſome of them were good, ſome indifferent, and ſome bad. Moſt critics have found fault with his thoughts, his ſtyle, and, above all, with his puns, which are often very low, and with his pretended witticiſms (42). Beſides, ſome of his epigrams are, for their lewdneſs, infamous, perhaps beyond any thing written in the *Latin* tongue. His epigrams are compriſed in fourteen books; beſides which, that *de ſpectaculis* is commonly aſcribed to him, tho' *Voſſius* takes it to be a collection of verſes written partly by *Martial*, and partly by other poets of that time, upon the ſhews which *Titus* exhibited in the year eighty of the chriſtian æra (43). *Martial* died, as we conjecture from *Pliny*'s letters, about the end of the firſt century. He is by *Lampridius* (44) ſurnamed *Cocus*, perhaps becauſe his father, or he himſelf in his youth, followed that mean profeſſion.

Statius flouriſhed at the ſame time; but is never mentioned by *Martial*, which ſome aſcribe to jealouſy, *Statius* being highly eſteemed by *Domitian*, on account of his making, with extraordinary eaſe, extemporary verſes upon any ſubject whatever; which *Martial* durſt not attempt. He wrote two epic poems, *viz* the *Thebais*, compriſed in twelve books, and the *Achilleis*, which conſiſts only of two, the poet being prevented by death from accompliſhing that work (45). They are both inſcribed to *Domitian*. Beſides theſe two poems, he wrote ſeveral other pieces upon various occaſions, which have likewiſe reached us, under the title of *Sylvæ*, and are comprehended in five books. His compoſitions were mightily eſteemed at *Rome* in his own time, and are ſtill admired by the young poets; nay, *Julius Scaliger* is of opinion, that of all the ancient poets he comes neareſt to the inimitable *Virgil*. But better judges look upon *Statius* rather as a bad hiſtorian than a good poet, and deſpiſe his bombaſt ſtyle, and odd expreſſions. His *Sylvæ*, which were for the moſt part written off-hand, and without premeditation, are by moſt critics more eſteemed than his epic poems, there being in them ſome very good thoughts, mixed with ſuch as are quite trivial and common (46). Some writers have confounded *P. Statius Papinius*, who was a native of *Naples*, with *Statius Surculus*, or rather *Uſulus*, who was born in *Toulouſe*, and, in the reign of *Nero*, taught rhetoric in *Gaul* (47). *Statius* acquired great fame by his *Thebais*, but no wealth; whence he was obliged to write pieces for the theatre, and ſupport himſelf by that means (48). One *Placidus Lactantius*, who flouriſhed in the ſixth century, wrote a learned comment upon *Statius*, which has not reached our times (49).

Decius Junius Juvenalis was contemporary with *Statius* and *Martial*, and continued to write under *Nerva* and *Trajan*; for he ſpeaks of the baniſhment of *Marius Priſcus*, who was condemned in the third year of *Trajan*'s reign, and one hundredth of the chriſtian æra (50). He was born at *Aquinum*, whence he came to *Rome* while he was yet very young, and there gained great credit by his ſatires, which were read by many *Romans*, who peruſed no other book (51). It were much to be wiſhed, that in cenſureing the manners of others, he had not ſhewed himſelf quite deſtitute of modeſty, nor inveighed againſt the abuſes which prevailed in his time, in a manner rather calculated to teach his readers to be vicious, than to inſpire them with averſion to vice. From his life, written many ages ſince, and quoted by *Sidonius Apollonaris* (52), it appears, that a player, in great favour at court, offended at ſome verſes of his ſeventh ſatire, had intereſt enough with the emperor to get him removed from *Rome* and ſent into *Egypt*,

(28) *M. Pithou, in præfat. ad Thuan.* (29) *Sen. declam. l.* x. *p.* 105. (30) *Voſſ. rhet. c.* 15. (31) *Martial. l.* i. *epigr.* 62, 77, 87. (32) *Voſſ. poet. Lat. p.* 46. (33) *Quint. l.* 10. *c.* 1. (34) *Mart. ibid.* (35) *Vide Bail. poet. c.* 1163. *p.* 396. (36) *Mart. l.* xii. *epig.* 18. (37) *Baudr. & Bail. poet. p.* 412. (38) *Voſſ. ibid. p.* 46. (39) *Mart. l.* xii. *præf. epig.* 18, 4, 6, 8. & *l.* x. *epig.* 34. (40) *Plin. l.* iii. *epiſt.* 21. (41) *Lamprid. vit ver. p.* 15. (42) *Vide Bail. ibid.* (43) *Voſſ. poet. Lat. c.* 3. (44) *Lamp. in vit. Alex. p.* 126. (45) *Bail. ibid. p.* 425. (46) *Idem ibid. p.* 426. (47) *Voſſ. poet. Lat. p.* 45. (48) *Juv. ſat.* vii. *ver.* 83. (49) *Voſſ. ibid.* (50) *Juv. ſat.* iv. (51) *Ammian. l.* xxviii. *p.* 374. (52) *Sid. Apoll. carm.* ix. *ver.* 274.

a sixth year of the christian æra. The surname of *Tyaneus* he borrowed from the city of *Tyana* in *Cappadocia*, the place of his nativity. His birth was foretold and accompanied, if the author of his life is to be credited [e], by many prodigies. When he was but fourteen years old, he applied himself to the study of the *Pythagoric* philosophy, first at *Tarsus*, the capital of *Cilicia*, and afterwards at *Ægæ*, another city of the same province, under the direction of one *Euxenes*, whose manners did not answer his profession. But *Apollonius* following his precepts, without regarding his manners, retired at the age of sixteen to a house in the country, led there a life of great austerity, abstaining, pursuant to the maxims of his sect, from all manner of flesh, suffering his hair to grow, going bare-foot, and clad only in linen, that he might use nothing

b proceeding from any living creature, From his country-house he removed, after some time, to the temple of *Æsculapius* in the city of *Ægæ*, where he soon became known, great numbers of votaries flocking daily to the temple of that pretended deity, for the preservation or recovery of their health. There *Apollonius* began to set up for a censor and reformer of manners, having already, it seems, a mighty opinion of his own virtue [f]. His father dying about the time that *Archelaus*, king of *Cappadocia*, was accused of having betrayed the *Romans*, that is, about the seventeenth year of the christian æra, he took possession of his inheritance; but reserved a small share of it for himself; the greatest part of it he yielded to his brother, who led a vicious and dissolute life, from which he was by this means retrieved; the rest,

c save a very small portion, he divided amongst his necessitous relations. Being thus disengaged from every thing that could divert him from the study of philosophy and the practice of virtue, he passed five years in silence, agreeable to the custom of the *Pythagorics*; wherein he found, as he himself owned, great difficulty. During that time, he appeased, says the author of his life, several tumults and seditions in *Cilicia* and *Pamphylia*, especially at *Aspenda*, one of the chief cities in the latter province, where

He applies himself to the study of the Pythagoric *philosophy. The austerity of his life,*

And disinterestedness.

[e] Philost. vit. Apoll. Ty. l. i. c. 3.

[f] Idem, c. 6—9.

Egypt, to command a legion quartered in the utmost bounds of that province; where he died soon after of grief, being fourscore when he was obliged to undertake that journey. Some writers conjecture this player to have been one *Pylades*, who was highly favoured by *Trajan*. *Quintilian* in all likelihood alluded to *Juvenal*, when he wrote, that, in his time lived some poets, authors of satires, who would one day be ranked amongst the best writers (53). *Salmasius* is of opinion, that the ancient scholiast of *Juvenal* was contemporary with *Spartianus*, who flourished under *Diocletian* and *Constantine the Great* (54). *Julius Scaliger* and some other critics prefer *Juvenal* to *Horace*; but now-a-days few, if any, men of taste acquiesce to their judgment, thinking they sufficiently honour *Juvenal*, by placing him amongst the *Latin* satirists next to *Horace*, but next at a great distance.

Caius Silius Italicus wrote a poem, highly commended by *Martial* (55), on the second *Punic* war. Before he applied himself to the study of poetry, he had pleaded many years at the bar, and had even been consul; which office he discharged the year that *Nero* was killed. He is not by our modern critics much esteemed as a poet; but greatly commended for the purity of his style, wherein he is thought to excel all the writers of his time (56). He adheres with great exactness to truth, and relates some events, which we read no-where else (57). He died in the second year of the reign of *Trajan*, by abstaining from all food, being no longer able to bear the pain occasioned by an impostume, which the physicians could not cure (58). He died the last of all those who had been consuls under *Nero*, and was himself the last consul under that prince (59). From what he says of *Domitian* (60) it is plain, that he wrote after the war with the *Dacians*. Most writers have supposed him to be a native of *Italica*, and thence called *Italicus*; but *Italicus* was, as appears from the letters of *Pliny* and the consular tables, not an epithet, but his name; and besides, had he been born in *Italica*, he would have thence been called *Italicanus*, or *Italicensis* (61).

Vossius is of opinion, that *Terentianus*, who, in *Martial*'s time, governed *Syene* in *Egypt* (62), is the same person with *Terentianus Maurus*, who wrote a poem on the measure of verses, which has reached our times, and is greatly esteemed by all persons of taste; but others ascribe that excellent performance to *Posthumius Terentianus*, to whom *Longinus*, about the year 270, inscribed his book *on the sublime*. Several other poets are mentioned by *Martial* as flourishing at this time, namely, *Curtius Montanus*, *Turnus*, and *Scæva Memor*, who were brothers; *Arruntius Stella*, *Codrus* or *Cordus*, *Paceius*, *Faustus*, *Rubrenus Lappa*, *M. Unicus*, *Ligurinus*, *Theodorus*, *Canius*, *Licinianus*, *Voconius Victor*, and *Passienus Paulus* (63). *Turnus* acquired, it seems, great reputation by his satires, and was, tho' of a mean descent, very powerful at court under the emperors *Titus* and *Domitian* (64). *Scaliger* ascribes to *Scæva Memor*, upon what grounds he has not thought fit to impart to us, the tragedy intituled *Octavia*, which is commonly believed to have been written by *Seneca* (65). *Suidas* mentions one *Epaphroditus*, author of several books upon the *grammar*; which have been long since lost. He was a native of *Bœotia*, had been slave to *Modestus* governor of *Egypt*; but afterwards became famous at *Rome* in the reign of *Nero*, and died in that of *Nerva*, in the seventy-fifth year of his age (66).

(53) *Quint. l.* x. *c.* 1. (54) *Salmas. in Spartian. p.* 162. (55) *Mart. l.* iv. *epig.* 14. (56) *Vide Bail. poet. p.* 392. (57) *Voss. hist. Lat. l.* i. *c.* 29. (58) *Plin. l.* iii. *epist.* 7. (59) *Idem ibid.* (60) *Silius Ital. l.* iii. *p.* 51. (61) *Vide Voss. poet. Lat. p.* 42. *& Bail. poet. p.* 388. (62) *Martial. l.* i. *epig.* 87. *& Voss. poet. Lat. p.* 47. (63) *Vide Voss. ibid.* (64) *Juv. sat* i. *p.* 4. *Mart. l.* vii. *epig.* 96. (65) *Voss. ibid. p.* 48. (66) *Suid. p.* 966.

where the populace roſe, and were ready to burn the chief magiſtrate alive, for not obliging ſome of the wealthy inhabitants to produce their corn, during a famine, and ſell it at a reaſonable price. He went afterwards to *Antioch*, to *Epheſus*, and to ſeveral cities, where he took upon him to revive the worſhip of ſome deities or idols, which now began to be neglected. He practiſed every-where ſecret myſteries, to which thoſe alone were admitted, who had obſerved ſilence for the ſpace of four years. He took upon him the character of legiſlator, pretending to require nothing of others, but what he had performed himſelf: he even boaſted a thorough knowledge of all languages, without ever having learnt them; and had the impudence to give out, that the moſt ſecret receſſes of mens hearts and their moſt private thoughts lay open to him [g]. However, he had yet but ſeven diſciples, and theſe too abandoned him, as ſoon as he declared his intention of travelling as far as *India*, to viſit the philoſophers there, known by the name of *Bramans*, or *Bracmanes*; ſo that he left *Antioch*, attended only by two domeſtics; but at *Niniveh* was joined by *Damis*, a native of that place, who, of all the diſciples he ever had, proved the moſt addicted to him; for he obſerved with great attention, and carefully regiſtered, not only his moſt minute actions, but even his words. Theſe memoirs of *Damis* falling afterwards into the hands of *Julia Auguſta*, the wife of the emperor *Severus*, ſhe imparted them to *Philoſtratus*, who chiefly copied from them what he wrote of his pretended hero. *Apollonius*, on his journey from *Niniveh* to *Babylon*, learned, as he paſſed through *Meſopotamia*, what to his time had been a great ſecret, namely, that of underſtanding the anſwers of oracles delivered by birds. Thus this wiſe philoſopher adopted the follies peculiar to each country through which he paſſed. Upon his arrival at *Babylon*, he was received by the mages of the place, with whom he often conferred in private. *Philoſtratus* deſcribes *Babylon* as a city above ſeventy miles in compaſs, with walls of an extraordinary height and breadth, as if it had been no leſs magnificent and beautiful in the time of *Apollonius*, than formerly in that of *Nebuchadonezzar*; whereas it is plain from *Pliny*, who was contemporary with *Apollonius*, that *Babylon* then lay in ruins, and ſcarce any building remained, except the temple of *Belus* [h]. *Trajan*, who, not many years after, was prompted by a commendable curioſity to viſit ſo celebrated a place, found it quite buried in its ruins [i]; and *Pauſanias*, who wrote in the reign of *Marcus Aurelius*, tells us, that *Babylon*, the greateſt city the ſun ever ſaw, had in his time nothing left but its walls. Theſe remained long after, the ſpace within being made a park by the *Parthian* kings for the keeping of wild beaſts, and the diverſion of hunting. It is therefore plain, that *Philoſtratus* was no leſs miſtaken in his deſcription of *Babylon*, than he is in ſuppoſing, that the kings of *Parthia*, in the time of *Apollonius*, reſided there, it being plain from *Strabo*, that they then paſſed the winter at *Cteſiphon* near *Seleucia*, and the ſummer at *Ecbatana* [k]. He tells us, that the king's name who then reigned was *Vardanes*, and that, two years and two months before, he had recovered his kingdom, which had been unjuſtly ſeized by his brother *Gotarzes*, adding, that *Apollonius* paſſed twenty months at the court, and found, about ſix months after, the ſame prince ſtill on the throne [l]; ſo that according to *Philoſtratus*, *Vardanes* muſt have reigned four years and upwards: whereas it is plain from *Tacitus* [m], that *Vardanes* began to rule over the *Parthians* in the ſeventh year of *Claudius*'s reign, and was dead ſome time before the end of the ninth. *Apollonius* left *Babylon*, and, taking leave of the king, ſet out for *India*; where he was received with great marks of eſteem by a king named *Phraothes*, of whom *Philoſtratus* relates wonders; and by him introduced to *Hiarchus*, the chief of the *Bramans*, who at that time was but eighteen years old. If what *Philoſtratus* relates of theſe philoſophers be true, they were far from being gods, tho' they impiouſly paſſed themſelves for ſuch upon the undiſcerning multitude [n]. *Apollonius* paſſed four months with them, held frequent conferences with the chief men amongſt them, to which not even *Damis* was admitted, and ever after entertained a mighty opinion of their ſect. After he had learnt all the myſteries of their profeſſion, he left *India*; and returning by ſea, landed at the mouth of the *Euphrates*, or rather the *Tigris*; went from thence by land to *Babylon*, then to *Niniveh*, and from *Niniveh* to *Antioch*. He was not, it ſeems, much admired at *Antioch*; for, after a ſhort ſtay in that city, he removed to *Ionia*, and ſettled in that country, reſiding ſometimes at *Epheſus*, and ſometimes at *Smyrna* [o]. He is ſaid to have

His impudence and preſumption.

His favourite diſciple Damis

He arrives at Babylon.

He travels to India.

[g] Idem, c. 10—25. [h] Plin. l. vi. c. 26. [i] Dio, l. lxviii. p. 785. [k] Strabo, l. xvi. p. 743. [l] Philost. ibid. l. i. c. 15, 19. [m] Tacit. annal. xi. c. 8, 9, 10. [n] Philost. l. iii. c. 6, & 9. [o] Idem, c. 15, 16.

a have undertaken with incredible ſucceſs the reformation of manners, firſt at *Epheſus*, and afterwards in the other cities of *Ionia*, reclaiming, what by his precepts, what by his exemplary life, ſuch as were intirely abandoned to all manner of lewdneſs and iniquity [p]. From *Ionia* he went to *Ilium*, where he imbarqued for *Leſbos*, and from thence ſailed to *Athens*, in which city he reformed innumerable abuſes, and utterly aboliſhed the inhuman ſpectacles of gladiators. He travelled all over *Greece*, reviveing every-where the ancient ſuperſtition of the *Greeks*, and eſtabliſhing the idolatrous worſhip of the gods. The *Eleans* invited him to the ſports, which were to be celebrated on occaſion of the CXth olympiad, ſeven years before *Nero* undertook the cutting of the iſthmus, and conſequently in the year of the chriſtian æra 61. He complied with b their invitation, and, by his warm exhortations, inſpired many, both *Greeks* and foreigners, with the love of virtue and abhorrence of vice. At *Corinth* he was kindly received, and ever after admired by *Demetrius*, the moſt celebrated *Cynic* of thoſe days, and his diſciple *Menippus*. At *Lacedæmon*, where he paſſed great part of the winter, he is ſaid to have perſuaded the inhabitants to reſume their ancient manner of living [q]. But of this great and remarkable reformation, no notice is taken by any other writer. In the beginning of the ſpring, he ſailed from *Lacedæmon* to *Crete*, and from thence to *Rome*, where he ſtayed, performing wonderful things, related at length by the author of his life, till he was obliged to quit the city, in virtue of an edict enacted by *Nero*, driving all philoſophers out of *Rome*. He then retired to *Cadiz*, c where, in a private conference with *Galba*, he encouraged him to revolt from *Nero*, and aſſume the ſovereignty. From *Cadiz* he croſſed over to *Africa*, from *Africa* to *Hetruria*, and thence to *Sicily*, where he received the tidings of *Nero*'s death. However, he would not return to *Rome*, but ſailed to *Achaia* or *Greece*, where he remained the winter, and early in the ſpring paſſed over into *Egypt*, where he was followed by vaſt crouds, the ſuperſtitious *Egyptians* flocking from all quarters to hear and ſee him. *Philoſtratus* would fain perſuade us, that *Veſpaſian* went into *Egypt* for the ſame purpoſe; but of the true motive of his journey, we have ſpoken elſewhere. However, *Veſpaſian*, who was not exempt, as *Tacitus* obſerves, from ſuch ſuperſtition, while he was in *Egypt*, went to viſit *Apollonius*, and ſeemed to entertain a mighty opinion of d him. He conſulted him in private about the ſtate of his affairs, and paid great deference to his judgment. *Dion* and *Euphrates*, two celebrated philoſophers, adviſed *Veſpaſian* to renounce the ſovereignty, after he had overcome *Vitellius*, and reſtore the republic to its former liberty. But *Apollonius* oppoſed their ſentiments, which occaſioned a warm debate, *Apollonius* being, it ſeems, impatient of all contradiction. *Veſpaſian* followed the opinion of *Apollonius*, who thereupon took the liberty to inſtruct him how to govern with equity and moderation. *Veſpaſian* would have rewarded him with great generoſity for his excellent precepts; but the phiſoſopher would not accept the leaſt acknowledgment [r]. From *Alexandria Veſpaſian* departed for *Rome*, and *Apollonius* ſoon after for *Ethiopia*, with a deſign to viſit the philoſophers of that e country, whom *Philoſtratus* calls *Gymnoſophiſts*; a name by all other writers given to the philoſophers of *India*. Of the thirty diſciples he had at this time, ten only accompanied him in this journey, the others chuſing to remain at *Alexandria*. He was at firſt received very coldly by the *Ethiopian* philoſophers, who had been prejudiced againſt him by *Euphrates*; but they were ſoon reconciled to each other, and held ſeveral private conferences, which *Apollonius* interrupted to view the ſources of the *Nile*; but he did not go beyond the third cataract. He returned to *Egypt*, about the time that *Titus* took the city of *Jeruſalem*, which he entered on the eighth of *September* of the year 70. The next year *Titus* returned to *Rome*, and was met by *Apollonius* at *Argos*, who the ſame year travelled all over *Phœnicia*, *Ionia*, *Cilicia*; viſited f ſeveral cities of *Greece*; and, if *Codinus* is to be believed, went to *Byzantium*, and there ſet up ſeveral taliſmans, or magical figures, which remained till the year 870. when the emperor *Baſilius* cauſed them to be removed [s]. From *Byzantium* he returned to *Greece*, and from thence to *Rome*; where he endeavoured to ſtir up the people againſt the emperor *Domitian*, and exhorted *Nerva*, who was afterwards emperor, to head them. *Domitian* was informed of his private practices, and at the ſame time told, that in the neighbourhood of *Rome* he had ſacrificed a child, in order to diſcover, by viewing its intrails, what ſucceſs would attend *Nerva*, if he engaged in the con-

Returns to Aſia, *and there undertakes the reformation of manners.*

He encourages Galba *to revolt from* Nero.

Is conſulted by Veſpaſian.

Travels into Ethiopia.

Goes to Rome.

[p] Idem, l. iv. c. 1, 2. [q] Idem, c. 3---11. [r] Idem, l. v. c. 3---14. [s] Georg. Codin. origines Conſtantinop.

conſpiracy. Hereupon the emperor wrote to the governor of *Aſia*, whither *Apollonius* was already retired, ordering him to ſeize him, and ſend him in chains to *Rome*. But *Apollonius*, before the order arrived, had left *Aſia*, in order to return to *Rome*. At *Puteoli* he found *Demetrius* the celebrated *Cynic*, who acquainted him with the emperor's edict, ordering all the philoſophers to depart *Rome*; and at the ſame time exhorted him to retire, leſt he ſhould fall a ſacrifice to the rage of *Domitian*, who bore an irreconcileable hatred to all philoſophers, and to him in particular. *Apollonius* replied, that he could not follow his advice, without betraying *Nerva*; and that he was very ſure it was not in the power of the tyrant to put him to death. He therefore purſued his journey to *Rome*, in the habit peculiar to philoſophers; but obliged *Damis*, his only companion, to quit it, leſt he ſhould be diſcovered and ſeized [t]. He no ſooner arrived at *Rome*, than the emperor ordered *Caſperius Ælianus*, captain of the prætorian guards to ſeize him. *Caſperius*, who had a particular veneration for him, under pretence of examining him in private, inſtructed him how to make his defence, when ſummoned before the judges; and then, as he durſt not diſmiſs him, committed him to priſon; where *Apollonius* comforted his fellow priſoners, fifty in number, and encouraged them to bear their confinement, and the miſeries attending it, with conſtancy and patience. After he had been thus confined for the ſpace of ſix days, he was brought before the emperor, who examined him concerning the deſigns of *Nerva*. *Apollonius* anſwered, That *Nerva* had never entertained the leaſt thought of conſpiring againſt him, or aſſuming the ſovereignty, tho' he was at that time actually contriving, according to *Philoſtratus*, the means of depoſing the emperor, and ſeizing the empire, being inſtigated thereunto by *Apollonius* himſelf [u]. *Domitian*, finding he could draw no ſatisfactory anſwer from him, ordered his beard to be ſhaved, a great affront to a philoſopher; and commanded him to be led back to priſon, loaded with chains, from which, however, he was two days after diſcharged, at the requeſt of *Caſperius*. While he was in bonds, he aſſured *Damis*, who attended him even in priſon, that the emperor, notwithſtanding his great power, could not hurt him; and, in ſo ſaying, drew with great eaſe his leg out of the chain. He was a few days after brought again before the emperor; who, after having examined him in the preſence of many perſons of diſtinction, declared him innocent, and afterwards had a private conference with him, in which *Apollonius* diſplayed to him the great evils that muſt neceſſarily enſue from the prince's giving ear to informers. As for myſelf, ſaid he, I am not under the leaſt apprehenſion: you may cauſe me to be ſeized; but put me to death you cannot; that the laws of fate and my deſtiny will not allow. *Apollonius*, having thus ſpoke, diſappeared, and was ſeen that evening at *Puteoli*, three days journey diſtant from *Rome* [w]. From *Puteoli* he paſſed over into *Sicily*, and from thence into *Greece*, where he remained two years, followed and admired by vaſt crowds, and perſons of all ranks and ages, whom, by his precepts and example, he animated to deſpiſe wealth, and place their whole happineſs in the purſuit of virtue. From *Greece* he returned to *Ionia*, reſiding partly at *Smyrna*, and partly at *Epheſus*; but frequently viſiting all the cities of that province. While he was diſcourſing to a numerous aſſembly at *Epheſus*, the ſame minute that *Domitian* was ſlain, he began all on a ſudden to lower his voice, as if he had been ſeized with fear; but nevertheleſs purſued his diſcourſe for ſome time, tho' faintly, and often ſtopping, as if he had been intent upon ſomething elſe. At length he quite gave over ſpeaking, fixed his eyes ſtedfaſt on the ground; and, after a ſhort ſilence, *Strike home*, he cried, *ſtrike the tyrant home*. As the numerous aſſembly was greatly ſurpriſed, he no ſooner returned to himſelf, than he bid them be of good chear and rejoice; *For the tyrant*, added he, *is dead*; *he is juſt now expired* [x]. The ſame thing is related by *Dion Caſſius*, as an event not to be doubted; nay, he adds, that *Apollonius*, during his trance, as he calls it, named *Stephanus*, crying out ſo as to be heard by the whole aſſembly, *Courage, brave* Stephanus! *courage! diſpatch the tyrant* [y]. *Nerva*, who ſucceeded *Domitian*, had no ſooner taken poſſeſſion of the empire, than he wrote to *Apollonius*, inviting him to *Rome*. The philoſopher returned anſwer, That, by the decrees of fate, they were never more to ſee one another. However, ſome time after, he wrote to the emperor a letter, filled with excellent precepts for governing with equity and moderation. This letter he ſent by *Damis*, whom he charged to deliver to the emperor ſeveral rules of government by word of mouth in his name. While *Damis* was

Where he is ſeized, and impriſoned by Domitian's *orders.*

Is brought before the emperor, and by him declared innocent.

Is acquainted with Domitian's *death the very minute it happens.*

Is invited to Rome *by* Nerva, *but refuſes to go thither.*

[t] Philost. ibid. l. vii. c. 2—6. [u] Idem ibid. c. 3, 12, 14. [w] Idem. c. 17 [x] Idem. l. viii. c. 10. [y] Dio, l. vii. p. 768.

a was at *Rome*, he received advice, that *Apollonius* had diſappeared; whence he concluded, that he had ſent him to *Rome*, on purpoſe that he might not be preſent at his death: hence he is generally thought to have died this year, the firſt of *Nerva*'s reign and ninety-ſixth of the chriſtian æra. *Damis*, in his memoirs, made no mention of his death; and *Philoſtratus* declares, that in his time no one could give any probable account of it. Some pretended, he died at *Epheſus*; others related, that he went into a temple at *Lindus* in the iſland of *Rhodes*, and was never afterwards ſeen. *Philoſtratus* aſſures us, that, tho' he had travelled into ſeveral countries, he could no-where find his tomb, nor hear any certain account of the manner of his death [k]. This ſuccinct account of the life of *Apollonius* is ſwelled by *Philoſtratus* b with a great number of miracles and predictions, upon which he makes long deſcants. Amongſt other miracles wrought by his hero, he tells us, that he reſtored to life a young woman of a conſular family; but at the ſame time ſeems to doubt, whether or no ſhe was quite dead: and truly, had he ever wrought ſuch a miracle, he would have been, as *Euſebius* rightly obſerves [l], more famous than he ever was. His prodigies are atteſted only by *Philoſtratus*, who, as *Lipſius* obſerves [m], is guilty of many groſs miſtakes, and often contradicts himſelf in what relates to the *Roman* hiſtory. What can ſeem leſs probable, than his account of what paſſed at the interview between *Apollonius* and *Domitian? Euſebius* calls his book a *romance*; and *Photius* looks upon it as a heap of inconſiſtent fables [n]. Moſt of the fathers ſpeak of it in the ſame ſtyle [o], c as do likewiſe *Suidas* [p] and the moſt judicious among the modern writers, *viz. Scaliger* [q], *Vives* [r], *Voſſius* [s], *Caſaubon* [t], *&c.* Many of the pagans themſelves ſeem to have entertained but a very indifferent opinion of *Apollonius*, notwithſtanding his boaſted virtue and miracles. Even thoſe who bore him no hatred looked upon him as a magician, and ſcrupled admitting him to their myſteries [u]; nay, the ſame opinion ſtill prevailed in the time of his panegyriſt *Philoſtratus*, as he himſelf witneſſes [w]. *Lucian*, ſpeaking of one of his favourite and moſt faithful diſciples, calls him *a celebrated and profeſſed magician* [x]. In the epitome of *Dion Caſſius* by *Xiphilin*, we read, that the wicked emperor *Caracalla* had a particular eſteem for *Apollonius*, whom he looked upon as the moſt accompliſhed impoſtor and ſorcerer the world had ever ſeen. d No one can peruſe his life, tho' written with the utmoſt partiality, without diſcovering in all his actions a great deal of pride, arrogance, and preſumption, and an extraordinary opinion of his own virtue. Before his journey to *India*, when the image of the *Parthian* king was ſhewn him, and he commanded to adore, according to the cuſtom of the country, he returned to the king's officers this arrogant and haughty anſwer; *The prince whom you adore, may reckon himſelf happy, if he deſerves by me to be only eſteemed and commended* [y]. He imagined himſelf poſſeſſed of all virtues in an eminent degree, took upon him every-where the character of cenſor, legiſlator, inſtructor, *&c.*, pretended to know every thing, to foreſee future events, to be acquainted with the moſt hidden thoughts of thoſe with whom he converſed; nay, he ſuffered e himſelf to be by the multitude acknowledged for a god, and divine worſhip to be paid him; which he indeed once refuſed, but the only motive which prompted him to reject it was, fear of being envied [z]. *Philoſtratus* cries up his diſintereſtedneſs and the purity of his manners; but tho' he would receive no preſents from kings or emperors, yet he accepted, and even aſked, a conſiderable ſum of one of the pontiffs [a]. As to the purity of his manners, he was commonly thought not to be free from all blame [b]; at leaſt his favourite diſciples wallowed, if *Lucian* is to be credited, in all manner of lewdneſs [c]. As he held the *metempſychoſis*, or tranſmigration of ſouls, he cauſed a lion to be publicly adored, pretending, that the ſoul of *Amaſis*, one of the ancient kings of *Egypt*, had paſſed into that animal [d]. *Philoſtratus* endeavours to excuſe, f in the beſt manner he can, his hero for quarrelling with the philoſopher *Euphrates*, on whom he lays all the blame. But either the ſame writer, or another of the ſame name, who had read the life of *Apollonius*, and often refers his readers to it, owns, that neither *Apollonius* nor *Euphrates* behaved on that occaſion as became philoſophers [e]. However, notwithſtanding the utmoſt efforts both of *Apollonius* and his panegyriſt,

He diſappears.

Miracles aſcribed to him.

What opinion the ancients entertained of him.

His pride, arrogance, and preſumption.

[k] Philost. l. viii. c. 13. [l] Euseb. in Hier. p. 461. [m] Lips. Tacit. hiſt. l. iii. n. 80. [n] Euseb. ibid. Phot. c. 44. p. 29. [o] Vide Aug. epiſt. xlix. Chrys. in Jud. hom. iii. [p] Suid. p. 376. [q] Scaliger. in Euſeb. chron. [r] Voss. hiſt. Græc. l. ii. c. 15. [s] Idem ibid. [t] Casaub. in Spart. p. 229. [u] Philost. l. iv. c. 6. l. viii c. 8, [w] Idem, l. ii. c. 3. [x] Lucian. vit. Alex. p. 476. [y] Philost. l. i. c. 14, 15, 19. [z] Idem, l. vii. c. 6. l. i. c. 20. l. viii. c. 2. l. iv. c. 10. [a] Idem, l. viii. c. 7. [b] Philost. vit. ſophiſ. p. 568. [c] Lucian. vit. Alex. [d] Philost. vit. Apoll. l. v. c. 15. [e] Philost. vit. ſoph. c. 7. p. 492.

panegyriſt, to diſcredit and cry down *Euphrates*, he was, two hundred years after his death, generally eſteemed the greateſt philoſopher of his time [f]. *Apollonius* himſelf, before their quarrel, ſpoke of him to *Veſpaſian* as a man of an unblemiſhed character, not foreſeeing, for all his pretence to a prophetical ſpirit, that he was ſoon to change his ſtyle, and inveigh againſt him as one of the moſt wicked of men [g]. *Pliny* the younger, who was intimately acquainted with *Euphrates*, beſtows mighty encomiums upon him [h]; and *Arrian*, in his comments upon *Epictetus*, not only extols his eloquence, but commends him greatly for having lived like a philoſopher, before he aſſumed the habit peculiar to that profeſſion [i]. He died in the beginning of *Adrian*'s reign, with whoſe permiſſion he put an end to the infirmities attending old age with a draught of poiſon [k]. He publiſhed ſome writings againſt *Apollonius*, which *Philoſtratus* promiſes to refute [l]. *Eunapius* ſeems to aſcribe other works to him upon more noble ſubjects, by which he gained great reputation [m]. As no one could give any certain account of the death of *Apollonius*, his countrymen, the inhabitants of *Tyana*, believed him immortal, and conſecrated a temple to him cloſe to their city [n]. His images were ſet up in many temples; and the emperors, inſtead of checking, countenanced this ſuperſtition, by the honours which they themſelves paid to the impoſtor. *Adrian* collected and lodged in the palace at *Antium* a great many of his letters [o]. *Antonius Caracalla* honoured him with divine worſhip, and conſecrated a temple to him [p]. The emperor *Alexander* kept his image in a private place of his palace, together with the images of our Saviour, of *Abraham*, and of ſeveral princes, who had governed with equity and moderation [q]. *Vopiſcus* tells us, that he read in certain memoirs; and alſo heard of perſons of credit, that the emperor *Aurelian* being reſolved to give up the city of *Tyana* to be plundered by his ſoldiers, *Apollonius* appeared to him, and diverted him from that deſign; and adds, that the emperor, convinced by that miraculous apparition, that *Apollonius* was a god, vowed to him an image, a temple, and a ſtatue [r]; but whether he performed his vow, *Vopiſcus* does not inform us; neither does he vouch the truth of the apparition, tho' he profeſſed a particular veneration for *Apollonius*, and even deſigned to write his life in *Latin*, as *Philoſtratus* had done in *Greek*, that his ſtupendous actions, ſays he, may be known to the whole world. But, notwithſtanding the great eſteem which ſeveral of the emperors had for him, and his many pretended miracles, he was, at the beginning of the fourth century, generally looked upon as an impoſtor and a magician [s]. *Eunapius*, who wrote in the beginning of the fifth century, attempted to retrieve the reputation of his pretended hero [t]; but was therein attended with no better ſucceſs than a late writer of no mean character; for, in ſpite of the utmoſt efforts of men, falſehood muſt in the end yield, and truth prevail. *Philoſtratus* has tranſmitted to us ſeveral letters written by *Apollonius*, moſt of them very ſhort, with a long apology, which he had compoſed with a deſign to pronounce it before *Domitian*, not knowing [u], tho' a great prophet, that the emperor would not hear it, and that in writing it he laboured to no effect. Beſides this apology and a great number of letters to perſons of all ranks and conditions [w], he wrote a treatiſe upon judicial aſtrology, compriſed in four books [x], and another upon ſacrifices, wherein he pretended to ſhew with what kind of victims each deity was moſt pleaſed. The former treatiſe was not much eſteemed: but the latter was received with general applauſe. It is once quoted by *Euſebius* [y], and mentioned likewiſe by *Suidas* [z]. His theology, out of which *Euſebius* quotes a paſſage [a], and his treatiſe upon ſacrifices are in all likelihood one and the ſame work.

Honours paid him after his death.

His works.

A P P E N-

[f] Euseb. in Hier. p. 464, 465. [g] Idem ibid. p. 463. [h] Plin. l. i. epiſt. 10. [i] Arrian. Epict. l. iii. c. 15. & l. ii. c. 8. [k] Dio, l. 69. p. 791. [l] Philost. l. i. c. 10. [m] Eunap. in vit. ſophiſt. præfat. [n] Idem ibid. [o] Philost. l. viii. c. 13, 14. [p] Dio, l. lxxvii. p. 878. [q] Lamp. in vit. Veri, p. 123. [r] Vopisc. in vit. Aurel. [s] Lact. l. v. c. 3. [t] Eunap. in præfat. [u] Philost. l. viii. c. 3. [w] Idem, l. iii. c. 13. [x] Idem, l. iv. c. 6. [y] Euseb. de præp. evang. l. iv. c. 13. [z] Suid. p. 376. [a] Euseb. demonſt. evang. l. iii. c. 3.

APPENDIX.

A ſuccinct account of the perſecution of the Jews *at* Alexandria, *and of* Philo's *embaſſy to the emperor* Caius Caligula.

a THE preſent account having, through miſtake, been omitted in the reign of *Caligula*, its proper place, the reader, we hope, will overlook that involuntary omiſſion, and not take it amiſs, that we ſupply it here; the perſecution of the *Jews* at *Alexandria*, the embaſſy of *Philo* to *Caius*, and the audience he had of that prince, being too remarkable incidents to be paſſed over in ſilence.

THIS dreadful perſecution happened in the ſecond year of the reign of the emperor *Caligula* and 39th of the *Chriſtian* æra, while *Egypt* was governed by a *Roman* knight, named *Avillius Flaccus*, to whoſe baſe connivance it was chiefly owing. *Flaccus* had governed that province with great reputation, during the five laſt years of the reign of *Tiberius*, who had a particular value and kindneſs for him. But, upon
b the death of that prince and the acceſſion of *Caligula* to the empire, he changed his conduct, grew remiſs in the adminiſtration of juſtice, and made it his whole ſtudy to gain the affections of the people of *Alexandria*, hoping by that means to recommend himſelf to the favour of the new emperor, whoſe reſentment he dreaded; and indeed not without reaſon, for he was no friend to the family of *Germanicus*, and was generally thought to have contributed to the diſgrace and death of *Agrippina*, the mother of *Caligula*. Three crafty *Egyptians*, *Dionyſius*, *Lampo*, and *Iſidorus*, who had been declared enemies to *Flaccus*, while he ruled with due ſeverity, being appriſed of his fears, remonſtrated to him, under colour of friendſhip, that the ſureſt means of winning the hearts of the *Alexandrians* was, to withdraw his pro-
c tection from the *Jews*, of whom many thouſands lived in *Alexandria*, and to abandon them to the mercy of the *Egyptians*, who had ever borne an irreconcileable hatred to the *Jewiſh* nation. This counſel *Flaccus* readily embraced, well knowing, that it would not diſpleaſe the emperor, whoſe hatred the *Jews* had provoked, by refuſing to acknowledge his pretended divinity. Beſides, *Flaccus* was of himſelf, it ſeems, no friend to the *Jewiſh* nation: for that people having the year before, in the firſt month of *Caligula*'s reign, decreed him all the honours which were conſiſtent with their religion, and conſigned the decree to *Flaccus*, that, by his means, it might be conveyed to the emperor, he, inſtead of tranſmitting it to *Rome*, as he promiſed to do, ſuppreſſed it; which was doing them the greateſt unkindneſs imaginable,
d and drawing upon them the reſentment of a cruel and ambitious prince [a]. In the mean time, *Agrippa*, who had been ſet at liberty by *Caligula*, and declared king of the tetrarchy, which his uncle *Philip* had held, with the addition of that of *Lyſanias*, as we have related in our hiſtory of the *Jews* [b], arriving from *Rome* at *Alexandria*, on his journey to his new kingdom, was inſulted by the populace of that metropolis in a moſt outrageous manner, tho', to avoid the concourſe of people, he had entered the city by night [c]. As *Flaccus* winked at theſe inſults, inſtead of reſtraining them, the rabble grew more outrageous; and, aſſembling in crouds, began, with great tumult and uproar, to demand, that the ſtatues of *Caius* might be

Avillius Flaccus courts the favour of the Alexandrians

Is no friend to the Jews.

King Agrippa *inſulted by the people of* Alexandria.

[a] PHIL. in Flacc. p. 968—1009. edit. Pariſ. 1640. [b] Hiſt. Univerſ. vol. IV. p. 285. [c] Ibid. note P.

be placed in the *Jewiſh* oratories, or places of prayer, of which there were many in *Alexandria*, and all over *Egypt*. *Flaccus* not offering to oppoſe, but ſeeming rather to approve, the deſign, the rabble thronged immediately to the oratories, cut down the groves and trees about them, levelled ſome of them with the ground, and ſet fire to others; which, together with oratories, conſumed ſeveral noble monuments erected by the emperors in honour of the *Jews*, and a great many adjoining houſes. Such oratories as the rioters could not demoliſh, becauſe the *Jews*, who lived near them, were very numerous, they profaned, by placing in them the emperor's ſtatues. In the largeſt of them all they erected a ſtatue of braſs, repreſenting *Caius*, in a chariot drawn by four horſes, which had been formerly conſecrated to *Cleopatra*, the great-grandmother of the laſt queen of that name. They did not, as *Philo* obſerves, ſhew great reſpect to *Caius*, in dedicating to him what had been formerly dedicated to a woman. But the merit, on which they laid the chief ſtreſs, was their increaſing the number of temples conſecrated to this pretended deity, tho' even in that they did not ſo much regard his honour, as the ſatisfying of their own hatred to the *Jews*. The *Alexandrians* took care to acquaint the emperor with the tranſactions of each day, who is ſaid to have read their accounts with incredible ſatisfaction, partly becauſe he hated the *Jews*, and partly becauſe he believed the *Alexandrians* chiefly actuated, in afflicting the *Jews*, by a ſincere zeal for his honour[d]. The example of *Alexandria* was followed by all the other cities of *Egypt*; in which province there were at this time a million of *Jews*, and a vaſt number of oratories, of which the largeſt and moſt beautiful were ſtyled *ſynagogues*[e]. They were all demoliſhed, conſumed by fire, or prophaned with the emperor's ſtatues. A few days after the *Jews* had been thus ſtript of their oratories, *Flaccus* publiſhed an edict, declaring all the *Jews* aliens at *Alexandria*, without allowing them time to make good their claim to the rights of citizens, which they had long enjoyed undiſturbed[f]. The *Jews*, who were never famous for bearing injuries with patience, when they could prevent or revenge them, made, in all likelihood, ſome efforts towards the maintaining of their rights; which, though *Philo* has not thought fit to mention them, gave probably occaſion to greater diſorders. For the *Alexandrians*, conſidering them as men abandoned by the emperor to their mercy, laid hold of this opportunity to vent their rage upon a people whom they had ever abhorred, and looked upon as enemies to the reſt of mankind. The city of *Alexandria* was at that time divided into five quarters, which took their names from the five firſt letters of the alphabet. In each of theſe, ſome *Jews* dwelt, but two were almoſt entirely peopled by them, and thence called the quarters of the *Jews*. They were therefore by the outrageous multitude violently driven out of all the other parts of the city, and confined to one quarter; the houſes, from which they had been driven, were plundered, and all their effects ſeized, as if they had been conquered in war. The rioters did not, ſays *Philo*, commit theſe robberies like thieves in the night, who are afraid of being brought to juſtice, but in the face of the ſun, ſhewing what they had taken to all they met, with as much confidence, as if it had been an inheritance or purchaſe: nay, they publicly divided the ſpoil in the market-place, in the preſence of thoſe very perſons whom they had plundered, adding mockery to their violence. As *Flaccus* never offered to check or reſtrain them, they broke open the ſhops and ware-houſes of the *Jewiſh* merchants, which were then ſhut on account of the public mourning for the death of *Druſilla*, the emperor's ſiſter; and thence conveyed away and ſold to the beſt bidder all their effects. Thus were the *Jews* at once driven from their habitations, reduced to beggary, and cooped up in a narrow corner of the city, where the *Alexandrians* doubted not, but they would ſoon periſh, either by the inconveniencies of the place, for moſt of them were obliged to lie in the open air; or by famine, for they were allowed to carry no proviſions along with them; or by the infection of the air and want of free reſpiration, many thouſands of men, women, and children, being ſhut up in ſo cloſe and ſmothering a place. The *Alexandrians* watched them narrowly night and day, to prevent them from making their eſcape. But in the end, hunger prevailing over fear, ſeveral found means to withdraw either to the ſea-ſide, or to ſome remote burying-places; but ſuch of them as were diſcovered, were tortured in a moſt cruel manner, put to death, and their bodies ignominiouſly dragged through the ſtreets of the city. Thoſe

They deſtroy the oratories of the Jews, *or profane them with the emperor's ſtatues.*

Flaccus *declares the* Jews *aliens of* Alexandria.

All the Jews *ſhut up in one quarter of the city.*

Horrible cruelties practiſed upon the Jews.

Jews

[d] PHIL. legat. c. 9. [e] EUSEB. chron. p. 27, 28. [f] PHILO in Flacc. p. 972, 973.

Jews who, not having any notice of the uproar, happened to come to the city from their country houſes, were treated with the ſame cruelty, and hurried away to the torture, or torn in pieces by the enraged multitude. Some of the rioters lay night and day on the banks of the river, waiting there for the *Jewiſh* merchants; and as ſoon as any veſſel arrived belonging to that nation, they leaped into it, ſeized the effects, and then burnt it, together with the owners. In ſhort, when *Jews* appeared in any part of the city, except the narrow quarter allotted to them, they were ſure of being tortured, in a moſt barbarous manner, and maſſacred. The leaſt inhuman among the rioters diſpatched them with the ſword, or with fire, often burning whole families, without reſpecting the old men, or pitying the infants; and employing for fuel ſuch of their effects as no one thought worth purchaſing. Others more cruel, to prolong the torments of thoſe unhappy wretches, having tied them to ſtakes, kindled round them fires of moiſt and green wood; ſo that, after they had long borne the torment of a ſlow fire, they periſhed at length, ſuffocated with the ſmoke, when their bodies were but half burnt. Others, with ropes faſtened to their feet, were dragged through the ſtreets and public places of the city, the populace inſulting their bodies even after they were dead, trampling them under foot, and mangling them with ſuch brutal cruelty, that not one member remained intire to entitle them to a funeral. They then, by way of mockery, pretended to bewail thoſe whom they had thus inhumanly butchered: but if any of their friends or relations lamented them in earneſt, they were immediately ſeized, whipt without mercy, and, after ſuffering all the torments which cruelty itſelf could invent, condemned to the ignominious puniſhment of the croſs [g].

Flaccus might, with one word, have put a ſtop to the fury of the populace; but he the whole time pretended ignorance of the very things he ſaw and heard. However, he ſent at laſt for the leading men amongſt the *Jews*, as if he deſigned to make up all differences between them and the people of *Alexandria*. The *Jews* had at *Alexandria* an *ethnarch*, or chief of their nation, whom *Joſephus* calls, as is commonly believed, *alabarch* [h]. They had likewiſe a council, which was eſtabliſhed by *Auguſtus*; and out of this *Flaccus* cauſed thirty-eight perſons to be ſeized, to be bound like criminals, ſome with cords, others with chains, and in that condition to be dragged through the great market-place to the theatre, where the people were celebrating the birth-day of *Caius*, and there, in the preſence of their enemies, to be whipt ſo unmercifully, that ſome of them died ſoon after. In inflicting this puniſhment, he choſe the moſt ignominious method, (for different methods were then in uſe) treating them as public thieves and robbers. Thoſe who outlived this cruel puniſhment were impriſoned and kept under cloſe confinement, till *Flaccus* himſelf was arreſted, that is from the thirty-firſt of *Auguſt*, which was *Caius*'s birth-day, to the latter end of *September*. During this ſolemnity, which ſeems to have laſted ſeveral days, many *Jews* were crucified, after the people aſſembled in the theatre had diverted themſelves with ſcourging, racking, and torturing them at their pleaſure. With theſe ſcenes of cruelty they were daily entertained, till the *Jews*, either expiring on the rack, or hurried away to execution, gave room to dancers, players, and other diverſions in uſe amongſt the *Romans*; diverſions truly leſs horrible, but perhaps not more innocent. Such women as were ſuſpected to be *Jews* were by the inſulting populace ſeized, carried into the market-place, and there expoſed naked to public view. Thoſe who proved not to be *Jews* were immediately diſmiſſed; but to the *Jewiſh* women they cauſed hogs-fleſh to be immediately brought, which if they eat, they too were diſmiſſed untouched: but if, on the contrary, they adhered to their law, they were expoſed to the greateſt indignities imaginable, racked with all manner of torments, and put to a cruel death. Such was the condition of the *Jews* at *Alexandria* for the ſpace of about two months; for the perſecution continued to the feaſt of tabernacles. *Philo*, to whom we are indebted for this account, ſuffered, no doubt, with the reſt of his nation; for he too was an *Alexandrian Jew*. We cannot help thinking his account ſomewhat exaggerated; and beſides, are convinced, that the *Jews* gave ſome occaſion to the unheard-of cruelty of the *Alexandrians*, which he has not thought fit to relate. King *Agrippa*, upon whoſe arrival the tumult began, did not in all likelihood continue long in a city where he had been ſo ill received. However, during his ſtay there, he was informed

They are cruelly treated by Flaccus.

Many of them tortured and crucified.

[g] PHIL. in FLACC. p. 974—1010. & legat. c. 9. [h] JOSEPH. antiq. l. xix. c. 4. EUSEB. p. 27.

informed of the decree formerly made by the *Alexandrian Jews* in honour of *Caius*, and procured a copy of it, which he immediately tranſmitted to *Rome*, acquainting the emperor at the ſame time with the conduct of *Flaccus*, who had ſuppreſſed it. This provoked *Caius* to ſuch a degree, that he immediately diſpatched a centurion, by name *Baſſus*, with a band of ſoldiers, to ſeize *Flaccus*. *Baſſus* arrived in a few days at *Alexandria*, and, landing by night, inquired for the officer who commanded the troops quartered in the city, with a deſign to impart to him the emperor's orders, that he might hold his men ready in caſe of any reſiſtance. A ſoldier, whom he met in the ſtreet, informed him, that the officer ſupped that night with *Flaccus*, at the houſe of one *Stephanio*. Hereupon the centurion ſent one of his ſoldiers in the diſguiſe of a ſlave to *Stephanio*'s houſe, who, upon his return, informed him, that *Flaccus* was attended only by a ſmall number of his domeſtics, and that no ſoldiers were to be ſeen in or about the houſe. Upon this intelligence, *Baſſus* immediately entered with all his men; and, having left a party to guard the gates, went with the reſt directly to the banquetting-hall, where, to the great terror of the gueſts, he ſeized *Flaccus*, without meeting with the leaſt oppoſition, and carried him in bonds on board his veſſel. *Flaccus* ſtarting up, when the centurion firſt appeared, attempted to make his eſcape; but finding himſelf in a minute ſurrounded by armed men, he looked upon himſelf as loſt, and yielded. When news of what had happened was brought to the *Jews*, who continued ſtill ſhut up in the ſame place, they did not at firſt give any credit to it, but looked upon it as a ſnare laid for them. However, conjecturing from the noiſe and uproar which they heard in the night, that ſomething extraordinary had happened, ſome of them ſtole out, and, upon their return, confirmed the joyful tydings, that *Flaccus* was certainly arreſted. Hereupon, with one voice, they returned thanks to the Almighty for their deliverance, paſſed the reſt of the night in ſinging hymns, and, upon the return of the day, went all in a body to the ſea ſide, to renew there, as they had no oratories where they could aſſemble, their thankſgiving with more ſolemnity. Soon after, *Baſſus* ſet ſail with his priſoner, who, after having much ſuffered during the voyage, arrived at length at *Rome*, where he had the mortification to ſee himſelf accuſed by *Iſidorus* and *Lampo*, who, with their flattering ſpeeches, had put him upon perſecuting the *Jews*. But his greateſt enemy was the emperor himſelf, who, on this occaſion aſſumeing the quality of judge, condemned him to baniſhment, declared his ſtate and all his effects forfeited, and ſeized them for himſelf. The only favour which *Lepidus*, who was his friend and then very powerful at court, could obtain for him, was, that he ſhould be confined to *Andros*, and not to *Gyaræ*, purſuant to his ſentence, which was the moſt defert and abandoned iſland in the *Archipelago*. He was therefore ſent under a guard to *Andros*, and there ſhewn to the inhabitants, who were ordered to watch him, that he might not make his eſcape. Some months after, he purchaſed a ſmall farm, and there led a ſolitary and retired life, till he was, together with the other exiles, maſſacred by *Caius*'s orders. He defended himſelf with great bravery againſt thoſe who were ſent to diſpatch him, but was in the end overpowered and cut in pieces [i].

Flaccus is diſgraced,

Arreſted, and ſent to Rome;

Where he is condemned to baniſhment,

And ſoon after murdered.

THE grievances of the *Alexandrian Jews* did not end with the authority of *Flaccus*. The tumult ſtill continued, that unhappy people were ſtill cruelly inſulted by the enraged populace, and the magiſtrates of *Alexandria* refuſed to acknowledge the *Jews* for citizens, ſince *Flaccus* had declared them aliens. Hereupon both parties reſolved to ſend deputies to *Rome*, and refer the deciſion of their controverſy to the emperor. At the head of the *Jewiſh* embaſſy was *Philo*, and the celebrated *Apion* the chief of the embaſſadors from the city of *Alexandria*. *Philo* was a *Jew* of the ſacerdotal race, and ſprung from one of the moſt illuſtrious families of *Alexandria*, where his brother was *alabarch*, or the chief of his nation in that city [k]. *Joſephus* calls him a perſon every-way extraordinary [l]; and truly his works were highly eſteemed both by the *Chriſtians* and *Pagans*, and he ranked amongſt the beſt writers of his time. He was not only well verſed in the ſacred books, to which the whole knowledge of the *Jews* was, generally ſpeaking, confined, but thoroughly acquainted with the philoſophy of the gentiles, and thought to ſurpaſs all the philoſophers of his age, in the knowledge of the maxims and tenets of *Plato* and *Pythagoras*. He applied

Philo *is ſent with the character of embaſſador to* Caius.

Some account of him, and of Apion.

[i] PHIL. in Flacc. p. 976—982. JOSEPH. antiq. l. xviii. c. 10.

[k] EUSEB. l. ii. c. 4. JOSEPH. antiq. l. xviii. c. 10.

[l] JOSEPH.

a applied himſelf chiefly to the ſtudy of the *Platonic* philoſophy, and with ſuch ſucceſs, that it was commonly ſaid at *Alexandria*, *Either* Plato *imitates* Philo, *or* Philo Plato. The philoſophers, who flouriſhed in thoſe times, ſtyled him *the ſecond Plato*, or *the Jewiſh Plato* [m]. *Apion* was likewiſe a man of great learning. He was, according to ſome, a native of *Oaſis* in *Egypt*; according to others, of the iſland of *Creta*, now *Candia*. Be that as it will, he was preſented with the citizenſhip of *Alexandria*, and thence paſſed for an *Alexandrian* [n]. He is by ſome writers ſtyled *Pleiſtonicus*, which ſignifies, *illuſtrious for many victories* [o]; but how he came by that name, we are no-where told. *Suidas* calls him *Mochthus*, perhaps inſtead of *Mochtherus*, which ſignifies *laborious* [p]. He was by profeſſion a grammarian; for ſo were thoſe
b formerly called, who were well verſed in polite literature. *Julius Africanus* ſtyles him the moſt inquiſitive of all the grammarians; and adds, that no one was better verſed in antiquities, or had made more diſcoveries [q]. He was brought up by *Didymus*, a celebrated grammarian of *Alexandria*, and afterwards inſtructed by *Apollonius* and *Euphanor* [r]. He taught rhetoric at *Rome* under the emperors *Tiberius* and *Claudius*, and was eſteemed a man of great erudition, and well verſed in the *Greek* hiſtorians: his ſtyle was elegant and eaſy, but he is thought to have exaggerated the things which he relates to have been ſeen or heard by himſelf [s]. He viſited all the cities of *Greece*, as *Pliny* informs us [t], in the beginning of *Claudius*'s reign, and was every-where received as a ſecond *Homer*. However, *Seneca* ſeems
c to have made no great account of his erudition, which chiefly conſiſted, as he writes, in the knowledge of grammatical trifles. Of his works, and thoſe of *Philo*, we ſhall ſpeak anon.

THE embaſſadors were, according to *Joſephus*, three of each ſide, but five according to *Philo*, who was one of them, and conſequently is more to be depended upon, if we will not ſuppoſe with a modern writer [u], who ſtrives to reconcile *Philo* and *Joſephus*, that two more were afterwards ſent by the *Jews*, and the like number by the *Alexandrians*. They ſet out from *Alexandria* in the midſt of winter; and arriving at *Rome*, were forced to wait there till the return of *Caius* from *Gaul*, which happened on the thirty-firſt of *Auguſt*. The *Jewiſh* embaſſadors, in the mean time,
d conveyed to the emperor, by means of king *Agrippa*, who was then at *Rome*, a memorial, wherein they laid before him their deplorable condition, acquainted him with the hardſhips they had undergone, aſſured him of their attachment to his perſon and government, and in a moſt ſubmiſſive manner implored his protection. When the emperor returned to *Rome*, the *Alexandrian* embaſſadors gained privately, with great ſums and larger promiſes, the famous *Helico*, who was by birth an *Egyptian*, had formerly been a ſlave, but was then in great favour with *Caius*, and his chamberlain. The *Jewiſh* deputies were no ſooner informed, that *Helico* had been gained over by their enemies, and did them all the ill offices with the emperor that lay in his power, than they ſtrove in their turn to bring him over to their intereſt; but
e he would not hearken to any of their propoſals, nay, would not ſo much as allow them acceſs to him. They therefore reſolved to apply directly to the emperor, and accordingly drew up a memorial, which was but an abſtract of the longer addreſs, which they had a little before tranſmitted to him by means of *Agrippa*. This they preſented to him in the field of *Mars*, as he was coming from the gardens of his mother *Agrippina*. *Caius* received the embaſſadors with a chearful and ſmiling countenance, and ſignified to them with a ſign of his right hand, that he would befriend them; nay, he ordered *Homulus*, the introducer of embaſſadors, to acquaint them, that he would hear them himſelf, as ſoon as he was at leiſure. From this favour-
f able reception, it was generally concluded, that the *Jews* would gain their cauſe, and triumph over their enemies. But *Philo*, whom age and experience had taught not to lay great ſtreſs upon fair words and outward appearances, dreaded the effects of the emperor's pretended friendſhip, and reaſoned with himſelf thus: Here are embaſſadors from all parts of the world, and why ſhould the emperor diſtinguiſh us from the reſt? He knows we are *Jews*, and conſequently, that we ſhould think ourſelves happy to be only treated like other nations. Can we reaſonably expect any extraordinary favour from a prince of another nation, or ſuppoſe that he has not

They arrive at Rome, *and tranſmit a memorial to the emperor, then in* Gaul.

Upon his return they preſent another memorial to him.

Philo *ſuſpects his kindneſs.*

[m] HIER. de vir. illuſt. & epiſt. 84. c. 11. PHOT. c. 105. [n] HIER. ibid. SUIDAS, p. 327. [o] GELL. l. v. c. 14. & l. vi. c. 8. PLIN. l. xxxvii. c. 5. [p] SUID. p. 355. [q] EUSEB. de præpar. evang. l. x. c. 10. [r] SUIDAS, ibid. [s] Idem ibid. [t] PLIN. præfat. & SENEC. epiſt. 88. [u] TILLEMONT, p. 806.

not a greater kindneſs for the *Alexandrians* than for us? He is partial to them without diſpute; and for their ſake it is, that he is eager to determine the affair. I ſhould be glad he would prove an impartial judge; but am afraid we ſhall find him an advocate for them, and an enemy to us. In the mean time, *Caius*, leaving *Rome*, went to ſee one of his magnificent palaces, which ſtood on the ſea-ſide; and thither the *Jewiſh* embaſſadors followed him, expecting every moment to be called and heard by him, purſuant to the promiſe he made to them by *Homulus*. At *Puteoli* they were firſt informed of the danger they were in, not only of loſing their cauſe againſt the *Alexandrians*, but of ſeeing their religion and nation utterly extirpated, in virtue of the order which the emperor had tranſmitted to *Petronius*, governor of *Syria*, commanding him to ſet up his ſtatue in the temple of *Jeruſalem*. Upon this intelligence, *Philo*, ſeeing no proſpect of ſucceſs as to the buſineſs with which he was charged, would have returned home with his collegues, could he have done it with honour. But though he now deſpaired of ſucceſs, yet he thought, that his dropping the ſuit might be looked upon as the effect of fear; and that his countrymen, who had ſent him, might with ſome reaſon complain, as if, through want of courage, he had betrayed their cauſe. However, the ſtorm which threatened the *Jews* on account of the ſtatue of *Caius* ſoon blew over, and *Philo* was in the end admitted, with his collegues, to the emperor's preſence. But they no ſooner appeared before him, than, from the fierceneſs of his looks, they concluded, that the emperor intended to act not like a judge, but as an accuſer rather and a party. For, inſtead of adviſing with men of knowledge and experience, and hearing both ſides indifferently in their turns, eſpecially in a caſe of this conſequence, where the lives and liberties of ſo many men were at ſtake, and privileges diſputed, which for the ſpace of four hundred years had never ſo much as been called in queſtion, the tyrant gave them plainly to underſtand, that he did not deſign to proceed according to the ordinary methods of law and juſtice. The emperor was then at a ſmall diſtance from the city, paſſing a few days at two country-ſeats, which, it ſeems, ſtood very near each other, and had formerly belonged to *Mecænas* and *Lamias*. Having therefore commanded the gardens belonging to both houſes, and the ſeveral apartments, to be opened, in order to view them, and entertain himſelf with the curioſities there, he ſent at the ſame time for the *Jewiſh* and *Alexandrian* embaſſadors, who were introduced to him while he was thus employed. *Philo* and his collegues no ſooner came into the emperor's preſence, than they threw themſelves proſtrate at his feet, addreſſing him with the titles of *emperor* and *Auguſtus*. The emperor received them, notwithſtanding the profound reſpect they ſhewed him, in ſuch manner, that they began to deſpair, not only of ſucceſs in their embaſſy, but even of their lives. For, with angry looks and a ſcornful ſmile, *Are you not execrable wretches*, ſaid he, *declared enemies of the gods, ſince you have the impudence to diſpute a divinity that all the world acknowledges, and to ſet up againſt* Caius *a god whom you cannot ſo much as name?* At the ſame time, lifting up his hands towards heaven, he uttered ſuch blaſphemies, as *Philo*, who was ſtruck with horror in hearing them, dares not repeat. The *Alexandrian* embaſſadors, concluding from this reception, that they had already gained their cauſe, could not diſſemble their joy; and there was not one attribute peculiar to God, which they did not indifferently aſcribe to *Caius*, who was highly delighted with their flattery. In order to provoke him ſtill more againſt the *Jews*, *Iſidorus*, a crafty inſinuating ſlanderer, addreſſing the emperor, *If you knew*, ſaid he, *the mortal hatred which theſe men, and their whole nation, bear to you, you would abhor and deteſt them much more than you do. When all the world were offering up their vows and prayers for the ſafety of your perſon, and the proſperity of your government, theſe alone, I mean all the* Jews *without exception, ſtood out with their uſual ſtubbornneſs and obſtinacy.* At theſe words, the *Jews* cried out with one voice, that they were ſlandered, that they had offered hecatombs and ſacrifices for the happineſs of *Caius* and the empire; and that after they had ſprinkled the altar with the blood of the victims, they did not feaſt among themſelves, as moſt other nations do, upon the fleſh, but committed the whole ſacrifice to the ſacred fire: And this, added they, we have done upon three remarkable occaſions, upon your acceſſion to the empire, upon your recovery from that fit of ſickneſs which proved ſo ſenſible an affliction to moſt nations, and finally, for the ſucceſs of your arms in *Germany*. You did perhaps offer ſacrifices, replied *Caius*, I allow it: but it was to another, not to me: and what honour do I receive from

Is alarmed at an order iſſued by the emperor.

He is admitted to an audience.

a b c d e f g

a from your ſacrificing to another? Theſe blaſphemous words ſtruck us, ſays *Philo*, with horror, and chilled the very blood in our veins. In the mean time, *Caius* hurried from one apartment to another, taking a view of all the rooms and offices, finding fault where any thing was amiſs, and directing how it ſhould be mended. Thus he viſited every corner of both houſes, the *Jews* being obliged all along to attend him, tho' joſtled and derided by the whole company, eſpecially by their adverſaries, who were the whole time mimicking them, like buffoons on the ſtage: and truly the whole, ſays *Philo*, looked rather like a comedy, than a ſerious negotiation; but as they were now at the mercy of the tyrant, who was both their judge and their enemy, they had no defence left them but ſilence and patience. After *Caius* had given ſome b neceſſary orders about his buildings, he turned to the *Jews*, and gravely aſked them, Why they ſo much ſcrupled eating hogs-fleſh? Hereupon the whole company, ſome out of flattery, others becauſe they were diverted with the queſtion and mockery, burſt into ſo loud a laughter, that ſome of *Caius*'s officers were highly offended at the liberty they took, thinking it inconſiſtent with the reſpect due to the majeſty of the prince. To the emperor's queſtion the *Jews* anſwered with great reſpect, That ſeveral people and places had their ſeveral faſhions and cuſtoms, and that their adverſaries were prohibited ſome things as well as they: ſome people, for inſtance, ſaid one of them, abſtain from lamb. Very well, replied *Caius* merrily; I cannot blame them; for lambs-fleſh is not very ſavoury. After the emperor had thus rallied and ridiculed c them for ſome time, in the end he aſked them all on a ſudden in a paſſion, What title they had to the privileges of *Alexandrian* citizens, and to the freedom of that city? Hereupon they began to lay before him their reaſons; but he, finding they were of great ſtrength, and not knowing how thoſe which they had already alledged could be well confuted, ſtarted up in the midſt of their diſcourſe, and ran into a great hall; where, after he had walked a while, he cauſed the windows to be ſhut; and then returning to the *Jewiſh* embaſſadors, he aſked them with an air more compoſed, What they had to ſay? But they had ſcarce begun to ſpeak, when *Caius*, inſtead of hearkening to them, left them again, and ran in great haſte into another room to ſee ſeveral originals done by the moſt famous painters of antiquity. The *Jews*, finding d themſelves ſo often interrupted, and expecting nothing from ſo mercileſs a tyrant but immediate death, had recourſe to the true, for protection againſt the pretended, god. Their prayers were heard, and *Caius*, without further outrages, diſmiſſed them, ſaying, Theſe men are not ſo wicked, as ignorant and unhappy, in not believing me to be a god. The *Jewiſh* deputies departed, reckoning themſelves fortunate in having thus eſcaped with their lives ſafe; not that they dreaded any kind of death, ſays *Philo*, which, had it been any-ways conducive to the preſervation of their law, they would with great pleaſure, have embraced; but becauſe their deſtruction would have been inevitably attended with the utter ruin of thoſe who had ſent them. As for the ſubject of their embaſſy, they could not promiſe themſelves a favourable ſentence from a e judge, who would not ſo much as hear them, being highly incenſed againſt their whole nation, as the only people ſubject to *Rome*, who refuſed to acknowledge his divinity. They continued in the city, waiting with the greateſt anxiety imaginable for the deciſion of their cauſe; for upon the ſentence, which the emperor might think fit to pronounce, depended the fate of the whole *Jewiſh* nation, who would be everywhere perſecuted and ſtripped of their effects, privileges, oratories, *&c.* if the emperor ſhould countenance the *Alexandrians* in their cruel and unwarrantable proceedings againſt them [f]. *Joſephus* ſeems to ſpeak of another audience granted by *Caius* to the *Jewiſh* and *Alexandrian* embaſſadors; wherein *Apion* inveighed with great bitterneſs f againſt the *Jews*, alledging many things againſt them; but his main charge was, that whereas temples and altars were erected to *Caius* by all other nations, and the ſame adoration paid to him as to the reſt of the gods, the *Jews* alone obſtinately refuſed either to conſecrate images to him, or to ſwear by his name. When *Philo* was about to reply in behalf of the *Jews*, *Caius* in a great rage commanded him to be ſilent, and with dreadful menaces bid him be gone. Hereupon *Philo*, turning to his collegues, *Let us take courage*; ſaid he; *now* Caius *is againſt us*, *God will be for us* [g]. What ſentence *Caius* pronounced in the end, we find no-where recorded: all we know is, that, during his whole reign, the *Jews* were grievouſly perſecuted and oppreſſed by the *Alexandrians* [h]; and that *Alexander Lyſimachus*, brother to *Philo*, and *alabarch* of the

[f] PHILO, ibid. p. 1019—1043. [g] JOSEPH. antiq. l. xviii. c. 10. [h] Idem, l. xix. c. 4.

the *Alexandrian Jews*, was, by *Caius*'s orders, committed to prison, and there detained till he was discharged by *Claudius*; upon whose accession to the empire, the *Jews*, notwithstanding their boasted patience, betook themselves to arms, which occasioned a great tumult at *Alexandria*. *Claudius*, upon the first tidings of the commotion, wrote to the governor of *Egypt*, injoining him to appease it; and, at the request of the two kings, *Agrippa* and *Herod*, enacted an edict, which he sent to *Alexandria*, confirming to the *Jews* all the privileges they had ever enjoyed in that city, and declaring all the proceedings of *Caius* against them null and void [i] (E).

[i] Idem, ibid.

(E) To this relation we shall subjoin a succinct account of the works of *Philo*, of *Apion*, and some writers who flourished under the princes of the *Flavian* family. *Philo* described in five books the evils suffered by the *Jews* under *Caius*; and these books, as he made frequent digressions in them upon the vices of that prince, he styled ironically, *Of the virtues of* Caius (1). Of these five books *Eusebius* takes that which has reached our times, under the title of Philo's *embassy to* Caius, to be the first [2]. *Photius* styles it, *Caius blamed* (3). The second of these five books is, according to both these writers, that which is commonly known by the title of *Philo against Flaccus*, and which *Photius* calls *Flaccus blamed* (4). However, the book against *Flaccus* seems to have been written before that of his embassy; since, in the end of the latter (5), he tells us, that he has already described the inexpressible calamities suffered by the *Alexandrian Jews*; and these calamities are the chief subject of his book against *Flaccus*. The three other books, or parts of that work, have been long since lost; for *Photius* seems to have been acquainted with no other, but the two above-mentioned, books written by *Philo* on that subject (6). *Philo* is said to have read them during the reign of *Claudius* in full senate, when they were heard with uncommon applause, and ordered to be deposited in the public library (7). The author seems to address himself to the emperor *Claudius* in his book against *Flaccus*. St. *Jerom* mentions in his catalogue several books written by *Philo*; but of these (which is very surprising) takes not the least notice. The reader will find in *Eusebius* (8) and St. *Jerom* (9) a catalogue of his other works upon the scripture, and various different subjects. *Eusebius* commends the sublimity of his thoughts in explaining the scripture (10); and *Origen* writes, that most of his books upon the law of *Moses* were generally esteemed by men of learning (11). *Photius*, on the contrary, thinks he frequently neglects the obvious and literal, to hunt after an allegorical, sense (12). The same writer observes, that *Philo* often follows opinions contrary to the principles of the *Jewish* religion, and that he does not seem to disapprove the superstitious honours paid to the emperor *Augustus*. St. *Jerom* ascribes to him the *Greek* interpretation of the proper names in the pentateuch and the prophets (13). Some writers will have him to have been likewise the author of a *Latin* history, containing the most remarkable incidents from the creation to the reign of *Saul*; but others think that work, which often contradicts the scripture, altogether unworthy of *Philo* (14). St. *Jerom* says, that some ancient writers ascribed to *Philo the book of wisdom* (15); but that he was not the author of that book, is plainly shewn by a modern writer of no mean character (16). Some writers tell us, that, in the reign of *Claudius*, he became acquainted with St. *Peter* at *Rome*, and contracted a friendship with that apostle (17); nay, *Photius* adds (18), that he embraced the christian religion, and afterwards renounced it upon some discontent. But the silence of all other writers, with respect to this particular, makes us question the truth of what *Photius* asserts.

Apion wrote several books (19), of which we find one only quoted by the ancients, namely, his history of *Egypt*, containing a particular and distinct account of all the curiosities and antiquities of that country. *Eusebius* (20) and *Tatian* (21) cite some passages out of the fifth book of this work, which was in all likelihood the last. As all the *Alexandrians* bore an irreconcileable hatred to the *Jews*, no wonder that *Apion* filled his writings with false and slanderous accounts of them; which *Josephus* with great erudition confutes in a book, which he published against him and other pagan writers, in defence of the *Jews*, and intituled, *An answer to* Apion. Several persons seeming to question the truth of what he had advanced in his *Jewish antiquities*, alledging, that if the race of the *Jews* was as ancient and illustrious as *Josephus* makes it; the *Greek* historians would have taken notice of them, he undertook another work, wherein he not only shews, that several historians have mentioned the *Jews*, but confutes the calumnies published against them by divers authors, especially by *Apion*. This work is by *Eusebius* (22) and St. *Jerom* (23) intituled, *Of the* Jewish *antiquities*. *Apion* not only strove to discredit the *Jews* in his history of *Egypt*, but wrote a book, of which they were the only subject (24), filled with calumnies against that nation, falshoods, and accounts altogether fabulous; which *Josephus* confuted, after he had ended his antiquities. *Apion*, after having in his writings derided circumcision in a most scurrilous manner, was himself by a distemper obliged to submit to it, but to no effect; for the wound putrifying, he died soon after, by a just judgment, says *Josephus*, in great misery and torments (25). The famous adventure of a slave named *Androcles*, who was nourished, during the space of three years, by a lion, whom he had cured of a wound, and by the same known in the sight of all *Rome*, when he was exposed in the amphitheatre to be devoured by the wild beasts, must have happened about this time; for *Apion*, as quoted by *Aulus Gellius* (26), assures us, that he was an eye-witness of that surprising and affecting scene; and adds, that the grateful lion was saved, and the slave presented with his liberty.

Justus,

(1) *Euseb. l.* i. *c.* 5. & 18. (2) *Euseb. c.* 5. & 6. (3) *Phot. c.* 105. (4) *Euseb.* & *Phot. ibid.* (5) *Philo in legat. p.* 1043. (6) *Voss. hist. Græc. l.* ii. *c.* 7. (7) *Euseb. l.* ii. *c.* 18. (8) *Idem ibid.* (9) *Hier. de vir. illust. c.* 11. (10) *Idem ibid.* (11) *Orig. in Matth. p.* 369. (12) *Phot. c.* 105. (13) *Hier. nom. Hebr. c.* 3. (14) *Voss. ibid. l.* ii. *c.* 7. 15) *Hier. epist.* cxv. (16) *Du Pin reponse au remarques de pere de S. Vanne.* (17) *Euseb. l.* ii. *c.* 17. *Hier. de vir.* illust. *c.* 11. (18) *Phot. c.* 105. (19) *Suid. p.* 356. *Aul. Gell. p.* 146. *Plin. l.* xxxvii. *c.* 5. (20) *Euseb. præp. evang. l.* x. *c.* 11. (21) *Tatian. orat. ad Græc. p.* 172. (22) *Euseb. præp. evang. l.* iii. *c.* 9. (23) *Hier. vir. illust. c.* 13. (24) *Euseb. p.* 490. *Just. orat. ad Græc. p.* 9, 10. (25) *Joseph. in Ap. l.* ii. (26) *Aul. Gell. l.* v. *c.* 14.

Juſtus, the ſon of *Piſtus*, contemporary with *Joſephus*, and of the ſame religion, but a native of *Tiberias* in *Galilee*, wrote likewiſe in *Greek* the hiſtory of the *Jewiſh* war, of the taking of *Jotapat*, and of the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*. This hiſtory he compoſed ſoon after the war, but did not publiſh it till *Veſpaſian*, *Titus*, and king *Agrippa* were dead, that is, twenty years after he had wrote it, about the thirteenth year of *Domitian*'s reign. *Joſephus*, who was at variance with him, tells us, that he ſo long ſuppreſſed his hiſtory, becauſe he durſt not ſtand the teſt and cenſure of the world, while ſo many perſons were yet alive, who were able to diſprove him (27). St. *Jerom*, and ſeveral other writers, ſpeak of this hiſtory of *Juſtus* (28), and obſerve, that he was no-ways a candid hiſtorian, and that he often contradicted point-blank the memoirs or commentaries of *Veſpaſian*, *Titus*, and other generals. We have therefore no cauſe to regret the loſs of ſuch a work. This hiſtory is probably different from another done by the ſame author, containing the lives and reigns of all the *Jewiſh* kings, from *Moſes* to the death of young *Agrippa* (29). This work, which *Photius* (30) calls a chronicle, was ended in the third year of the reign of *Trajan*, and is probably what St. *Jerom* (31) and *Suidas* (32), who tranſlated it, call *Juſtus's ſhort commentaries*. Another writer, by name *Antonius Julianus*, flouriſhed about this time, and publiſhed an account of the *Jewiſh* war, and the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*. For *Minucius Felix*, who wrote in defence of the *Chriſtian* religion in the beginning of the third century, refers the pagans to *Antonius Julianus*, and to *Joſephus*, telling them, that in the writings of theſe hiſtorians, they will find, that the *Jews* were not abandoned by God till they had abandoned him; and that they only ſuffered what they had been forewarned they ſhould ſuffer, if they continued to diſobey his law (33). We find two perſons bearing that name mentioned by the ancients, *viz. Antonius Julianus*, procurator of *Judæa*, who was with *Titus*, as *Joſephus* informs us (34), at the ſiege of *Jeruſalem*; and *Antonius Julianus*, a native of *Spain*, and profeſſor of rhetoric at *Rome*, often quoted and commended by *Aulus Gellius*, who was one of his diſciples (35). He flouriſhed about the middle of the ſecond century, and wrote ſome rhetorical and grammatical books (36). A hiſtory in *Hebrew* and *Latin* of the *Jewiſh* war has reached our times, done by one *Joſephus*, the ſon of *Gorion*, who pretended, it ſeems, to paſs himſelf upon the world for the celebrated *Joſephus*. But the ableſt critics take him to have been a *Jew* born in *Gaul* in the ſeventh century, and his hiſtory to be only an abridgment of the *Latin* tranſlation of *Joſephus*'s hiſtory, which is commonly aſcribed to *Ruſinus*, with the addition of many groſs miſtakes, and fabulous accounts (37). As for the hiſtory of the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, which bears the name of *Hegeſippus*, it is but a tranſlation of the hiſtory of *Joſephus*, wherein the author allows himſelf a great latitude, retrenching ſeveral things, and adding harangues, deſcriptions, and even ſome events which he had probably found in other hiſtorians. We muſt not confound this writer, as ſome have done, with another of the ſame name, who flouriſhed in the ſecond century, and was a native of *Greece*, whereas the compiler of *Joſephus* was, as is evident from ſome paſſages in his work, quite ignorant of the *Greek* tongue (38). Beſides, he mentions the city of *Conſtantinople*, and tells us, that having by degrees eclipſed the cities of *Antioch* and *Alexandria*, it was no longer the fourth, but the ſecond, city of the *Roman* empire (39). It is therefore plain, that he did not write before the reign of *Conſtantine the great*, nor even before the end of the fourth century. *Voſſius* is of opinion, that he flouriſhed about the latter end of the tenth century; but the propriety of his expreſſions, and the elegance and ſublimity of his ſtyle, are a convincing proof, that he wrote before the total and general decay of learning, that is, before the fifth century. Hence the learned biſhop *Pearſon* takes him for an author of the fourth or fifth century (40); and father *Mabillon* quotes two manuſcripts of *Hegeſippus*'s hiſtory, both written, as he conjectures from the characters, before the ſeventh century (41). *Gronovius* takes St. *Ambroſe*, concealed under the aſſumed name of *Hegeſippus*, to be the true author of that hiſtory, being induced thereunto by ſeveral of St. *Ambroſe*'s phraſes, which he obſerved in it (42). But the ſame phraſes are often common to ſeveral writers of the ſame age; and the ſtyle of *Hegeſippus* is, in our opinion, far more eaſy and proper than that of St. *Ambroſe*, or of *Paulinus*, *Sulpicius Severus*, *Aper*, *Eucherius*, or *Hilarius*; for to each of theſe the work, which bears the name of *Hegeſippus*, has by ſome writers been aſcribed. To the hiſtory of *Hegeſippus* is annexed an *anacephalæoſis*, or ſummary of the chief matters contained in it, which by ſome is thought the work of the ſame author; but *Gronovius* ſpeaks of it, and not undeſervedly, with great contempt (43). In this ſummary, and not in the hiſtory itſelf, is found the ſuppoſitious letter from *Pilate* to *Tiberius* concerning our *Saviour*. The hiſtory of *Hegeſippus* is quoted by *John* of *Saliſbury*, who flouriſhed in the twelfth century, and by *John* of *Trittenheim*, abbot of *Spanheim*, in his learned book of *eccleſiaſtical writers*; but he, by confounding the author of this work with the above-mentioned *Hegeſippus*, who flouriſhed in the ſecond century, has led many others into the ſame miſtake (44).

Of *Flavius Joſephus*, the moſt famous of all the hiſtorians who flouriſhed under the princes of the *Flavian* family, we have already ſpoken in the ſeveral parts of this work; and therefore ſhall cloſe this note only with a few remarks on his hiſtory of the *Jewiſh* wars, and the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*. This hiſtory he compoſed at *Rome*, in the reign of *Veſpaſian*, in his own language (45), which was much the ſame with the *Syriac*, and afterwards tranſlated it into *Greek*, with the aſſiſtance of ſome perſons who were better acquainted with that tongue than he (46). For the knowledge of the ſeveral languages was not a thing practiſed or valued by the *Jews*, but looked upon as a profane ſtudy, the ſum of their wiſdom and learning conſiſting in the knowlege of their laws and the right underſtanding of the ſcripture (47); which, however, it is plain they never did rightly underſtand with relation to the *Meſſiah*. The *Syriac* hiſtory was immediately diſperſed over all the eaſtern countries, and greedily read by the *Arabians*, *Adiabenians*, *Babylonians*, *Parthians*, and all the *Jews* beyond the *Euphrates* (48). Some copies of this work, which was divided into five books, are ſtill extant (49). The *Greek* tranſlation proved both troubleſome and expenſive to him

(27) *Joſeph, antiq. l.* xx. *c.* 9. *& vit. c.* 8. (28) *Hier. de vir. illuſt. c.* 14. *Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l.* ii. (29) *Voſſ. ibid. Euſeb. p.* 47. (30) *Phot. c.* 33. (31) *Hier. ibid.* (32) *Suid. p.* 1251. (33) *Min. Fel. p.* 27, (34) *Joſeph. bell. Jud. l.* v. *c.* 4. (35) *Aul. Gell l.* i. *c.* 4. *l.* ix. *c.* 1. *l.* xv. *c.* 1. *l.* xviii. *c.* 5. *l.* xix. *c.* 9. (36) *Idem, l.* i. *c.* 4, (37) *Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l.* ii. *c.* 8. *Baron. ad ann.* 72. (38) *Hegeſ. l.* iii. *c.* 1. 6. *&* 9. *Biblioth. patrum, l.* vii. *p.* 462, 463. (39) *Idem ibid. c.* 5. *p.* 465, 466. (40) *Pearſon. ann. Paulin. p.* 50. *Lond.* 1688. (41) *Mabill. iter Italic. p.* 14. *Pariſ.* 1687. (42) *Gronov. obſervat. eccleſ. c* 1. (43) *Idem ibid.* (44) *Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l.* ii. *p.* 706. *Trit. p.* 4. (45) *Joſeph. bell. l.* 1. (46) *Idem in Api. l.* i. (47) *Idem, antiq. l.* xx. *c.* 9. (48) *Idem, bell. Jud. l.* 1. (49) *Vide Voſſevin. apparat. tom.* i. *p.* 966. *Coloniæ, an.* 1608.

him (50). He divided it into ſeven book, and did not put the laſt hand to it before the fifth year of *Veſpaſian*'s reign; for he mentions the temple of *Peace* as finiſhed, which was conſecrated the following year, the ſixth of *Veſpaſian*'s reign; and ends his hiſtory with the death of *Catullus*, which did not happen, as is evident from *Dion Caſſius*, before that time (51). *Joſephus* cloſes his hiſtory with theſe words: As for my ſtyle, and manner of writing, I ſubmit it to the judgment of the reader; but as to the candour and ſincerity of my accounts, I do here declare to the world, that I have kept ſtrictly to truth, and have had nothing elſe in view throughout the whole work. Of what paſſed amongſt the *Romans* he was an eye-witneſs, and learnt of the deſerters, who all applied to him, every ſtep taken by the enemy (52). Beſides, *Titus* imparted to him his own commentaries or memoirs (53); ſo that he was thoroughly acquainted with every thing that happened during the whole time of the war. As ſoon as he had ended his *Greek* tranſlation, he preſented it to *Veſpaſian*, to *Titus*, to king *Agrippa*, and to ſeveral others who had been eye-witneſſes of what he relates (54); which he would never have done, had he been conſcious to himſelf of having ſwerved in the leaſt from truth. King *Agrippa*, in ſixty-two letters to *Joſephus*, authentically witneſſed the candour and ſincerity which reigns throughout the whole work (55); and *Titus*, not ſatisfied with ordering it to be publiſhed, and lodged in the public library, ſigned, ſome read tranſcribed, with his own hand the copy, which was to be placed there as an authentic relation of the *Jewiſh* war, and the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* (56). Hence *Suidas* gives to *Joſephus* the title of *lover of truth*, as peculiar to him (57). But after all, his hiſtory is not quite exempt from faults; ſome of which he himſelf corrected in the works he afterwards publiſhed 58). It was either a deplorable ignorance, or inexcuſable flattery, that prompted him to miſinterpret the ſcripture, and apply to *Veſpaſian* the prophecy, importing, that in thoſe days a prince ſhould come out of *Judæa*, who ſhould rule over the wole world; which could be underſtood of the *Meſſiah* alone. *Photius* ſpeaking of the *Greek* tranſlation of this hiſtory, greatly commends it, even on account of the ſtyle, which to him ſeems eaſy, proper, and no leſs elegant than that of the beſt *Greek* hiſtorians (59): and St. *Jerom* calls *Joſephus*, *the* Livy *of the* Greeks (60). Hence it is evident, that the many obſcure paſſages, odd phraſes, and irregular conſtructions, which are to be met with in this work, ought to be aſcribed to the copiſts, and not to the author. When *Joſephus* had ended his hiſtory of the *Jewiſh* wars, he undertook the general hiſtory of his nation, from the beginning of the world to the twelfth year of the reign of *Nero*, when the *Jews* revolted, and ſtrove to ſhake off the *Roman* yoke, which was the occaſion of their utter ruin. Of this work, which is compriſed in twenty books, and was finiſhed by *Joſephus* in the fifty-ſixth year of his age, that is, in the thirteenth of *Domitian*'s reign, and towards the end of the ninety-third of the *Chriſtian* æra, we have ſpoken in various places of this hiſtory; and therefore ſhall only repeat here, that he frequently contradicts point-blank holy writ; of which the reader will find many inſtances in father *Poſſevin*'s learned *Apparatus* (61). Of the famous paſſage concerning our *Saviour*, we have ſpoken at length in our hiſtory of the *Jews* (62). To the general hiſtory of the *Jews*, which *Joſephus* himſelf intituled the *Jewiſh antiquities*, tho' brought down to the twelfth year of *Nero*'s reign, he added the particular hiſtory of his own life, which he finiſhed before the death of *Domitian*, that is, before the eighteenth of *September* of the year 96. of the *Chriſtian* æra. *Euſebius* and St. *Jerom* look upon his life as part of the twentieth book of his *antiquities*; and likewiſe upon his books againſt *Apion*, as a continuation of the ſame work (63). Beſides the abovementioned works, a diſcourſe compoſed by *Joſephus* has reached our times, wherein he ſhews, that it is in the power of reaſon to command and ſubdue the paſſions: whence the treatiſe is by ſome ſtyled, *the rule of reaſon*; but by others, *the hiſtory of the Maccabees*, becauſe *Joſephus* deſcribes there at length the glorious death of thoſe illuſtrious champions. This piece St. *Jerom* cries up as a moſt elegant performance (64); and St. *Gregory* of *Nazianzus* refers his readers to it for a true and affecting account of the martyrdom of the *Maccabees* (65). We find *Joſephus* quoted by ſome ancient writers for things, of which no mention is made in his works which are ſtill extant. Thus *Oroſius* refers us to him for an account of the expulſion of the *Jews* from *Rome* under *Claudius* (66); and *Origen* quotes him as aſſerting, that the *Jews* generally aſcribed the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, and the ruin of their nation, to their putting unjuſtly St. *James* to death (67). *Joſephus* himſelf promiſes in his *antiquities* the hiſtory of *Monobazes*, king of the *Adiabenians* (68), of whom nevertheleſs no farther mention is made in his works which have reached us. *Voſſius* likewiſe aſſures, that in the printed copies of *Joſephus* many things have been left out, which he found in the manuſcript copies of the ancient *Latin* tranſlation (69) aſcribed by father *Poſſevin* to the celebrated *Rufus* of *Aquileia* (70). *Joſephus*, at the end of his *antiquities*, promiſes a ſhorter relation of the *Jewiſh* war, and of all that had happened to that unhappy people from the beginning of the ſaid war to the time in which he ended his *antiquities*, that is, to the 93d year of the *Chriſtian* æra (71). He likewiſe propoſed writing four books of the opinions of the *Jews* concerning God and his nature, and of their laws, that he might have an opportunity of informing the world, why by their law ſome things were allowed them, and others forbidden (72). But neither *Euſebius*, nor any other writer, mentions theſe works; which inclines us to believe, that he was prevented by death from executing his deſign, and that he died about the latter end of *Domitian*'s reign. *Photius* aſcribes to him an anonymous book, *Of the ſubſtance of the univerſe* (73). *Poſſevin* is of opinion, that he wrote a book on *the ſeventy weeks of Daniel* (74); and truly St. *Jerom* ſays, that he ſpeaks of them much at length (75), which he does not in any of his works which have been tranſmitted to us. *Joſephus* lived at *Rome* from the return of *Titus* to that city in 71. till his death, which happened about the latter end of *Domitian*'s reign, who was killed in 96. He was highly eſteemed and favoured by the three princes of the *Flavian* family: for *Veſpaſian* made him free of the city, lodged him in the houſe in which he himſelf had lived before he was emperor, ſettled upon him a yearly penſion, and aſſigned him certain lands in *Judæa*. *Titus* ſhewed him no leſs kindneſs than his father had done;

(50) *Joſeph. bell. Jud. l.* i. (51) *Dio, l.* lxvi. *p.* 751. 752. (52) *Joſeph. in Api. l.* i. (53) *Idem, in vit.* (54) *Idem, in Api. l.* i. (55) *Idem, in vit.* (56) *Idem ibid. & Hier. vit. vir. illuſt. c.* 13. (57) *Suid. p.* 1261. (58) *Vide Huetii demonſtrat. evang. p.* 326. (59) *Phot. c.* 47. (60) *Hier. epiſt.* 22. (61) *Poſſevin. apparat. tom.* i. *p.* 967, 968. *Coloniæ, an.* 1608. (62) *Hiſt. Univerſ. vol.* IV. *p.* 248. (63) *Euſeb. l.* iii. *c.* 9, 10. *Hier. vir. illuſt. c.* 13. (64) *Hier. in Pelag.* l. ii. *c.* 3. (65) *Greg. Nazian. orat.* 22. (66) *Oroſ. l.* vii. *c.* 6. (67) *Origen. in Matth.* (68) *Joſeph. antiq. l.* xx. *c.* 2 (69) *Voſſ. ſibyllin. p.* 43. (70) *Poſſevin. ibid.* (71) *Joſeph. antiq. l.* xx. *c.* 9. (72) *Idem ibid.* (73) *Phot. c.* 48. (74) *Poſſevin. ibid.* (75) *Hier. in Iſai.*

done; and *Domitian*, as well as his wife *Domitia*, conferred on him ſtill greater honours. This drew upon him the hatred of his envious countrymen, by whom ſeveral falſe accuſations were brought againſt him, but he was always declared innocent. In the reign of *Veſpaſian*, a *Jew*, by name *Jonathan*, being ſent to the emperor in chains, for having, at the head of two thouſand men, raiſed great diſturbances in *Cyrene*, declared, that *Joſephus* had aſſiſted him underhand with arms and money. But *Veſpaſian*, giving no credit to the calumny, commanded his head to be ſtruck off. *Domitian* likewiſe puniſhed with great ſeverity ſome *Jews*, and an eunuch, who was tutor to *Joſephus*'s ſon, for falſly informing againſt him (76). Thus he lived at *Rome*, highly favoured by the emperors; and was, after his death, honoured by the *Roman* people with a ſtatue (77).

(76) *Joſeph. in vit.*

(77) *Euſeb. l.* iii. *c.* 3.

The End of the Fifth Volume.

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